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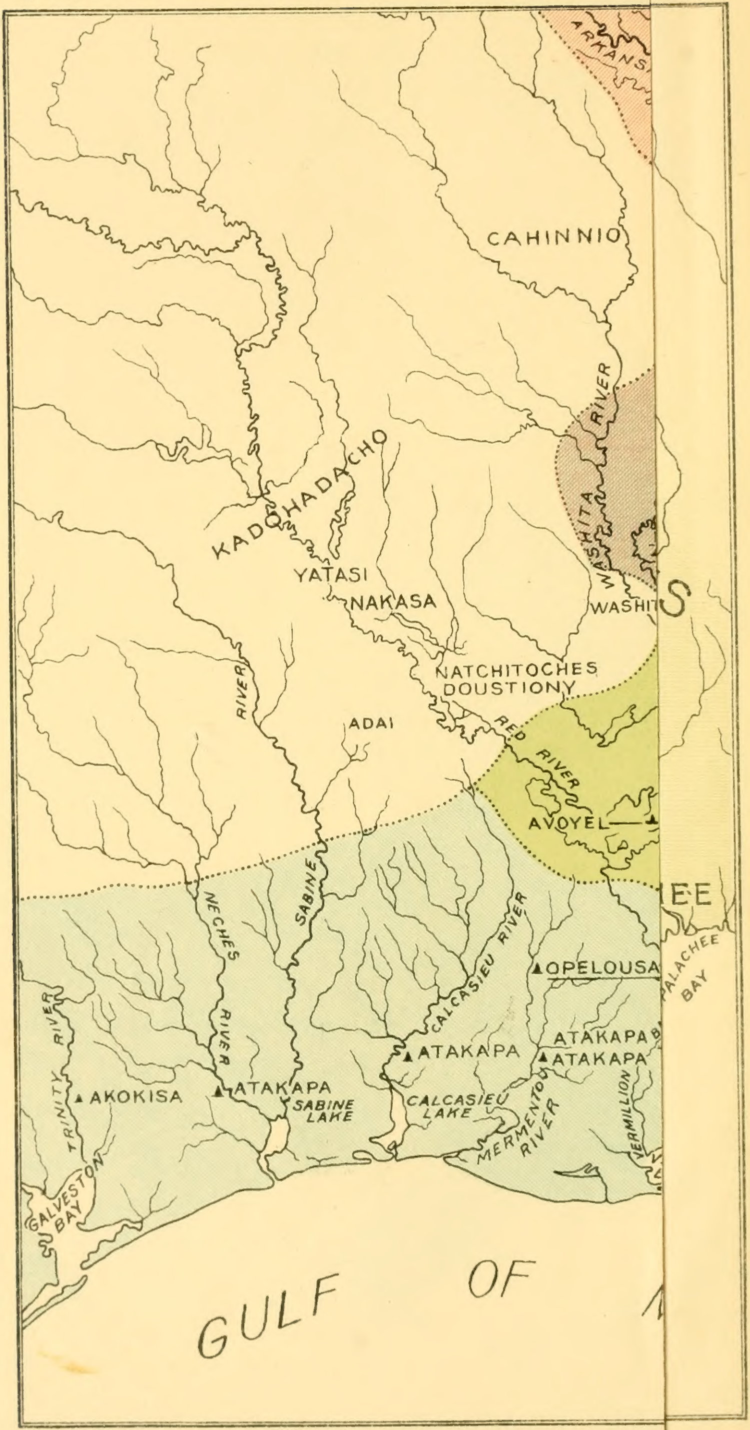
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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 43

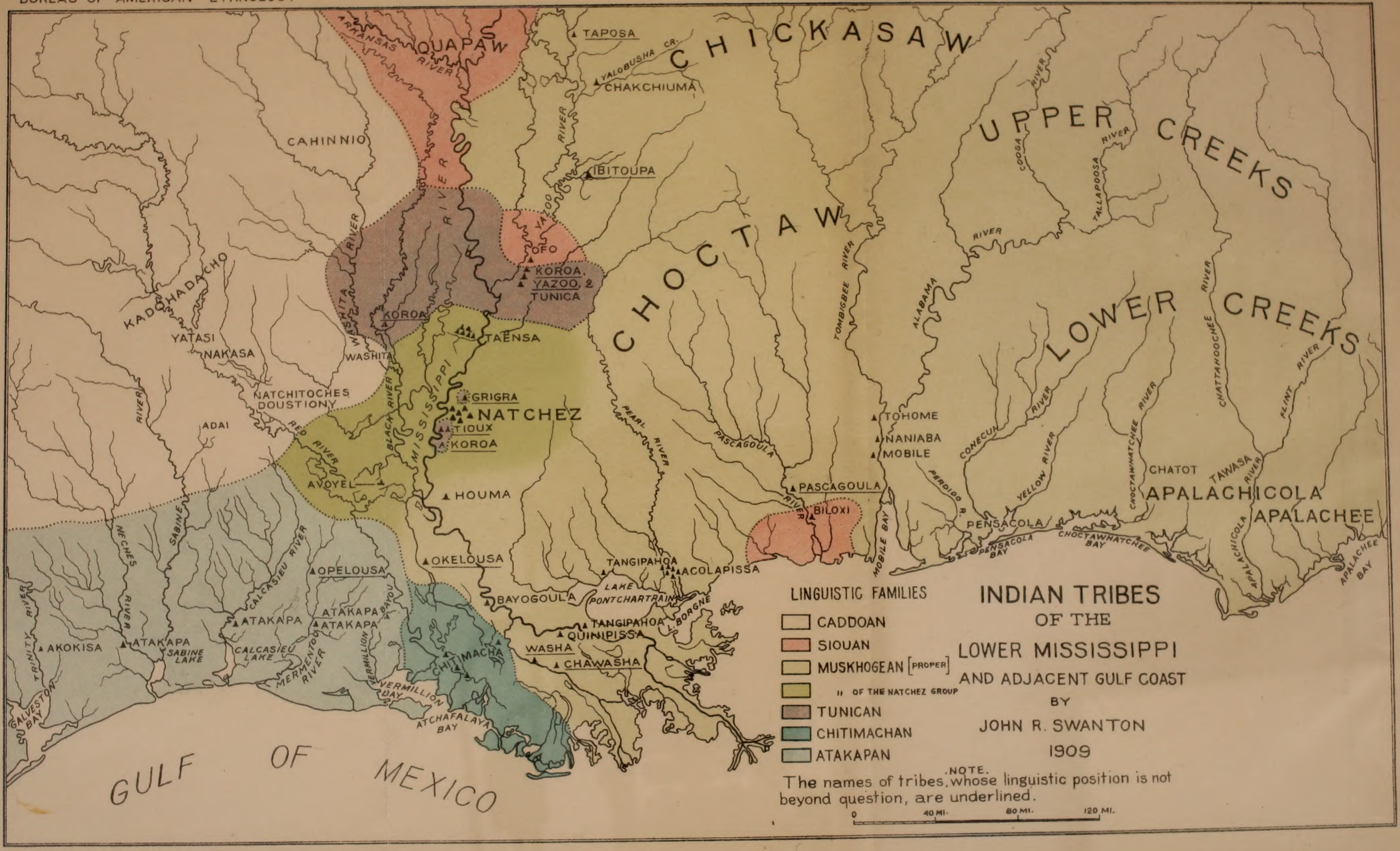
INDIAN TRIBES
OF THE
LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
AND
ADJACENT COAST OF THE GULF OF MEXICO

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON

21764A

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911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VERMILLION BAY
CHITIMACHA
ATCHAFALAYA BAY
GALVESTON BAY
GULF OF MEXICO
0 40 MI. 80 MI. 120 MI.

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES

☐ CADDOAN
☐ SIOUAN
☐ MUSKHOGEAN [PROPER]
☐ " OF THE NATCHEZ GROUP
☐ TUNICAN
☐ CHITIMACHAN
☐ ATAKAPAN

INDIAN TRIBES
OF THE
LOWER MISSISSIPPI
AND ADJACENT GULF COAST
BY
JOHN R. SWANTON
1909

NOTE.
The names of tribes, whose linguistic position is not beyond question, are underlined.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1909.

Sir: I have the honor to submit herewith the manuscript of a paper entitled "Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico," by Dr. John R. Swanton.

It is recommended that this paper be published as No. 43 in the Bureau's series of Bulletins.

Very respectfully, yours,

W. H. Holmes,
Chief.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

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INDIAN TRIBES OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND ADJACENT COAST OF THE GULF OF MEXICO

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

The region with which the present bulletin deals is one of unusual interest both to the ethnologist and the archeologist: to the ethnologist owing to its exceptional linguistic complexity, in which in the territory north of Mexico it is exceeded only by the Pacific coast, and to the archeologist because the lower Mississippi valley is one of the richest fields for exploration in the entire United States. This interest is increased by its strategic position between the mound culture of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys and the cultures of Mexico and Yucatan, and by the presence within it of a tribe so highly organized socially that it is often pointed to as a remnant of that culture to which "the mound builders" are supposed to have belonged.

In this treatise the writer has attempted to furnish as complete an account of the history of each tribe and the ethnological facts concerning it as the published material renders possible. He is aware that in France and this country, and probably in Spain, there is much manuscript material which would be necessary to an absolutely final account, but the work of bringing this out and placing it in permanent form belongs rather to the historian than to the ethnologist. The literary work connected with the present effort, although it forms so large a portion of the whole, has been undertaken only in connection with direct ethnological investigation among the remnants of the tribes in question. The results of this direct work have been principally linguistic, however, and since the philological material is to be published separately, a comparatively small residuum is left for insertion here. This is confined, in fact, to some myths and ethnological notes collected from the Natchez, Tunica, and Chitimacha, the other tribes being either extinct or too far disintegrated to furnish any valuable material. One of the most important results of the writer's investigations, however, has been in the linguistic classification of the tribes of this area contained in the first part of the work. While comparatively insignificant in bulk it is of the greatest importance in attempting to trace their earlier condition, and indeed has a bearing on the pre-Columbian history of the whole of North America. At the same time, the results of this field work among remnant tribes would lose half of their value were they not provided with a literary setting, which the writer has not hesitated to furnish with as much liberality as the published material will allow, realizing meanwhile that the work of a compiler is usually a thankless and abundantly criticised task.

An examination of the material following will show that more than two-thirds of the whole is concerned with the Natchez tribe alone. This is due partly to the fact that it was the largest on the lower Mississippi, and in the gulf region was exceeded only by the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creeks, but far more to its strongly centralized system of government, to the sanguinary mortuary rites of its ruling classes, and finally to the spectacular massacre perpetrated by it upon the French settlers of Natchez in the year 1729 and the bloody war which followed. These two last points in particular appealed so strongly to French imaginations, and to the imaginations of writers of other nations as well, that this tribe has been surrounded by a glamour similar to that which until recently enshrouded the Aztec of Mexico and the Quichua of Peru, and it has been classified apart, both as to origin and grade of civilization, with the result that the true Natchez tribe has become almost unknown.

The principal authorities consulted are the following:

BAUDRY DE LOZIÈRES. Voyage à la Louisiane et sur Le Continent de L'Amérique Septentrionale fait dans les Années 1794 à 1798. Paris, 1802.

BOSSU. Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana. Translated from the French by John Reinhold Forster, 2 vols., London, 1771.

CHARLEVOIX. History and General Description of New France, 6 vols., edited by John Gilmary Shea, New York, 1872.

COXE, DANIEL. A description of the English Province of Carolana, London, 1741. Translated in French's Hist. Coll. of La., pp. 223–276, 1850.

DE KERLÉREC. Rapport du Chevalier De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes, 15th sess., I, 59–86.

DUMONT DE MONTIGNY. Mémoires Historiques sur La Louisiane, 2 vols., Paris, 1753. Edited by Le Mascrier.

FRENCH. Historical Collections of Louisiana, 1846, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1869, 1875.

GALLATIN. A synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America. In Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, II, Cambridge, 1836.

GATSCHET. A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians. Vol. I in Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature, Philadelphia, 1884. Vol. II in Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Sciences, St. Louis, 1888.

——— The Shetimasha Indians of St. Mary's Parish, Southern Louisiana, in Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington, II, 148–158.

Gosselin, M. l'Abbé Amédée. Les Sauvages du Mississipi (1698–1708) d'après le Correspondance des Missionnaires des Missions Étrangères de Québec, I, 31–51.

Hutchins, Thomas. An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West-Florida, Philadelphia, 1784.

La Harpe. Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à La Louisiane, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1831.

Le Page du Pratz. Histoire de La Louisiane, 3 vols., Paris, 1758.

Luxembourg, an anonymous memoir published at, entitled "Mémoire sur La Louisiane ou Le Mississipi," 1752 (evidently written before 1718).

Margry (editor). Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614–1754), Paris, 1877–1886.

Shea, John Gilmary (editor). Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, Redfield, N. Y., 1852.

—— Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, Albany, 1861.

Sibley, John. Historical Sketches of the Several Indian Tribes in Louisiana South of the Arkansas River and Between the Mississippi and River Grand, in a Message from the President of the United States Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita. Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1076–1088.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (editor). The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1897–1901.

This list contains merely those works which were found of most value in the present undertaking. While the Indians of Louisiana have been made the subject of numerous special articles in treatises dealing with that colony or State, most of these are compilations or are too superficial to be of any real service. The value of the works cited and the extent to which they have been drawn upon also varies greatly. Of first importance among these are the documents published by Pierre Margry, and the letters of missionaries printed in the Jesuit Relations, by Shea, and later in part by Gosselin. Some important papers are also to be found in French's Collections, and English translations of many can be found nowhere else. The character of French's work varies greatly, however, and while some documents are faithfully reproduced or translated, others, notably the translation of La Harpe's Mémoires Historiques, show an unpardonable slovenliness and are almost useless to the student. Perhaps the glaring inconsistencies between Pénicaut's Narrative as it appears in French and in Margry may be due to the fact that the manuscript used by the former was from the Bibliothèque du Roi and was dressed up by some scribe into a form which he deemed more palatable to the court. Thus, the dates have been altered a year through much of the narrative, entire sections have been carried over under different headings or entirely omitted, and inconsistent assertions made, apparently on the authority of other writers. The most flagrant example of this is the insertion of St. Cosme's death under two distinct years, which seems to point to an attempt to reconcile this narrative with the official documents. Even the Margry version of Pénicaut, which is that ordinarily used by the writer, is utterly disorganized as to its chronology and not above suspicion in other particulars, though at the same time it contains important information not found elsewhere which is confirmed inferentially from other sources or by circumstantial evidence. La Harpe's Historical Narrative in the French edition of 1831 is, on the other hand, chronologically accurate. Its author evidently had access to many of the official records, besides which he himself was often a party to the events described, notably the exploration of Red river and the attempts to establish a French post in Galveston bay. He makes mistakes occasionally, but the substantial correctness of his work is beyond question. Charlevoix's History of New France has been used to some extent, especially his account of the last Natchez war, which has been inserted verbatim, but his Journal contains more material of strictly ethnological interest.

Works regarding the customs and beliefs of individual Louisiana and Mississippi tribes are few and confined chiefly to the Natchez. About half of the quoted ethnological material used in this bulletin is from one writer, Le Page du Pratz, while the greater portion of the remainder is contained in Dumont's Mémoires Historiques sur La Louisiane. As to accuracy, there is little to choose between these two, the latter being better, perhaps, on points connected with the material culture of the people, and the former on questions relating to their religion and social organization. Du Pratz, having a more speculative turn of mind, is occasionally led farther astray in accepting matters received on the authority of another person, but on the other hand this tendency placed him more closely in touch with the esoteric lore of his Natchez neighbors and preserved for us facts that would otherwise have been irrevocably lost. If we except one important letter from the missionary St. Cosme, our next best source of information regarding the Natchez is a description contained in Charlevoix's Journal and again in a letter from the Jesuit, Le Petit, to D'Avougour. Le Petit's account being later, it might be assumed that the description was taken from Charlevoix, but credit is given neither to him nor to any other writer, and we are left in doubt as to its true authorship. No one on reading the latter part of the two accounts can doubt, however, that they are from the same source, and apparently an authoritative one, though the first part of Le Petit's narrative, purporting to be a description of the Natchez temple, really applies to that of the Taënsa. A confusion between the Natchez and Taënsa, owing to similarities in their customs, arose at a very early date and reappears in the work of most of the later French writers. It thus happens that many accusations of falsehood made by one writer against another resolve themselves into simple misunderstandings, and, leaving aside the relation of Hennepin, which after all contains few exaggerations regarding the people themselves, thus far the writer has found but one plainly exaggerated narrative, that so often referred to as "the spurious Tonti." It is entitled "Dernières Découvertes dans L'Amérique Septentrionale de M. De la Sale; Mise au jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti, Gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis, aux Islinois," and bears the date Paris, 1697. This certainly does contain many errors, yet if one compares it with the Memoir of the Sieur de la Tonti, published by French in the Historical Collections of Louisiana, 1846, he will find that it follows this narrative pretty closely, only overstating in particulars. It would seem that some French publisher, having had an opportunity to hear or read the Memoir of Tonti two or three times, had committed what he could remember to paper, along with amplifications of his own, and put it out as the original work.[a] An amusing mistake has been made by him in regard to the delta of the Mississippi, the three channels by which the river reaches the sea being described as three channels reuniting into one lower down. It is curious, however, that the two points for which the author of this work was criticised most severely can not be charged against him. One of these is a supposed statement that the Mississippi river divided into two long branches before entering the ocean, while, as has just been noted, he makes it separate into three which reunited farther on, nothing being said of a division into two channels. Another writer accused by Iberville of this same misstatement is Father Zenobius Membré, who had accompanied La Salle and Tonti. But, as Shea remarks, Membré does not claim to have seen the other branch of the river, which in fact he supposes his party to have passed during a fog, but appears to have assumed its existence on the authority of existing maps.[b] His additional statement that the Indians told them of ten nations living on this branch[c] might be explained on the supposition that the Indians imagined the branch that these travelers talked about must be the Manchac, or Iberville, and referred to the Choctaw villages toward which it conducted. The second point for which "the spurious Tonti" has been attacked is its description of the Natchez temple, while, as a matter of fact, it nowhere describes the Natchez temple, but only that of the Taënsa, and in this description does not differ from that made by Tonti himself in any essential particular. The critics of this book appear to have been very hasty readers or to have derived their knowledge of it from hearsay—unless there is another narrative unknown to the writer—or they would have recognized what temple was being described. Possibly this confusion was due to the fact that the Taënsa temple was destroyed in 1700 and later writers assumed that the descriptions given of it must apply to the well-known temple of the Natchez. At any rate, this seems to be the only way to account for Le Petit's blunder already alluded to. Both Le Petit and Charlevoix describe the catastrophe which befell the Taënsa temple as having happened to that of the Natchez, and in 1702, two years later than the correct date. Confusion between the two tribes must have been encouraged by the manner in which the letters and reports of the first explorers were mangled either during their transmission or by court scribes. Thus, in the Account of the Taking Possession of Louisiana, by M. de la Salle,[a] the narrative jumps from the Taënsa to the Koroa, and though the latter are said to be two leagues distant from the village of the Natchez one is led to suppose, as does Gatschet, that they were above the latter people, when as a matter of fact they were below. The Koroa chief is plainly made to come to La Salle at the Taënsa town, when he actually came to the Natchez town. In fact La Salle's visit to the latter people is entirely omitted. In Tonti's Memoir,[b] where, if anywhere, we ought to expect accuracy, La Salle's stay among the Natchez is dealt with at length, but his visit to the Koroa is utterly ignored. Stranger still, the events which on their return trip happened to the explorers among the Koroa are placed in the Natchez town, the Koroa being entirely expurgated from their narrative. Another palpable error[c] is the statement that the Taënsa (spelled Taënca) were "six leagues distant" from the Arkansas. The original was probably "sixty."

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[a] It should be added, however, that the memoir published by French is itself inconsistent and difficult to understand in places.

[b] Shea, Disc. and Expl., 173.

[c] Ibid., 174.

Next to Du Pratz, Dumont, and the Charlevoix-Le Petit manuscript, our largest source of information regarding the Natchez is the Historical Narrative of Pénicaut as contained in Margry. As has just been remarked, this writer is a sad failure as a chronologist, but there is reason to think that the date he gives for his Natchez visit (1704) is approximately correct. A short but interesting account of the people, containing the earliest long description of their temple, is that in the Journal of the Voyage of Father Gravier made in the year 1700, and many valuable data may be gathered from the rare and little known memoir of Luscemberg. The rest of the material used in this paper consists of short excerpts from the journals and letters of La Salle, Tonti, Iberville, and others.

While published sources of information dealing with other tribes in the area under consideration are fewer, the Bayogoula, Acolapissa, Houma, and Tunica were described at considerable length by Pénicaut, Gravier, La Harpe, and in the journals of Iberville's first expedition to Louisiana, while in recent years we have had Gatschet's paper on the Chitimacha.

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 45–50, 1846.

[b] Ibid., 52–78.

[c] Ibid., 61.

In arranging this material it has been found best to consider the Natchez first and the other tribes with reference to them. Ethnological information regarding the Natchez and a few other tribes, such as the Tunica and the Chitimacha, has been segregated from the purely historical narrative and arranged much as would be done for a modern ethnological report. In other cases it is so slight that it has been incorporated into the historical narrative itself. It has also been found best to extract everything bearing on the linguistic affinities and population of the various tribes and treat these subjects by themselves at the outset.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES

The tribes treated in this bulletin, which at the present time are almost extinct, formerly occupied the banks of the Mississippi river and its tributaries from about the neighborhood of the northern boundary of the present State of Louisiana to the Gulf of Mexico and the shores of the gulf for some distance east and west. The region and its ancient occupants as they appear to have been distributed at the beginning of the eighteenth century are shown in accompanying map (pl. 1). Northwest of it, in the area colored yellow, were peoples belonging to the Caddoan linguistic stock, of which the nearest were the Washita of Washita river, and the Natchitoches and Doustiony (or Souchitiony) in the neighborhood of modern Natchitoches, while farther off were the Adai, Yatasi, Nakasa, Caddo, and Cahinnio. None of these falls within the limits of the present discussion.[a] Following around to the eastward we find the Siouan stock (colored red), the greater part of which lay next north of the Mississippi tribes under consideration, and extended in an unbroken mass northward nearly to the Saskatchewan river. The nearest tribe in this direction was the Quapaw at the junction of the Mississippi and the Arkansas, but two detached bands, the Ofo, or, as they are more commonly called, Ofogoula, on the lower Yazoo, and the Biloxi of lower Pascagoula river, were within it. Vocabularies proving Siouan relationship have been obtained from both, and as historical accounts of the two tribes will be prefixed to the published linguistic material they will be passed over in the present paper. The Muskhogean linguistic stock, indicated in light green, is the most important large stock with which we have to deal. Roughly speaking, it extended from the Mississippi river to the Savannah river and the Atlantic ocean, while on the south it reached the gulf of Mexico except where interrupted by the Biloxi above referred to and the Timucua of Florida. The tribes composing it form two separate groups or substocks, the Muskhogean proper and the Natchez group, of which the latter falls entirely within the province of our discussion, while of the former only some smaller and comparatively insignificant divisions concern us. The large and powerful tribes which have played an important part in history and many of which continue to play it require independent treatment. These are the Yamasi of the Georgia coast, the Apalachi, on Apalachee bay between Apalachicola and Ocilla rivers, the Creeks—in reality a confederacy of tribes—of the Chattahoochee, Flint, Alabama, Tallapoosa, and Coosa rivers, the Chickasaw of northern Mississippi and western Tennessee, and the Choctaw of southern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama.

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[a] The Caddo language is known from vocabularies and the speech of the survivors. The Natchitoches and the Yatasi are remembered as their relatives, and it is known through Sibley that Caddo was their trade language. (Annals of the 9th Congress, 1078, 1084, 1852.) The Nakasa and the Doustiony were small tribes close to the two last mentioned, whose relationship with them can hardly be doubted. The same may be said of the Washita, whose history so far as it is known shows them to have come from the neighborhood of the Natchitoches and to have returned later either to that tribe or to the Caddo proper. (French, Hist. Coll. La., 72, 1846; La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 32, 1831; Documents relating to the Purchase of Louisiana, 18–19, 1904.) For a time it was thought that the Adai should be excluded from the Caddoan stock, but Gatschet's careful analysis of a vocabulary taken by Sibley shows that this was a mistake. (Gatschet, MS., B. A. E.) Finally the Caddoan position of the Cahinnio is proved by the name of one of their chiefs, Hinma Kiapémiché, or Big Knife, recorded by Joutel in 1687. (Margry, Découvertes, vi, 421, 1886.)

Although they lie outside the area of which it is proposed to treat at length, it will be convenient to include in this chapter a consideration of the coast tribes between Pascagoula and Apalachicola rivers, embracing the Mobile, Tohome, Naniaba, Pensacola, Chatot, Tawasa, and some small bands associated with the two last. Westward one of the cultural areas with which we deal extended not only to the Rio Grande, but into the Mexican State of Tamaulipas as well, until it reached the Huastec of Panuco, the northernmost representatives of the Mayan linguistic family. So far as is known, however, the tribes of southern Texas are utterly extirpated. Twenty years ago two small bands existed near Camargo, on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, but it is doubtful whether even their language is retained at the present time; while all the manuscript information obtainable is now being made the subject of a special investigation by Dr. H. E. Bolton, of the University of Texas. We shall therefore draw a somewhat arbitrary line of demarcation in this direction at the Sabine river, or at most near Galveston bay and Trinity river, where the Atakapa stock appears to have terminated.

Within the region thus outlined the number and names of the tribes which history reveals to us seem very definite and well established. Leaving aside words which are evidently distorted forms of the names of well-known peoples, there are very few tribes referred to so seldom that their independent existence is in doubt. On the basis of language, the most convenient method of classification, five groups may be distinguished which, with the tribes belonging under each, are as follows:

(1) Natchez group, including the Natchez, Taënsa, and Avoyel.

(2) Muskhogean group, including the Washa, Chawasha, Okelousa, Quinipissa (or Mugulasha), Tangipahoa, Bayogoula, Acolapissa, Chakchiuma, Houma, Taposa, Ibitoupa, Pascagoula, Mobile, Tohome, Naniaba (or Gens des Fourches), Pensacola, Chatot, Tawasa, and the allies of the two last.

(3) Tunican group, including the Tunica, Koroa, Yazoo, Tioux, and Grigra.

(4) Chitimachan group, including only the Chitimacha.

(5) Atakapan group, including the Atakapa, Akokisa, Opelousa, and perhaps Bidai and a few other tribes of which we have little more than the names.

As stated above, the first and second of these are known to be related, and it may be added that relationship probably exists between the fourth and fifth, with which the Tunican group also shows certain points of resemblance, while they are perhaps responsible for the non-Muskhogean element in Natchez.

This classification is not final, and rests in part on circumstantial evidence only; therefore it will be proper for the writer to give his reason for placing each tribe in the group assigned to it. It should be understood that the only ones among them from which we have vocabularies approaching completeness are the Natchez, Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa. In 1907 the writer collected about eighty words from an old Houma woman, and a few words are to be found in the writings of French authors and elsewhere. The language of the remainder can be determined only by means of statements of early travelers and scanty bits of circumstantial evidence.

The relationship of Taënsa to Natchez was affirmed by all French writers who speak of their language, and no question would probably have been raised regarding it had it not been singled out about thirty years ago by an ambitious French youth as an occasion for putting forth a fraudulent grammar and dictionary. The story of this fraud and the controversy to which it gave rise is as follows:

At the commencement of the year 1880 the publishing house of Maisonneuve et Cie. received by mail a manuscript of six leaves entitled *Fragments de Littérature Tansa*, sent by M. J. Parisot, rue Stanislas, 37, at Plombières (Vosges). This manuscript was transmitted with a request to utilize it for the *Revue de Linguistique*. It was accordingly submitted to Prof. Julien Vinson, one of the editors of that publication, who wrote M. Parisot for further particulars regarding it and received a reply at some length in which the latter explained how the manuscript had come into his possession.

The appearance of these *Fragments*, under the title *Notes sur la Langue des Taensas*, was followed in 1881 by seven supposed Taënsa songs in the original, unaccompanied by translations, printed at Épinal under the title *Cancionero Americano*. A preface in Spanish was inserted, however, in which it was claimed that the texts had been collected in 1827 or 1828. This did not bear M. Parisot's name, but on writing to the publisher M. Adam, who had received a copy of the work, was referred to Parisot, pupil of the "Grand Séminaire de Saint-Dié." M. Adam then wrote to M. Ch. Leclerc, of the Maisonneuve publishing house, and by his advice on the 8th of May, 1882, he asked M. Parisot for the manuscripts in order to publish them in the *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*. M. Parisot, then aged 19 or 20, came to see M. Adam at Nancy in the course of the following July; in October he sent him the manuscript of the grammar and the printing began.

The article in the *Revue* and the pamphlet published at Épinal excited only local interest, but the grammar[a] was widely circulated and was acclaimed as a notable addition to our literature on the subject of Indian languages. The fact that Dr. A. S. Gatschet, a leading student of American languages, furnished an introduction rendered its acceptance all the more ready. In his work on Aboriginal American Authors, published the following year, Brinton speaks appreciatively of it and quotes one of the songs entire. In commenting on these songs he says: "Some of the songs of war and death are quite Ossianic in style, and yet they appear to be accurate translations. The comparatively elevated style of such poems need not cast doubt upon them" (pp. 48, 49). The comparison with Ossian was perhaps more significant than the commentator at that time realized, though even then he admitted that the Taënsa songs were unusual.

It was probably not long after this that the noted ethnologist began to change his mind regarding them, but it was not until March, 1885, that he came out against them with the direct charge of forgery. His article appeared in the *American Antiquarian* for that month and was entitled "The Taënsa grammar and dictionary; a deception exposed." This attack bore so heavily against the part of the compilation which embraced the Taënsa songs that Adam made no attempt to defend them, but in the three successive brochures which he issued in reply tried to prove that all of the material, especially the grammatical sections, had not been forged. These brochures were entitled *Le taensa a-t-il été forgé de toutes pièces? Réponse à M. Daniel Brinton; Le taensa n'a pas été forgé de toutes pièces, lettre de M. Friedrich Müller à Lucien Adam; Dom Parisot ne Produira pas le Manuscrit Taensa, lettre à M. Victor Henry*. These brought an answer from Brinton in the *American Antiquarian* for September, and in November of that year the whole controversy to date was noticed at length in *The Kansas City Review* (vol. IX, no. 4, pp. 253–254). The most thorough history of the case, however, embracing the earlier chapters, that had hardly been touched upon so far, was written by Prof. Julien Vinson under the title *La Langue Taensa*, in January, 1886, and published in the April issue of the *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparée*. Although he had first introduced Parisot to the public and was largely responsible for the publication of the grammar by Adam, Vinson now sided with Brinton, at least in the belief that the authenticity of the work had not yet been established. The *Revue* for January, 1888, contains a letter from Doctor Brinton, entitled *Linguistique Américaine*, in which he refers to several differences of opinion between himself and Doctor Gatschet, and closes with another reference to the Taënsa apropos of the introduction furnished by the latter gentleman. This brought out a *Réplique* from the noted philologist, in which he for the first time enters the Taënsa controversy in person, and a counter rejoinder in the October issue. The whole question was reviewed once more by Brinton in a special chapter in his Essays of an Americanist (pp. 452–467, 1890), and here the active controversy practically ended, apparently with neither side convinced. So much doubt was thrown upon the new material, however, that in making up his linguistic map of North America north of Mexico Powell excluded it from consideration, and it is probably regarded as fraudulent by most prominent ethnologists. At the same time, until very recently sufficient evidence had not been brought forward to absolutely discredit the grammar of Parisot and remove it from the category of possibilities. In determining the ethnological complexion of the lower Mississippi tribes and attempting so far as possible to recover their past history, it is most unpleasant to have to deal with a possibility of such radical importance, and it is therefore of the utmost consequence, if not to demonstrate the fraudulent or genuine character of the grammar, at least to properly classify the language of the Taënsa tribe itself. Rather unexpectedly material has recently come into the writer's hands which he believes to be decisive.

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[a] Grammaire et Vocabulaire de la Langue Taensa, *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*, IX, Paris, 1882.

Having reviewed the course of the controversy in outline it will be in order, before bringing in this new evidence, to take up the points brought forward pro and con in the articles above mentioned. Those adduced by Brinton in his initial attack were that no scholar of standing had had access to the original manuscript from which the material was taken; that the language could not have been recorded by a Spaniard, as claimed, because from the time when the Taënsa tribe was first known until their destruction "as minutely recorded by Charlevoix" in 1730–1740 they were under French influences entirely; no Spanish mission was among them, and no Spaniard in civil life could have remained among them without having been noticed, owing to the national jealousies everywhere prevalent at the time.[a] Turning to the grammar itself this critic finds that the pronunciation of Taënsa sounds is explained by means of the French, English, German, and Spanish. Now, inasmuch as neither M. Haumonté, among whose papers the manuscript was supposed to have been found, nor M. Parisot could have heard the language spoken, it is conceived that the original compiler must have had a knowledge of languages quite remarkable for the early part of the eighteenth century. He also finds references to the Nahuatl, Kechua, and Algonkin tongues, which must certainly have been introduced by the translator, although no explanation of this is vouchsafed. Regarding the structure of the language itself Doctor Brinton says:

> That an American language should have a distinctively grammatical gender; that it should have a true relative pronoun; that its numeral system should be based on the nine units in the extraordinarily simple manner here proposed; that it should have three forms of the plural; that its verbs should present the singular simplicity of these—these traits are, indeed, not impossible, but they are too unusual not to demand the best of evidence.[b]

The most convincing proof "as to the humbuggery of this whole business" he finds, however, in the Taënsa songs. According to these, the sugar maple is made to flourish in the Louisiana swamps; the sugar cane was raised by the Taënsa, "although the books say it was introduced into Louisiana by the Jesuits in 1761;" potatoes, rice, apples, and bananas were familiar to them, "and the white birch and wild rice are described as flourishing around the bayous of the lower Mississippi." To the argument that these might be mistranslations of misunderstood native words he asks what sort of editing it is "which could not only commit such unpardonable blunders, but send them forth to the scientific world without a hint that they do not pretend to be anything more than guesses?" The same ignorance of climatic conditions appears in the Calendar of the Taënsa, particularly in the references to snow and ice here and in other places. The style of the songs themselves is also "utterly unlike that reported from any other native tribe. It much more closely resembles the stilted and tumid imitations of supposed savage simplicity common enough among French writers of the eighteenth century."[c] As an example of this un-Indian style and the geographical ignorance accompanying it Brinton quotes one of these songs, "The Song of the Marriage," and comments upon it as follows:

> The Choctaws are located ten days' journey up the Mississippi, in the wild-rice region about the headwaters of the stream, whereas they were the immediate neighbors of the real Taënsa and dwelt when first discovered in the middle and southern parts of the present State of Mississippi. The sugar

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[a] *Amer. Antiq.*, VII, 109–110.

[b] Ibid., 110.

[c] Ibid., 111.

maple is made to grow in the Louisiana swamps, the broad-leaved magnolia and the ebony in Minnesota. The latter is described as the land of the myrtle and the former of the vine. The northern warrior brings feet rings and infant clothing as presents, while the southern bride knows all about boiling maple sap and is like a white birch. But the author's knowledge of aboriginal customs stands out most prominently when he has the up-river chief come with an ox cart and boast of his cows! After that passage I need say nothing more. He is, indeed, ignorant who does not know that not a single draft animal and not one kept for its milk was ever found among the natives of the Mississippi valley.[a]

In conclusion the writer recalls the grammar of a fictitious Formosa language brought forth by George Psalmanazar, and adds the statements of De Montigny, Gravier, and Du Pratz to the effect that the Taënsa spoke the Natchez language, which is known to be entirely distinct from that contained in the Taënsa Grammar. "Moreover," he says, "we have in old writers the names of the Taënsa villages furnished by the Taënsa themselves, and they also are nowise akin to the matter of this grammar, but are of Chahta-Muskoki derivation."[b]

Two of the three brochures which contain M. Adam's reply to this attack show in their titles a confession of weakness, since they merely maintain that the grammar had not been forged in all portions. In fact, M. Adam at once abandons any defense of the "texts," saying: "In my own mind I have always considered them the work of some disciple of the Jesuit fathers, who had taken a fancy to the Taënsa poetry."[c] The brochures also contain copies of correspondence between MM. Adam, Parisot, and others relative to the original manuscript which Adam demanded and Parisot declared to be no longer in his possession. It further developed that M. Haumonté, M. Parisot's maternal uncle, among whose papers the Taënsa manuscripts were supposed to have been found, was no linguist, and could have had nothing to do with the documents. Parisot furthermore admitted that the originals were not all in Spanish, and that he had written out and altered the grammar, besides augmenting the vocabulary with terms which had been translated only by conjectures. Not only was Parisot unable to produce the original, but a thorough search among the family papers on the part of his father failed to reveal anything of the sort. Nevertheless, M. Adam explained the presence of the manuscripts among M. Haumonté's papers by supposing that they had been left there by some visitor, M. Haumonté having kept a lodging house, and proceeded to defend the grammar itself by replying to the philological objections raised by Doctor Brinton. He supported his position by means of a letter from the noted German philologist, Friedrich Müller, who also gave it as his opinion that the grammar was not altogether fraudulent.

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[a] *Amer. Antiq.*, VII, 112–113.

[b] Ibid., 113.

[c] See p. 10.

After recapitulating the various concessions and showing up the weak points developed by the defense, Brinton meets the grammatical part of the French philologist's reply by stating that he had never denied the existence of the exceptional grammatical features he had referred to in American languages, but maintained that it was unlikely they should all occur in one language. He concludes his argument by saying that "even if some substructure will be shown to have existed for this Taënsa Grammar and texts (which, individually, I still doubt), it has been presented to the scientific world under conditions which are far from adequate to the legitimate demands of students."[a]

With this view Professor Vinson, the next contributor to the discussion, entirely concurs, and in detailing his early association with Parisot is able to show further discrepancies between the claims of that individual in earlier and later years.[b]

In his letter to the *Revue de Linguistique* for January, 1888, Brinton touches upon Taënsa long enough to expose several glaring blunders in the pamphlet of texts published at Épinal in 1881. This, occurring in connection with criticisms on certain opinions expressed by Dr. A. S. Gatschet, brought forth from the latter student the best defense of the Taënsa Grammar that has appeared. Gatschet agrees with Brinton, indeed, in his criticism of the Épinal pamphlet,[c] but attempts to defend the rest, including the texts thrown over by Adam, although he allows for the possibility of their fraudulent nature by saying that "the eleven songs might be the work of a forger without the language itself being necessarily unauthentic."[d] To the statement that the Taënsa did not survive the year 1740 he produces documentary evidence of their existence as late as 1812. Nor was it necessary that a "Spanish monk" should have recorded this language, since any Spaniard straying over from Pensacola, only 10 leagues from the later location of the Taënsa near Mobile, might have performed that service. Like M. Adam, Gatschet finds the exceptional grammatical forms cited by Brinton in various other American languages, and he meets the obstacle raised by references to various American and European languages by supposing that they had been inserted by M. Adam in revision. The mention of sugar cane, rice, apples, potatoes, bananas, cattle, and a cart are to be explained on the ground that the Taënsa had existed long after the introduction of those things. The month of December was called "the white month," not on account of the snow, but on account of the frost, which the critic himself had seen in Louisiana in parishes much farther south than that in which the Taënsa lived. The sugar maple is found not only in the north, but in mountainous sections of the south.[e]

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[a] *Amer. Antiq.*, VII, 276.

[b] *Revue de Linguistique*, XIX, 147–169.

[c] Ibid., 207.

[d] Ibid., XXI, 203–204.

[e] Ibid., 204–207.

In answer Brinton states that he has "nothing to say about M. Gatschet's advocacy of the Taënsa language. If," he adds, "he desires to employ his time in bolstering up the manufacturers of that bold forgery, posterity will reward him with a pitying smile."[a] In the later work before referred to he gives a sketch of the controversy but adds no new arguments.

In this discussion the opponents of the Taënsa Grammar, namely, Messrs. Brinton and Vinson, had made the following points: They had shown that the claimed original manuscript was not in the hands of the person by whom the linguistic material had been furnished nor among the documents of his family, that it could not have been entirely in Spanish as at first claimed, and that the grammar could not have been compiled by M. Haumonté, to whom it had been ascribed. M. Parisot was also shown to have been inconsistent in the statements he gave out from time to time. Thus, though he does not claim to have made more than one discovery of Taënsa manuscripts, in 1880 he possessed "only some principles of grammar, a fairly long list of words, two songs or stories, and the translation of the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and the *Credo*," all of which occupied 11 pages in the *Revue de Linguistique*, while in 1882 his material covered 42 larger pages and the two songs had swelled to 11. In 1880 he expressed himself as unable to complete an account of the grammar of the language for lack of material, but in 1882 he did that very thing. In 1880 he was unable to find any numbers above 8 except 10 and 60, while in 1882 9, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 30, 40, 50, 70, 80, 90, 100, 101, 110, 119, 200, 300, 1,000, 1,002, 1,881, 2,000, and 10,000 had made their appearance. During the same period the language had developed two dialects, five new alphabetic signs, and a dual not even hinted at in the beginning.

As suggested by Adam, the texts might have been put together by some priest or student for his own pleasure, strange as the undertaking would appear to be, but the rejection of this material as aboriginal tends to throw discredit on the rest, for if we admit that it had passed through the hands of some one willing to make such original use of it, why might not his creative faculty have been devoted to the manufacture of the whole? Gatschet's attempt to defend the climatic and other inconsistencies which these texts contain will hardly appeal to anyone who has examined them as a wise or well executed move. Admitting that the texts were collected in 1827 or 1828 as claimed for the seven published at Épinal, it is of course probable that the Taënsa were acquainted with the foreign fruits and vegetables there referred to, but it is questionable whether they would have introduced them prominently into their songs, and granted that they knew of the sugar maple, it is not conceivable that they should have treated it as a tree of every day knowledge or designated one of their months by its name. If the texts were recorded in the years mentioned, the Taënsa were then in central Louisiana not far from Red river, and were reduced to a very small band. By no possibility, therefore, could the Choctaw be represented as descending to them from the north. In fact there was but one time when the Choctaw ever did live north of them, and that was when the Taënsa were in the neighborhood of Mobile. Supposing that "The Song of the Marriage," which the writer has in mind, was composed at that period, are we to believe that the Choctaw chief came to Tensaw river for his bride, across Alabama and Tensas rivers, with an ox cart full of presents? But if this song must be placed at the period when the tribe was near Mobile "The Poisoned River" goes back to the very beginning of the eighteenth century, since it refers to wars between the Taënsa and the Yazoo, who were near neighbors at that time only. The poisoning of Tensas river, supposing that to have been possible, could, however, have had little effect on persons who did not live upon it, the home of the Taënsa having been on Lake St. Joseph.

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[a] *Revue de Linguistique*, XXI, 341.

The whole tone of the *Cancionero Taensa* is, however, so utterly un-Indian that no one familiar with Indians will accept for a moment songs in which one party gravely asks another whether his people know how to hunt buffalo and deer, whether there are squirrels in his country, and what plants grow there.

These being dismissed from consideration as at least subsequent compositions, we are reduced to a consideration of the grammar and vocabulary apart from the use that has been made of them in composition.

In one particular Doctor Brinton has made an egregious blunder, and that is in supposing that the Taënsa Indians had been destroyed in 1730–1740. If Charlevoix makes any such statement for the years mentioned the writer has yet to find it, and must suppose that Brinton is thinking of a reference to the Taënsa village site in Charlevoix's Journal (letter of January 10, 1722), in which the destruction is indeed affirmed.[a] Charlevoix was mistaken, however, the tribe being at that time in the neighborhood of Mobile and according to some accounts occupying 100 cabins. In 1764 they moved again to the west side of the Mississippi and settled on Red river, and about the time of the cession of Louisiana to the United States they sold their lands and moved south of Red river to Bayou Boeuf. Later still they sold their land there, but continued to live in the neighborhood for some time longer, being noted, as Gatschet states, as late as 1812. At this time they drop out of sight, but it is known that they moved farther south and settled on a small bayou at the head of Grand lake which came to be known by their name. Some afterward intermarried with the Chitimacha, and Chitimacha of Taënsa blood are still living, but the tribe, as such, has disappeared from sight, whether by death or migration being unknown. Brinton is mistaken, therefore, regarding the possibility of linguistic material having been collected from them in 1827 or 1828. The improbable part of the story is that a tribe which numbered but 25 men in 1805 should, twenty-two years later, and after all had been living together for a hundred years, retain two distinguishable dialects. There were, indeed, two tribes called Taënsa, though as yet the writer has found but one reference to the second under that name, but the statements of the grammar regarding them do not fit the facts. Gatschet, with strange inconsistency, strives to identify one division with the Tangipahoa, though at the same time admitting that these probably spoke a dialect of Choctaw.[a] The second Taënsa tribe, or "little Taënsas," spoken of by Iberville were another people who lived west of the Mississippi and were evidently identical with the Avoyel.[b] But while the languages spoken by the Taënsa proper and the Avoyel may have been two dialects of the same tongue, the tribes speaking them correspond not at all with those described by the grammar. According to that authority the northern dialect was current among those who spent most of their time in hunting and were less refined, while the southern dialect was among the more refined Taënsa living along the Mississippi. On the contrary, the more refined of these two tribes, Taënsa and Avoyel, were the former, who lived to the north but whose home was not along the Mississippi but on an oxbow cut-off west of it now known as Lake St. Joseph. The Avoyel, on the other hand, lived to the south and west on Red river. There is no evidence, however, that the Taënsa and Avoyel lived together in historic times, and in 1805 Sibley states that all that remained of the latter were 2 or 3 women on Washita river. The chance in 1827 of collecting the "more polished southern dialect," on which more stress is laid than on the other, would thus seem to have been very slight. As we have seen, it developed in the course of the controversy that all of the manuscripts could not have been in Spanish, but that even a small part of them should be in that language is surprising. During the Spanish occupation of Louisiana it is true that many Spaniards settled in the country, but the presence of a Spanish Taënsa manuscript in Europe would almost necessitate the supposition that it had been written by an intelligent Spanish traveler, and the records do not teem with instances of intellectual Spaniards burying themselves in the canebrakes of Louisiana after its cession to the United States. If, on the other hand, we consider the date given for the collection of the texts published at Épinal to be erroneous, we must argue in the face of one more inconsistency, and the change of base does not help us much, since Spanish influence over the whites of central Louisiana between 1764 and 1803 was little enough and still less over the Indians. Before that period they were always under French government, and it is not likely that a Pensacola Spaniard, lay or clerical, would have been tolerated in the tribe at that period.

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 178, 1851.

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[a] La Langue Taensa, xvii–xix, Paris, 1882.

[b] See p. 26.

The writer has not attempted a minute analysis of the language here presented, believing such an analysis not needed for a condemnation. Notwithstanding Adam's skillful reply, it must be admitted that the force of Brinton's grammatical argument is but slightly shaken. Take for instance the number nine, *vat*. This is a simple syllable and differs not at all in form in the two dialects, though smaller numbers such as three, five, and seven show such variation. Constancy in the form of this particular number is possible but unlikely, but where in North America shall we look for a word for nine composed of a simple syllable? In most of the languages with which the writer is familiar this numeral is indicated by a form meaning "ten less one," and in any case he does not recall a single instance of a simple syllable presenting no resemblance to the other numerals being used for nine. Brinton's objections to the "three forms for the plural" and the simplicity of the verbs appears to the writer not well taken, for, as Gatschet points out, the former might be only variations of one form while simplicity in verb stems is not so uncommon as Brinton seems to suppose. The existence of a pronominal form used like our relative is somewhat remarkable, but far less wonderful than the entire morphological difference between it and the forms for the interrogative and indefinite. This distinctiveness is, indeed, "hard to swallow." The existence of a distinctively grammatical gender, by which Brinton means a grammatical sex gender, is also singular, but the fact instead of being an argument against the authenticity of the material has become one of the strongest arguments in its favor through the discovery by Doctor Gatschet of a sex gender in the Tunica language which was spoken in the immediate neighborhood. More remarkable still, and a coincidence strangely overlooked by Gatschet in arguing for the genuineness of Taënsa, is the fact that the two agree in distinguishing gender in the second persons as well as in the third. When we consider that there is no evidence that the Tunica language was recorded in any form until Gatschet visited the tribe in 1885, three years after the appearance of the Taënsa Grammar, we must admit that, if the latter is altogether a forgery, fate was very kind to the perpetrators. Looking deeper, however, we find a marked contrast between Taënsa and Tunica gender, for while gender in the latter language divides men and women and masculine and feminine animals, it also divides inanimate objects, such as sun and moon, wind, clouds, rocks, and trees, while in Taënsa the feminine includes all inanimate things, the male being confined to men and male animals. This constitutes a point of difference between the two languages as wide as if no gender existed. Although Algonquian languages distinguish between animate and inanimate and Iroquois presents analogies to Taënsa in this particular, it is natural to Indians to personify inanimate objects sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine, and therefore the Taënsa line of demarcation is less probable than the Tunica one which agrees in this particular very closely with the Chinook system. The method of distinguishing masculine and feminine pronominal forms is also decidedly unlike, Taënsa employing a suffix while Tunica uses entirely distinct forms. A difference not mentioned by Brinton which marks this language off from anything in its immediate vicinity is the presence of a long series of instrumental prefixes, a phenomenon common in Siouan dialects and in many others but nonexistent in those spoken along the lower Mississippi. Perhaps the strongest objection from a linguistic point of view is one that would not at first occur to most students, and that is the absolute lexical difference between this language and any of its supposed neighbors. However self-sufficient a language may be it is almost certain to have a few borrowed words, and the languages of the south are no exceptions in this particular. Several words, notably those for 'war-club,' 'buffalo,' 'opossum,' and 'fish,' are common to a number of related stocks, but in this new grammar we recognize not one of them, nor indeed more than two or three slight resemblances to any American language whatever. The only exceptions are, perhaps, in the case of the pronominal stems for the second and third persons singular, in which sounds *wi* and *s* occur prominently, agreeing closely with those appearing in Tunica. The phonetics are no less strange, not only on account of their number but from the occurrence in one language of *v*, or *f*, and *r*, which elsewhere on the lower Mississippi are confined to different stocks.

The writer has left until the last, because this is the point on which new light has recently been thrown, the direct statements of early travelers and missionaries regarding the Taënsa language of their day. Brinton, it will be remembered, adduced the testimony of three writers to the effect that the Taënsa language was the same as that of the Natchez. This testimony is by De Montigny in 1699,[a] by Gravier in 1700,[b] and by Du Pratz, whose information dates from 1718 to 1734,[c] and their meaning is plain and unqualified. Gatschet replied to this argument, however, by saying that at the time when these travelers wrote none of them was personally familiar with both tribes. Thus De Montigny had visited the Taënsa, but not the Natchez; Gravier had not visited the Taënsa or Natchez, but had evidently derived his information from St. Cosme, who had lately settled among the latter people, but was not necessarily familiar with the former; and Du Pratz was sufficiently familiar with the Natchez, but had not, so far as we know, ever seen a Taënsa, the Taënsa tribe having in his time moved to Mobile bay. It was quite possible, therefore, as argued by Gatschet, that these men had merely assumed a linguistic connection to exist on the strength of well-known resemblances between the tribes in manners and customs. Against the new evidence, however, no such objection can be made.

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 76, 1861.

[b] Ibid., 136.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 213, 225.

In order to understand the strength of this new evidence, which emanates from missionary sources, it will be necessary to review in a few words the movements of the early missionaries on the lower Mississippi. After the Recollect fathers who accompanied La Salle and Tonti, the first missionaries to descend below the country of the Quapaw were three missionary priests named De Montigny, Davion, and La Source, sent out under direction of the ecclesiastical center at Quebec. These descended the river in the summer of 1698 as far as the Tunica and the Taënsa, but returned to the Quapaw without going any farther, and it is from the letter of De Montigny, dated from the latter tribe on January 2, 1699, and published in Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi,[a] that the statement referred to by Brinton and Gatschet relative to the Taënsa and Natchez languages is taken. Later in the year 1699 De Montigny and Davion again visited the tribes below and began missions among the Taënsa and Tunica, respectively. In June they voyaged down the Mississippi together, accompanied by four Shawnee Indians, two Taënsa, and some Canadians, visited the Natchez and the Houma, and reached Iberville's new settlement at Biloxi July 1.[b] A few days later they returned to their charges, and Davion continued to minister to his chosen tribe for about twenty years. De Montigny, on the other hand, had determined to transfer the seat of his labors to the Natchez as being more important, and seized the opportunity presented by Iberville's visit to the Taënsa to return with him to the former tribe.[c] Later on, however, he left these also, repaired to Biloxi, and accompanied Iberville on his return to France.[d] Soon after his departure, if not indeed before it took place, St. Cosme came down from the upper Mississippi to assume his duties and remained there until December, 1706, when he was killed by a Chitimacha war party when on his way to Biloxi.[a] For one reason or another no further missionary efforts were made among the Natchez or Taënsa except incidentally in connection with white congregations, and it is evident that of all men De Montigny and St. Cosme, especially the latter, were best fitted to pass upon the relationship of Natchez to the language of its neighbors. As already noted, we have the direct or indirect opinion of both of these men on the question before us, but, what has hitherto not been known, we have their opinion expressed a second time and in a way to which the same objections can not be applied as were raised by Gatschet.

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[a] Pp. 75–79.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 16, 1831; Margry, Découvertes, IV, 451–452.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 417, 1880.

[d] Ibid., 430–431.

At the Fifteenth Congress of Americanists held in Quebec in 1906, M. l'abbé Amédée Gosselin, professor in Laval University, presented a paper entitled, "*Les Sauvages du Mississipi (1698–1708) d'après la Correspondance des Missionnaires des Missions Étrangères de Québec.*"[b] The information contained in this is drawn partly from the original documents published by Shea, but in greater part from letters which still remain in manuscript, as they were sent by the missionary priests to their superior, the Bishop of Quebec. From these most valuable information is adduced regarding the population, languages, religion, government, warfare, character, manners, and customs of the tribes of that region, much of which will be quoted in this paper. The only reference to the language of the Taënsa, however, is to the effect that "the Tonicas [Tunica], the Taënsa, and the Natchez spoke the same language, but it differed from that of the Chicachas [Chickasaw] and that of the Akansas [Quapaw]."[c] As authority for this statement the letters of De Montigny of January 2 and August 25, 1699, are cited. The coupling of Tunica with the other two languages being at variance with statements in De Montigny's letter of January 2, and so far as Tunica and Natchez are concerned at variance with known facts, the writer supposed that the missionary must have expressed different views in his unpublished letter of August 25. In order to settle this question, and if possible to elicit further information regarding the linguistic position of the tribe under discussion, he addressed a letter to Professor Gosselin, calling attention to the matter and asking for any excerpts relating to the language of the Taënsa which the unpublished letters might contain. Professor Gosselin very kindly and promptly replied to his request. He explained that the erroneous statement was the result of an unfortunate confusion in his own notes and did not exist in the originals. In answer to the second query he inclosed several extracts in the original which are of the utmost value and contain the decisive information alluded to. It is to be hoped that the whole of these important manuscripts will soon be given to the public, but for the present the following rough translations will serve well enough for our purpose:

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 101, 1831.

[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 31–51.

[c] Ibid., 38.

From a letter of De Montigny, written August 25, 1699, page 6

The 12th [of June] we reached the Natchez, or, as others call them, the Challaouelles, who are almost twenty leagues from the Taënsas. * * * They were warring at that time with almost all the nations which are on the Mississippi * * * and out of consideration for us, although they were at war with the Taënsas, they gave those [Taënsa] who were with us a very good reception. We told the chief that the black robes, like ourselves, were not warriors, that we had not come to see them in that spirit, and that on the contrary we exhorted every one to peace, that they would know it well one day when I should know their language, which is the same as that of the Taënsas (*qui est la méme que celle des Taënsas*) and then, after having made them some little presents, we separated very well satisfied with each other.

From a letter of St. Cosme, August 1, 1701

I have past the winter among the Natchez; I have applied myself a little to the language and I find myself in a position to compose something of the catechism and prayers. I have made a journey to the Tahensas, distant 12 leagues from the Natchez. As that village is much diminished I think no missionary will be needed there, since it now numbers only about 40 cabins, but it is necessary to try to draw them to the Natchez, the languages being the same (*n'étant que d'une même langue*) * * *.

From a memoir without name of author or date, but which goes back to the first years of the eighteenth century

After the departure of Mons. Tonty, M. De Montigny and the two other missionaries pursued their way as far as the Tonicats, where they thought it well to make an establishment and to leave there Mons. Davion, and from there to the Tahensas and Natchez, which have the same language (*qui ont la même langue*), and are only a day's journey apart. * * *

The last of these may have been based on De Montigny's letters and would therefore contain only secondhand information, but the others leave little room for doubt. Before writing the former De Montigny had visited one tribe in company with members of the other, and had had abundant opportunity to hear the two peoples converse together. Had they been of alien speech they would not have employed Natchez but the Mobilian jargon, and he would hardly have failed to observe the fact. St. Cosme's evidence is yet stronger, since at the time of writing he had had the advantage of one winter's study of Natchez; nor is it probable that he would have made a recommendation to his superior to draw the two into one mission until he had fully satisfied himself that their languages were indeed identical. It should be added that in other excerpts from this unpublished correspondence, sent to the writer by Professor Gosselin, occur references to the linguistic affinities and divergences of the Chickasaw, Tunica, Houma, Quinipissa, Osage, Quapaw, Kansa, and Missouri, and in the light of all our present knowledge not a single mistake is made. The information of the priests extends even to the point of determining the closer relationship of Osage, Quapaw, and Kansa to one another than of any of them to the Missouri. If this were true of the comparatively remote tribes, why should they have blundered regarding the nearer ones?

The writer had hoped to render assurance doubly sure by discovering some living representative of the tribe in question from whom a few words in the old Taënsa language might be gathered. From the Chitimacha, at Charenton, La., he learned that the father of the oldest woman of that tribe was a Taënsa, and that she herself had formerly been able to use the language. A few days after receiving this intelligence he called upon this woman and endeavored in every way to stimulate her memory into the resurrection of at least a word of the old tongue, but in vain. All that he could learn was that *ki'pi*, which signifies 'meat' in Chitimacha, had another meaning in Taënsa, but what it was she could not say. This is indefinite enough, but perhaps it may have really been the Natchez infinitive ending *-kip*, *-kipi*, *-kup*, *-kupi*, which is employed very frequently, and consequently may have retained a place in the memory after everything else had gone. At any rate *ki'pi* is a combination of sounds not conspicuous, if indeed it is existent, in Parisot's Taënsa Grammar.

The writer is informed that not merely the old woman just referred to had once been familiar with Taënsa, but a number of the other Chitimacha Indians, and the old negro Baptiste himself, from whom Doctor Gatschet obtained practically all of his Chitimacha linguistic material. Thus, by a curious irony of fate, in the same year in which the grammar which occasioned so much discussion appeared, its principal American defender was in communication with a man who possessed information which would have nipped the controversy in the bud, and yet he never appears to have been aware of the fact.

Summing up, then, we find the following state of affairs: So far as is known, the original Taënsa manuscript has never been seen by any person except the gentleman who professed to copy from it. The statements made by that person regarding it in 1880 and 1882 do not agree. The "Taënsa songs" are un-Indian in tone and contain geographical, botanical, and ethnological blunders which Gatschet has not satisfactorily explained, while Adam has conceded that they are later compilations of "some disciple of the Jesuit fathers who had taken a fancy to the Taënsa poetry." The language itself is in almost every respect unlike any in the region where it is supposed to have been spoken and contains no words that may be recognized as having been borrowed from any of those tongues. That it does contain certain features found only in the neighboring but subsequently discovered Tunica, combined with a few lexical similarities with that language, is the strongest argument in its favor, but on looking closer these resemblances are found to be very superficial. Finally, the direct statements of several early French writers must be cited, including two missionaries personally acquainted with both tribes, that the Taënsa language was identical with that of the Natchez, which we know to have been quite different from the one brought out by Parisot. It may be safely set down, therefore, that if the language in the work under discussion was ever a living speech it was not that of the Taënsa, and since, in consequence, the texts, containing as they do references to this tribe, must have been the work of white men, we may conclude with probability that the whole of the material had the same origin and is entirely fraudulent.

The only direct statement bearing on the relationship of the Avoyel is given by Pénicaut, an authority none too accurate, but in this particular borne out by a considerable mass of circumstantial evidence, all of which points in the same direction. He says:

> Their cabins are made like those of the Natchez and covered in the same manner. They have a similar manner of life, having remained a very long time with them, until they were constrained to leave on account of the wars which they have had with each other, which obliged them to seek refuge in this place.[a]

It will be observed that this does not necessarily assume an organic connection between the two tribes under discussion, but it does not entirely preclude that supposition and, if any credence whatever is to be given to it, it certainly establishes a former proximity. The circumstantial evidence is furnished by their own name and the names applied to them by neighboring tribes and recorded by various writers. In the Margry edition of Pénicaut, from which the above paragraph is taken, they are called "Toux Enongogoula," but in that translated and published by French "Tassenogoula,"[b] which is evidently the name which appears in the journal of Iberville's first voyage as "Tassenocogoula" and is applied to Red river.[c] Pénicaut translates it 'People of the Rocks,'[d] but it is evident that it should rather be 'Flint people,' 'flint' in Choctaw being *tasąnnuk*, according to Byington, while 'rock' is *tąli*. From this it would also appear that Iberville's form of the tribal name is the best. It is furthermore significant that this interpretation agrees closely with the Tunica name for the same tribe, *Shĭ'xkal-tīni*, 'Flint-[arrow]-point-people.' La Harpe (1718) refers to them as the "Tamoucougoula, otherwise called Anoy,"[a] and probably the first of these names is a misreading by Margry, or some copyist, of Tassenocogoula. The other name in just this form does not appear elsewhere, but it is evident that it should be Avoy, *v* having been misread *n*. That being the case, it would be only a shortened form of Avoyel, or Avoyelles, the name applied by Du Pratz (1718–1734),[b] Morgan (1767),[c] Sibley (1805),[d] and all the late writers, and that borne by a Louisiana parish in the region where these people formerly lived. From the French aspect of the plural form of this word many have assumed that it was derived from that language, and Gatschet has interpreted it as a diminutive of *avoie*, "small vipers."[e] The designation of an Indian tribe by a word taken from the French language is very unusual in Louisiana, however, and this fact, combined with the absolute silence of the very earliest French travelers regarding the significance of the name, renders it practically certain that it was of purely native origin, probably that which the tribe applied to itself. If this were the case their language can hardly have been related to Mobilian or no alternative term would have been necessary. Not only does it differ from words in the ordinary Muskhogean dialects, however, but, on the other hand, it presents a striking likeness to some tribal and town names among the Natchez, particularly to an alternative term applied to the Natchez themselves, Challaouelles (De Montigny),[f] Chelouels,[g] Techloel, Theloël, Thécoel, or Theloelles (Iberville).[h] The *l* or *ll* near the end in all of these is probably the Natchez auxiliary *l* or *l* which is a conspicuous feature of the language. A point of further interest in this connection is the phonetic resemblance between the first two letters of Avoyel and the common Natchez term for "stone." As given by Gatschet this is *u'fa*, *û'fă*, or *uf*,[i] but Pike has *oh*,[i] and the writer does not feel sure that a pure *f* sound, even of bilabial character, exists in this tongue.[j] This particular word he hears as *u* or *o* followed by a palatal aspirate *x*. At the same time, the nature of the sound itself is such that it could readily be heard and recorded *f* or *v* by a European, as indeed was done by Gatschet. It is a plausible suggestion, therefore, that Avoyel has the same meaning in Natchez as the Mobilian or Tunica term, 'People of the Rocks' or 'Flint people,' though in the one case the ordinary word for

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 497.
[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 116, 1869.
[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 178–179, 1880.
[d] Ibid., v, 497.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 249.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 241.

[c] Rept. of 8th Int. Geog. Cong., 954, 1904.

[d] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1088, 1852.

[e] Bu. Am. Eth., Bulletin 30, pt. 1, 118.

[f] MS., Laval Univ.

[g] Jour. *Le Marin*, Margry, Découvertes, IV, 269.

[h] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 155, 179, 409.

[i] B. A. E., MSS.

[j] The existence of an *f* was assumed by the writer in his paper on the ethnological position of the Natchez Indians (*Amer. Anthrop.*, IX, 513–528) on the authority of Gatschet before he had heard the language spoken.

'rock' appears to be used and in the other the word for 'flint.' Still other evidence is furnished by Iberville in the journal of his second voyage to Louisiana. Under date of the 5th of March, when he was in the Houma village, he says, "There were with them about 40 Little Taënsas, who had come to see them and to offer their services against the Bayogoulas. These Taënsas are wanderers, living ordinarily three days' journey west of this village. * * *"[a] The position indicated would place them on lower Red river or its southern effluents, and since there was no good location for a tribe short of Marksville prairie and we nowhere hear of such a tribe again, it is a fair presumption that the "Little Taënsas" were one and the same people with the Avoyel. That being the case, the relationship of the latter to the Taënsa proper, or "Great Taënsas," and therefore to the Natchez, becomes almost a matter of course.

Our first information regarding the interrelationship of the Muskhogean tribes proper is the following in Iberville's journal of his first expedition to Louisiana: "The Oumas, Bayogoulas, Theloël [i. e., Natchez], Taënsas, the Coloas, the Chycacha, the Napissa, the Ouachas [i. e., Washa], Choutymachas, Yagenechito, speak the same language, and they and the Bilochy and Pascoboula understand each other."[b] This is erroneous, since it includes, besides Muskhogean tribes proper, the Natchez and Taënsa of the Natchez group, and the Chitimacha. His reference to the Biloxi can not be so justly criticised, however, since he merely states that they and the Pascagoula made themselves understood by the rest. Iberville's error is evidently due first to the fact that all of these tribes could converse with one another in the Mobilian trade language, and secondly to his ignorance of most of the tribes of which he speaks. He had visited the Houma and the Bayogoula in person, and had met some Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Washa, and a single Taënsa, but his acquaintance with these had extended over only a few hours and gave him very little opportunity to hear them converse among themselves. The others he knew merely by report. The journalist of Iberville's second vessel, *Le Marin*, says "The village [of the Bayogoula] is composed of two nations, which are the Mongoulachas and the Bayogoulas, which have the same language."[c] Three months after this time the missionary priests De Montigny and Davion descended the Mississippi from their posts higher up to Biloxi, and in an unpublished letter narrating the events of this voyage De Montigny says, "The 14 [of June, 1699] we arrived among the Oumats, who are much lower down than the Natchez. * * * This village is of about one hundred cabins; their language is the same as that of the Kinipissas, the Chicachas, and many other nations, being one of the most widely extended in this country. . . ."[a] At the time of his next ascent of the Mississippi, the year following, Iberville's information has improved, thanks to the industry of his brother, Bienville, who had remained in the country during his absence. Speaking of the Natchez, whom he was visiting at the time of writing, he says:

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 408–409, 1880.
[b] Ibid., 184.
[c] Ibid., 262.

> This language is different from that of the Oumas. There is not one of this latter nation who speaks it. We make ourselves understood by means of my brother [Bienville], who begins to make himself understood in Bayogoula, in Ouma, Chicacha, Colapissa, and [the language] of the three nations which are on the branch of the river, which is but the same [stream]; [they] show little difference.[b]

"The three nations which are on the branch of the river" can be no other than the Washa, Chawasha, and Okelousa who lived, or were supposed to live, on or near Bayou La Fourche. In Iberville's journal of his third voyage occurs the following: "I also sent with the chief of the Chicachas the little Saint Michel, who speaks Ouma very well, which is almost the same thing as Chicacha, in order that he may become accomplished in that tongue."[c] A number of years later Du Pratz tells us that the Acolapissa "speak a language which approaches that of the Tchicachas,"[d] and the Chakchiuma, Ofo, and Taposa "do not pronounce the *r*'s at all, and appear to be branches of the Tchicachas, so much the more as they speak their language."[e]

Regarding the Mobile tribes our first information is again from Iberville. On his visit to the Tohome (March 9, 1702) he remarks: "These savages speak the language of the Bayogoulas; at least there is little difference."[f] Le Page du Pratz, after discussing the tribes which were settled about Mobile bay in his time, the Chatot, Tohome, Taënsa, and Mobile, adds:

> All these little nations were in peace at the arrival of the French, and are so still, because the nations which are to the east of Mobile protect them from the incursions of the Iroquois; the Tchicachas, moreover, regard them as their brothers, because they have almost the same language as well as those to the east of Mobile who are their neighbors.[g]

We are to understand that the Taënsa are to be excepted from this description, for Du Pratz has just declared them to be a branch of the Natchez.

Regarding the Bayogoula, Houma, and Chakchiuma languages, moreover, we have a slight amount of additional information. In the first place Iberville records that the Bayogoula called his ships *pinanis*, evidently from the Choctaw word *peni*, 'canoe,' 'boat,'[a] while an animal represented in their temple and evidently the opossum is called *choucoüacha*, i. e., *cukuaca*, the Choctaw diminutive of *cukata*, 'opossum.'[b] Gravier (1700) tells us that the Houma called their sacred fire *loüak* or *loughé*,[c] which is, as we know, the word for 'fire' in Choctaw, and finally the writer, as has been noted, was enabled to collect about 80 words from an old Houma woman which are little different from the equivalent Choctaw expressions. The correctness of most of these was confirmed by another old woman, yet it is evident on comparing the list with their Choctaw equivalents that some errors have crept in, owing to the defective memories of the informants. Other variations may be dialectic. The words are as follows:

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[a] Referred to by Gosselin in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 38.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 412.

[c] Ibid., 521.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 219.

[e] Ibid., 226.

[f] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 514.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 214, 1758.

bear	ni′ta
big	tcî′to
black	lū′sa
blackberry	tcakla′
boy (*see* son)	
bread	palaska′
chair	di′asa
come, to	mete′
corn	tântce′
cow	waka′
crane	watonla′
crawfish	saktce′
cypress tree	ca^{n}kolo′
daughter, my	matayi′k
deer	ese′
dog	ofe′
duck	fạtcô^{n}se′
eat, to	apa′
eye	niskî′n
fat (*see* pine)	niya′
father, my	a^{n}ke′
fire	lua′k
fish	nạni′
five (*should be* six; *see* four)	hana′le
flour (“du mais pilé”)	dadjini′
foot	eye′
four (*should be* five)	dạła′pe
girl, little	dēkose′
go, to	mā′ya
grandfather	fo′fo
grandmother	gwini′
great (*see* big)	
gun, his	tanônpa′
head	nạskobo′
hen	pakitelo′
him	ina′k
his (*see* gun)	
hog	cu′gha
horse	su′ba
house	tcu′ka (big house, tcu′ka tcî′to)
kettle (*see* pot)	
knife	ko′ncak (big knife, ko′ncak tcî′to)
land	yakni′
leave, to	mā′ya
little (*see* girl *and* man)	
long,	falaỵa′
look, to	pe′sa
man	ata′k
man, a big	tcabe′ tcî′to
man, a small	titokio′kma
man, a white	a′tak na′holo
moon	ase′ nina′k
mosquito	saponto′
mother, my	aina′
mulberry	ē′li
my (*see* father, mother, son, daughter)	
ocean	oke′ lawafe′na
one	tcafa′
owl	opa′
pine (*bois gras*)?	ete′ niya′
pirogue	pe′na
plate	yâ^{n}pa′
pot	sote′

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 70, 1875.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 170; Creek Mig. Leg., 113, 1884. c=English *sh*.

[c] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 144.

rabbit	tcu′kfe
rattlesnake	sănte′ lo
red	ho′ma
return, to (*see* come)	
rice	unu′c
six (*see* five)	
small (*see* little)	
snake	sănte′
son, my	amonce′
sun	aise′
three	dotce′nu
tiger cat	kowê′
tornado, big wind	monhele′ me′nte
tree (any kind)	nasape′
turkey	pakī′t
two	to′klu *or* do′klu
water	oke′
whisky	oke′ lua′k ("fire water")
white	ā′ta
wind (*see also* tornado)	monhele′
woman	daiyī′k
If you want to eat, *or* do you want to eat?	espate′ bana′
You do not know anything	nakio′
Look! the man is coming	a′tak mê′nte pe′sa

Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that the Houma and Chakchiuma were parts of one original tribe, the difference in their names having been brought about by an abbreviation of one of them. *Chakchiuma*, or *saktci-homa*, as it is more correctly spelled, signifies "red crawfish," while *houma* (or *homa*) means simply "red;" but we are informed by Dumont that the red crawfish was the war emblem of the Houma,[a] and the old Indian woman from whom the words above given were obtained seemed to know of this also. It is worthy of mention, too, that the chroniclers of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi give the name of that tribe, which had destroyed the Tangipahoa, sometimes as "Chouchouma"[b] and sometimes as Houma,[c] though we know that the latter tribe was the one intended. Although he does not mention their language specifically, Adair states that the Chakchiuma had come from west of the Mississippi in company with the Choctaw and the Chickasaw, and had been compelled to settle between the two other tribes, indicating plainly that the three were supposed to be related.[d] This fact is confirmed by Choctaw testimony recorded by Mr. H. B. Cushman.[e]

With the exception of Iberville's first statement regarding the languages of the lower Mississippi,[f] and Du Pratz's natural but erroneous supposition that the Ofo were related to the Chickasaw,[g] all that the early writers and missionaries have to say of the speech of these tribes is borne out both by the mutual agreement of the statements themselves and by later information from survivors. The Muskhogean relationship of the Bayogoula, Quinipissa or Mugulasha, Acolapissa, Houma, Chakchiuma, Mobile, Tohome, and Chatot can scarcely be doubted. The Taposa are always spoken of as closely allied with the Chickasaw, and we know from Du Pratz that their language was unlike that of the Koroa and Yazoo of the lower Yazoo.[a] It is a fair inference, therefore, that it was Muskhogean, though the statement can not be made absolute. For the Ibitoupa a short distance lower on Yazoo river we have still less evidence, but the name is readily translatable into Choctaw, and its position points to Choctaw, or rather to Chickasaw, affinities. La Harpe, in 1722, reported a tribe called Choula ("Fox" in Choctaw) living 25 or 30 leagues above the Yazoo and their allies.[b] This would place them close to the territory formerly occupied by the tribe just considered, which at the time of La Harpe's visit had moved higher up, above the Chakchiuma, and this fact, combined with their subsequent disappearance from history, suggests that the Choula may have been a band of Ibitoupa, who remained a while in the ancient territory of the tribe after the main body had moved away. Or it is possible that they were a branch of the neighboring Chakchiuma, since Fox appears among the names of chiefs in that tribe. At any rate, there is no good evidence that there was ever a permanent, well-recognized tribe called Choula. For the Tangipahoa our information is almost equally scanty, but the name itself is plainly Choctaw, and Iberville was told at the Bayogoula town that "the village of the Tangibaos . . . [formerly] made one of the seven [villages] of the Quinipissas," who at that time did not number more than six.[c] By "Quinipissas" Iberville means in this place Acolapissa, since at the time he supposed the two to be identical. It is therefore natural to suppose that the language of the Tangipahoa agreed closely with that of the Acolapissa. The Washa, Chawasha, and Okelousa are spoken of as "allied" and "wandering people of the seacoast."[d] Baudry de Lozières appears to class them temperamentally with the Chitimacha and Atakapa in contradistinction to the more industrious and warlike Houma and Acolapissa, and therefore the writer was at first inclined to regard them as related to one of the first-mentioned tribes, supposing that the Okelousa must be identical with the Opelousa of later writers. Okelousa and Opelousa (or Abalusa), however, have well-recognized but distinct meanings in Choctaw, and it hardly appears likely that a mistake has been made, especially since Du Pratz refers to the Okelousa later and gives an explanation of their name,[e] while we have independent references to Opelousa from about the same period. Again, almost the first notice we have of the Washa is in company with the Bayogoula, and after the French had established themselves upon the Mississippi the Chawasha and Washa remained on good terms with them. When the

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 184.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, I, 604.

[c] Ibid., 563.

[d] Adair, Hist. Am. Ind., 66, 352, 1875.

[e] Hist. of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians, 242, 1899.

[f] See p. 26.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.
[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311, 1831.
[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 168.
[d] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 18.
[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 241.

Chitimacha war broke out, in 1707, they and the Bayogoula furnished three-fourths of the native contingent in the first Chitimacha expedition, and the former acted as guides for the party.[a] In 1718 they came to the Mississippi to live, and subsequently remained on or near it, instead of retiring westward among the Chitimacha or the Atakapa.[b] Finally, there is reason to believe that they united with the other small Muskhogean tribes of the lower Mississippi, the Houma, Acolapissa, and Bayogoula, and accompanied them to the seacoast of the present Terre Bonne and La Fourche parishes. There a lake still bears their name on the atlases, although it appears to be unknown by that term in the immediate locality. When we add to these facts Iberville's statement, above quoted, that there was little difference between the languages spoken by the Bayogoula, Houma, Chickasaw, Acolapissa, and that of these three tribes[c] there appears to be very good circumstantial grounds for considering them Muskhogean. If not, they would form the only exception to the correctness of Iberville's statement; at the same time it must not be forgotten that Bienville, from whom the information came, had spent but a few hours among the Washa, who received him in an unfriendly manner, and that he had not apparently met any representatives of the other two tribes.

On Pascagoula river, above the Biloxi, lived the tribe from which this stream received its name, and the Moctobi. The Moctobi are referred to only in the earliest documents, and probably formed a subdivision of the Biloxi, or Pascagoula, unless, indeed, it was a synonym for the name of one of those tribes. Although the Pascagoula are frequently mentioned, not the slightest hint is given regarding their language, and since the Biloxi have been discovered to be Siouan it is now commonly thought that the intimate association of the Pascagoula with them argued for a similar origin. No living Pascagoula are known to the Biloxi still in Rapides parish, but a considerable number of them moved to Angelina county, Tex., before the year 1817,[d] and settled not far from the Alibamu. Hoping that a few of these might still be found, the writer, in November, 1908, stopped at Livingston, Tex., to look for them. By the merest accident he had the good fortune to meet near that place two Indians of Pascagoula descent, who, although brothers, are called by different names—Tom Johnson and Sam Lockhart. The father of these men was a Biloxi, pronounced by them Atabalô´ktcî; their mother, a Pascagoula, and they asserted that there were no other descendants of the latter tribe among the Indians of Polk county. The rest they declared had "gone back to Opelousas." As the parents of these men had died when both were young, they could tell little about the languages which they had used, but after considerable thought Johnson recalled the following words, though he could not be certain whether they belonged to his father's language or to that of his mother:

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 102.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 557.

[c] See p. 27.

[d] Morse, Report to the Sec. of War, 373, 1822.

Nogwa′, mad.
Noksompa′, anything wild.
Î′no î′nkê, my father.
To′pa, sick.
Tcîtokso′, *or* îskîtî′nî, little.
Î′no iskê′, my mother.
Mạlelî′, to run (like a horse or other animal).
Tạkobe′, lazy.
Pû′skus tcîtokso′, babies.[a]

Tcîtokso′ was said to be used more often than *îskîtî′nî*. The most of these are at once recognizable as Choctaw. The exceptions are *to′pa*, which perhaps really means 'bed;' *tạkobe′*, which resembles *takoba*, 'belly,' and *tcîtokso′*, which may, however, mean "what is not large." Since these words are not Biloxi, it follows either that they belonged to the Pascagoula language, which would thus have been a Muskhogean dialect, or, what is more probable, to the Mobilian trade language. In the latter case, however, the fact that it was employed by a Biloxi and a Pascagoula in conversation is evidence that the languages of the two tribes were not enough alike to enable members of the two to converse easily. This would indicate that the Pascagoula language was probably not Siouan, and that being the case the chances are in favor of a Muskhogean relationship, all the more that the name which this tribe always bears is plainly Choctaw.

The Naniaba, sometimes called Gens des Fourches, because they lived opposite the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers, are spoken of in but few places. They were evidently a division either of the Mobile or the Tohome. The Pensacola lived about the bay of the same name. They early disappeared from history, and all the evidence we have regarding their relationship is their Choctaw name, *Pa^{n}ca-okla*, 'Hair people,' and the fact that they were surrounded on all sides by tribes of known Muskhogean lineage.

Beyond them, on the lower course of Apalachicola river, was a group of tribes known to the Spaniards by the same name as the stream itself. Iberville intimates that before 1702 some of these had joined the lower Creeks in order to trade with the English,[b] but a map secured by the historian Berkeley in 1708 from a Tawasa Indian who had been carried away captive, and reproduced by D. I. Bushnell in the *American Anthropologist*, gives the following 10 "nations" or villages as existing on that river just before the year 1706:[c] Towasa, Socsoóky, Poúhka, Tomoóka, Sowóolla, Aulédly, Ephippick, Ogolaúghoos, Choctóuh, and Sonepáh. Towasa and Choctóuh are the Tawasa and Chatot, respectively, but the remainder can not be identified very satisfactorily. Mooney suggests that Sowóolla is perhaps what was afterward the Lower Creek town of Sawokli, Poúhka the later Alibamu settlement of Pawokti, and Tomoóka an exiled village of the Timucua (called by the English Tomoco) which had been driven out of Florida. Excepting this last suggestion, evidence regarding these people points to relationship with the Hitchiti and the Alibamu, that is, to the "Stinkard" element among the Creeks. Thus the Tawasa are known to have united with the Alibamu. Pawokti was an Alibamu town, and Sawokli and Apalachicola were Hitchiti towns. Reasons for classifying the Chatot as Muskhogean have already been given.[a] Unlike the others, they separated entirely from the Creeks and followed the fortunes of the small tribes under French protection.

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[a] î is pronounced like *i* in *hill*; ê like *e* in *ten*; ạ like *a* in *assist*.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 594.

[c] Bushnell, The Account of Lamhatty, in *Amer. Anthrop.*, n. s., x, 568–574, 1908.

The relationship of Koroa, Yazoo, Tioux, and Grigra to Tunica rests merely on circumstantial evidence. Du Pratz, whose information, in spite of slips here and there, is generally accurate, states that the languages of all of these tribes contained an *r*, whereas none of their neighbors could even pronounce that sound.[b] For the Koroa this is confirmed by the tribal name itself, and the Yazoo and Koroa tribes were always so closely associated that their relationship to each other seems plausible. The Choctaw chief, Allen Wright, whose grandfather was a Koroa, also affirmed that the language of that people was entirely distinct from Choctaw.[c] In Du Pratz's day the Tioux were under Natchez protection, and this was true of at least part of them as far back as Iberville's first voyage, 1699.[d] There is every reason to believe, however, that they had come there shortly before from Yazoo river, where nearly all of the other tribes of this group were situated.[e] Of the Grigra we know nothing more than the fact that their language possessed an *r* and that they had been taken under the protection of the Natchez at a still earlier date.[f] The relation of all of these to Tunica is indicated though not finally proved by the following considerations. In the first place the languages of all contained the phonetic *r*, which was conspicuously absent from the speech of the tribes about them; all except the Grigra are known to have lived along Yazoo river at some former time; and the name of one of these tribes, the Koroa, resembles certain Tunica words, as *oroa*, 'white,' 'white man.' In 1722 La Harpe ascended from New Orleans to the Arkansas, and stopped for about ten days at the Yazoo post. There he found, as he says, "settlements of the Yasons, Courois, Ofogoula, and Onspée nations," scattered about for the most part on artificial earthen mounds.[a] *Onspée* is, we know, one form of the Tunica name for the Ofogoula. But Ofogoula, or rather Ofo, being the name applied by this tribe to itself, and the Tunica having moved away eight years before to settle opposite the mouth of Red river, the word *Onspée* can only have come from the Yazoo or Koroa, or both. The case is made still stronger by the fact that La Harpe had passed the Tunica without stopping, and therefore it was unlikely that he had on board any Tunica Indian from whom such information might have been obtained. Now, if the Ofo were known to the Yazoo and Koroa by the same term as that employed by the Tunica, a term at the same time different from the one used by the Ofo themselves, a presumption of relationship among the three other tribes is at once raised.

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[a] See p. 27.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 222–226, 1758.

[c] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., I, 48.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 179.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 222

[f] Ibid., 222.

Another argument is furnished by the following quotation from an earlier journal of La Harpe when on his way from the Nasoni country to New Orleans via Red river:

> The 28th [of October, 1719], having descended the river [from the Cadohadacho] about 10 leagues, we met three pirogues of our savages coming from hunting bison. They told me that near the little river [about 10 leagues farther on] they had met many newly made rafts, worked by the Tonicau nation (*nation Tonicaus*) who are the Yasons, a fact which compelled them to return to their villages.[b]

This statement is rather confusing since we do not know whether La Harpe means the "Tonicaus" were identical with the Yazoo or simply that they lived upon the Yazoo river. The Yazoo and the Tunica were certainly not identical, and at the time when he wrote the latter had moved from Yazoo river. None knew this better than La Harpe himself, for he had stopped several days with them just before his ascent of Red river. It is true that he there spells their name Tonica and here Tonicau, but he could hardly have meant two distinct tribes of Tunica or have been deceived into believing there were two; otherwise he certainly would have noted the distinction he believed to exist. Perhaps a perusal of the original manuscript would cast some light on the question, but failing that, it seems most likely that he means that the Tunica of whom his men told him at this time were really Yazoo. If that had not been the case there would have been no reason to insert the statement; if he had wished to record the fact that the Tunica traced their origin to Yazoo river he would have done so in his earlier discussion of the tribe. Finally we must consider that, if these languages are unrelated—and there is good reason for excluding them from either the Muskhogean or Siouan families—we have to assume one or more additional independent stocks within a very limited area, which is possible but rather unlikely under the circumstances.

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 302.

The Chitimacha seem always to have constituted one compact people, the only divisions being into villages. A few early narratives couple with this tribe the Yagenatcito, a name signifying in Choctaw 'Big country,' but there is no clew as to what tribe was intended by it. Possibly it refers to the Opelousa or the Atakapa, but more likely it was used to cover a part of the Chitimacha. In that case, however, the distinction was probably imposed from without rather than by the people themselves.

Of the Atakapa proper there were at least three bands, on the Vermilion, Mermentau, and Calcasieu rivers, respectively. It is likely that the small Opelousa tribe, near the present city of that name, spoke a language belonging to this stock. Sibley states that they possessed a language "different from all others," but understood Atakapa,[a] which shows at least that they could not have been Muskhogean, because in that case their trade language would have been Mobilian, and Sibley would have noted the fact as he has in so many other instances.[b] Westward of the Sabine, on the lower Neches and Trinity were a people called by the Spaniards Orcoquisac. That portion of their country about Galveston bay was the scene of the adventures of Simars de Belle-Isle, a Frenchman abandoned by the vessel in which he was making the voyage to Louisiana. After wandering about for some time and being on the point of starving, he fell in with a band of these people, by whom he was held captive until rescued by the Hasinai and taken to St. Denis at Natchitoches. Later he acted as La Harpe's guide when the latter was sent to examine the feasibility of establishing a French post in that country, and from his own account preserved in Margry and the narratives of La Harpe we have considerable information regarding the life and manners of these Indians.[c] Unfortunately, although he declares that he was familiar with the language, M. de Belle-Isle has not left us any specimen of it. The fact that these people are also called Atakapa may have some significance, but it is very slight. At a later period the Spaniards established a mission among the Orcoquisac, but it was soon given up, and the tribe left in comparative obscurity for a long period. This much we do learn, that the Orcoquisac were distinct from the Caddoan tribes and in manners and customs resembled the Atakapa very closely as well as the Karankawa and other people on or near the coast of Texas. All that we know of their language, however, is the name of the tribe itself; Yegsa, the term which they applied to the Spaniards; and

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[a] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086, 1852.

[b] Ibid., 1076 *et seq.*

[c] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 320–347; La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 263–276, 1831.

Quiselpoo, the native name of a woman contained in one of the mission records.[a] Although little enough to prove anything, these certainly show remarkable points of similarity with words in the recorded Atakapa tongue. The term for 'people' in Atakapa is *icak*, formed from the root *ca*,[b] which means 'somebody,' 'anybody.' Consulting Doctor Gatschet's Atakapa vocabulary, we find that the final *k* of *icak*[b] is sometimes omitted, showing that it was not always pronounced, or was not always pronounced clearly enough to be caught by a hearer new to the language. The name of this people occurs in several different forms—Orcoquisac, Orcoquiza, Arkokisa, Horcoquisa, Horcaquisac, etc., in which it will be noted that some do and some do not have a final *c*. In Spanish this *c* must have been pronounced like English *k*, therefore the endings *isac*, *iza*, *isa*, may be assumed with reasonable probability to represent the Atakapa word for 'people.' We may suspect this again in the word *Yegsa*, although here the *sa* is perhaps the indefinite *ca*. Although an ingenious interpretation might be suggested for the first part of the word *Orcoquisac*, it would have no real value. *Yeg*, however, may be from the stem *yik*, 'to trade,' for there are some cases in which white men were known as 'traders.' The first part of the feminine name Quiselpoo may, perhaps, be the Atakapa *kîc*,[b] 'woman,' and the whole might plausibly be interpreted 'Full-moon woman.' While too much confidence can not be placed on such explanations as these, it is interesting to find that explanations can be so easily suggested, and it is certain that the words have an Atakapan aspect. Until more evidence is forthcoming the Orcoquisac may be classified as probably Atakapan. Investigations among the mission archives by Professor Bolton seem to indicate, furthermore, that the Bidai, heretofore supposed to be Caddoan, the Deadoses, and some other tribes of which we know little more than the names, were related to the Orcoquisac, and therefore, if our classification of the Orcoquisac is correct, they also belong to the Atakapan stock.

A few names other than those already given are found here and there in the narratives of early writers as applied to tribes in the region under consideration, but it is probable that they are synonyms of some of the tribal names already discussed which have become distorted almost beyond recognition. Thus Daniel Coxe mentions "Samboukia" as a tribe on Yazoo river, but while it is possibly a bad misprint, the name varies so widely from that of any Yazoo tribe known to us that there is no certainty regarding it.[c] In the journal of Iberville's second vessel, *Le Marin*, people called the Scouquas are mentioned, who accompanied his party on their return from the Houma and one of whom was accused of having stolen a breviary belonging to the Recollect priest Anastasius.[a] This tribe may have been the Tioux, the name being badly transcribed and some nonessential syllable added. During the same expedition Iberville and a few of his companions returned to the ships via the Manchac. It is stated in the journal just referred to that "he carried with him presents to give to the Ananis and the Mouloubis who are in this river."[b] At first sight two new tribes appear to be indicated, but in his own journal Iberville says nothing about them, and it is apparent that Ananis is a slight misreading of Anaxis referred to in the narrative of the Marquis de Chasteaumorant,[c] where they are evidently the Biloxi, this particular form being taken from their native designation, Taně'ksi. The writer of the journal was apparently deceived by the fact that the Manchac was, as Iberville expresses it, "the river which goes to the Bilochy."[d] The "Mouloubis" are evidently the Moctobi. The Napissa, Napyssa, or Napyosa were said to be united with the Chickasaw,[e] and as they never appear again in history it is probable that they were merely a part of the Chickasaw nation, possibly some outlying villages, since the word means "an eyewitness or beholder" and therefore perhaps a "scout or spy." In a list of tribes which came to "sing the calumet" before him Iberville mentions among those on the east side of the river the Bayacchito and Amilcou.[f] *Bayacchito* signifies 'Big bayou' in Choctaw, but there is no other clue to the location or classification of either. Nicolas de la Salle, in his narrative of the expedition of 1682, says that some Quinipissa women whom the explorers met told them the Tangipahoa had been destroyed by "the Ouma and Chigilousa."[g] Ouma is, of course, Houma, but Chigilousa is nowhere else referred to, though the name is certainly Choctaw, *lousa* signifying 'black,' as in Okelousa, Opelousa, etc. In 1686 Tonti encountered, somewhere between the Houma and Quinipissa, a tribe which he calls "Pischenoas."[h] These are never heard of again under that name, but it is possible that they were the people afterward known as Bayogoula. *Pishno* in Choctaw signifies 'we, us, our,' and perhaps Tonti, on asking who the people were, was told "They are ours." Innatchahez seems to be used in one document as a synonym for Atakapa;[i] its origin is unknown. Other names of this character belong for the most part to a later date and are misprints or misreadings of some of the foregoing. In this connection mention should be made of the Mosopelea, or Monsopelea, a real tribe of supposed Algonquian affinity. They are first noted by

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[a] For these last two we are indebted to the investigations of Prof. H. E. Bolton, of the University of Texas.

[b] In these words *c*=English *sh*.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 227, 1850.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 274.
[b] Ibid., 272.
[c] Ibid., 113.
[d] Ibid., 184.
[e] Ibid., 164, 180, 184.
[f] Ibid., 155.
[g] Ibid., I, 563.
[h] Ibid., III, 557.
[i] Ibid., VI, 235.

Marquette, who places them on the west bank of the Mississippi some distance below the mouth of the Ohio. They, or part of them, united with the Taënsa[a] shortly before 1682 and are scarcely referred to afterward.

It is worth noticing that in spite of all that has been said to the contrary the name which a tribe bears is a fair index of the language spoken by it wherever it may be shown that the traveler who reports the name has had direct communication with it. Thus the Chakchiuma, Houma, Quinipissa, Mugulasha, Tangipahoa, Bayogoula, Acolapissa, Ibitoupa, and Okelousa bear names readily seen to be Muskhogean, and every other fragment of evidence we have regarding them points to their having belonged to that stock; while Tunica, Koroa, Yazoo, Tioux, Grigra, Natchez, Taënsa, Biloxi, Avoyel, and all the other names found on or near Red river, can not be interpreted by means of the ordinary Muskhogean dialects, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to do so. It is true that the names of some other Muskhogean tribes, as the Mobile, Tohome, Chatot, Tawasa, and Taposa, can not be readily resolved, while a few non-Muskhogean tribes, like the Chitimacha, Opelousa, and Atakapa, have Muskhogean names. That we could readily interpret all the tribal names of any stock is not to be expected, however, while the Muskhogean names applied to non-Muskhogean tribes may be explained by an examination of the facts. It is then seen that at the time when the names Chitimacha, Opelousa, and Atakapa were adopted by the French the latter had not visited the tribes in question, and scarcely saw any representatives of them for several years afterward. Such being the case, they acquired the habit of applying that term in common use in the Mobilian trade language and by the time they came to settle among the tribes in question the tribes had themselves become accustomed to it. It is at any rate a fact that nowhere on the Mississippi, Yazoo, or Red rivers, or on the Gulf coast east of the Mississippi do we know of a tribe whose historical name was received from foreign sources. The Avoyel are, indeed, sometimes called by their Mobilian name, Tassenocogoula, and the Siouan Ofogoula appear to have names derived from Choctaw or Tunica. In the former case, however, the proper term for the tribe is the one more often used and that which has survived to later times, while the proper designation of the Ofogoula has not been replaced but merely obscured by the addition of a Mobilian ending, *okla*. The chance resemblance of Ofo to *ofe*, which means 'dog' in Choctaw and Mobilian, apparently led their Muskhogean and Siouan neighbors to speak of them as the "Dog people," but this is an accident not likely to occur often. The Tunica name *U'shpī*, on the other hand, is applied but once to the exclusion of Ofogoula, and in the other cases it appears side by side with that term, being erroneously supposed to refer to another tribe.

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[a] See pp. 262–263.

In conclusion we may say that, in the light of the material available, the only tribes about the linguistic classification of which we still have some reason to hesitate are the Pascagoula, Washa, Chawasha, Okelousa, Opelousa, and Grigra. When all the unpublished material on early Louisiana has been made public this number will probably be reduced still further, if it is not entirely obliterated.

POPULATION

The subject of Indian population is one of the most difficult with which one can deal. In North America the angel of death seems to have preceded rather than followed the white man, and testimony is practically unanimous that the aborigines decreased steadily and in many instances rapidly from the time of their first appearance.

De la Vente says:

> Touching these savages, there is a thing that I can not omit to remark to you, it is that it appears visibly that God wishes that they yield their place to new peoples. One may learn from the most aged that they were formerly incomparably more numerous than they [now are].
>
> The Natchez * * * assure us that they came here to the number of more than 5,000. The other nations say that many centuries ago they were, some 3,000, others 2,000, others a thousand, and all that is reduced now to a very moderate number. What is certain is that our people in the six years in which they have been descending the river know certainly that the number has diminished a third, so true is it that it seems God wishes to make them give place to others * * *.
>
> The reason for it is very clear. It is that, for I do not know how many years, they have placed all their glory in carrying away scalps of their enemies on the slightest pretenses. Add to this that the English give [presents] to them and excite them to make war in order to obtain slaves by it. * * * [a]

These causes were, however, of less importance than diseases, neglect of children, and immorality. Iberville, writing in 1700, mentions "a flux of which the savages almost always die," [b] and the Luxembourg memoir says:

> The women of the Mississippi are fecund, although the country is not extremely well peopled with savages. The severe way in which they rear their children makes a large part of them die; and diseases like fever and smallpox, for which they know no other remedy than to bathe however cold it be, takes off a great number of them. The girls, although given as they are to their pleasures, have means of guarding against pregnancy.[c]

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[a] Letter of De la Vente, Sept. 20, 1704, quoted in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36–37.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 411, 1880.

[c] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 138.

Following is a tabular statement of the population of the various tribes—including the Mobile, Tohome, Naniaba, and Chatot—as given by different writers and at different periods:

Tribe.	Date.	Population.	Families.	Warriors.	Cabins.	References.
Natchez	1682			300(?)		Tonti in French, Hist. Coll. La., 63, 1846.
	1686			1,500		Tonti in Margry, Découvertes, III, 556.
	1699				300–400	Iberville, ibid., IV, 179, 1880.
	1699				300	De Montigny in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.
	1700				400	De Montigny in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 411.
	1702		1,500			Iberville, ibid., 602.
	1715			4,000		Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 162, 1851.
	1716			+800		De Richebourg in French, Hist. Coll. La., 242, 1851.
	1721			2,000		Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 162, 1851.
	1718–26			1,200		Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 223, 1758.
	1722			600		Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 286.
	1729			700		Ibid.
	1730			500		Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 221.
	1731			200		Diron d'Artaguette in Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 449.
	1731			300		Perrier quoted in Wis. Hist. Soc. Coll., XVII, 162, 1906.
	1732			100		Charlevoix, Hist. New France, Shea ed., VI, 115, 1872.
	1735			200–300		Letter from the Court, in Wis. Hist. Soc. Coll., XVII, 157, 1906.
	1735			[a] 180		Report of a French captive, in Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 465.
	1764			[b] 150		Bouquet in Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 146, 1801.
	1799			[b] 50		Hawkins in Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll., III, pt. 1, 42, 1848.
	1836	300				Gallatin in Trans. and Coll. of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., II, 114, 1836.
Taënsa	1682			+700(?)		Tonti in Margry, Découvertes, II, 189.
	1698	+700				De Montigny in Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 76.
	1700			+300	120	Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 413, 414.
	1700			250		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 29, 1831.
	1701				40	St. Cosme in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.
	1702		150			Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 602.
	1718–30				100	Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 213.
	1764	[c] 200				D'Abbadie quoted in *Amer. Antiq.*, Sept., 1891.
	1805			25		Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 1087, 1852.
Avoyel	1699			+40		Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 408, 1880.
	1715 (?)			40		Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 249, 1802.
	1805	2-3				Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 1088, 1852.

[a] Among Chickasaw alone.
[b] Among Creeks.
[c] With Apalache and Pakana.

Tribe.	Date.	Population.	Families.	Warriors.	Cabins.	References.
Bayogoula, including Quinipissa or Mugulasha.	1699			200-250	107	Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 171.
	1699	400-500				Jour. of Le Marin, ibid., 261.
	1699			100		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 9.
	1699				100	Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.
	1700	[a] 200				Gravier in Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 150.
	1702		100			Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 602.
	1715 (?)			40		Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 247.
	[b] 1739					
Acolapissa	1699			±150		Bienville quoted by Sauvolle in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 419.
	1699			+300		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 14.
	1702		250			Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 602.
	1722			200		Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 177, 1851.
	[b] 1739					
Houma	1699			±350	140	Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 177.
	1699			350		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 12.
	1699	600-700				Jour. of Le Marin in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 270.
	1700				80	Gravier in Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 143.
	1700				±70	Ibid., 145.
	1718			200	60	La Harpe in Margry, Découvertes, VI, 244-245.
	[c] 1739	[d] 270-300		90-100		Journal of an Officer with M. de Nouailles, in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 64-66.
	[c] 1758			60		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75.
	[c] 1784			25		Hutchins, Hist Narr., 39.
	[c] 1803	60				Jefferson, Account of Louisiana.
	1907	[e] 800-900				See p. 291.
Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Moctobi (or Capinans).	1699				—20(?)	Sauvolle in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 451.
	1699			130(?)		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 16.
	1700		[f] 20		[g] 30-40	Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 425, 427.
	1702		100			Ibid., 602.
	1718-30				[f] 30	Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 214.
	1758			[h] +100		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 85.
	1805	[g] 30		[f] 25		Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 1085-1087, 1852.
	1805	[i] +500				Amer. State Papers, Public Lands, II, 794.
	1822	[j] 310				Morse, Rep. Sec. War on Indians, 373.
	1829	[k] 176				Schoolcraft, III, 596.
Mobile, Tohome, and Naniaba.	1700			[l] 600		Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 427.
	1702			350		Ibid., 514.
	1702		350			Ibid., 602.
	1758			[h] 100		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 85.

[a] The Mugulasha being destroyed.
[b] See Houma.
[c] With Bayogoula and Acolapissa.
[d] Exclusive of children.
[e] A very small per cent Indian blood.
[f] Pascagoula.
[g] Biloxi.
[h] Including the Chatot.
[i] Including a band of Choctaw.
[j] 240 Pascagoula; 70 Biloxi.
[k] 111 Pascagoula; 65 Biloxi.
[l] 300 Mobile; 300 Tohome.

Tribe.	Date.	Population.	Families.	Warriors.	Cabins.	References.
Chatot	1718–30				40	Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 212–213.
	[a] 1758					
	1805			30		Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1087.
	1822	240				Morse, Rep. Sec. War on Indians, 373.
Chakchiuma, Taposa, Ibitoupa, and Choula.	1699				[b] 70	De Montigny in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.
	1702		[c] 400(?)			Bienville, quoted by De Richebourg, in French, Hist. Coll. La., 245, 1851.
	1704		[c] 80			Ibid.
	1718–30				[d] 75	Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.
	1722	[e] 190			[f] 6	La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311.
Washa, Chawasha.	1699			[g] 200		Ibid., 18.
	1702		[g] 200			Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 602.
	1715			[h] 90		Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 246.
	1739			30		Journal of an Officer with M. de Nouailles, in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 66.
	1758			[i] 10–12		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 74.
	1805	[j] 5				Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 1087, 1852.
Tunica	1698	[k] 2,000				De Montigny in Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 76, 1861.
	1698				[k] ±260	La Source, ibid., 80.
	1700				50–60	Gravier, ibid., 133.
	1702		[l] 300			Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 602.
	1719	460				La Harpe, ibid., VI, 247.
	1758			60		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 74–75.
	1803	50–60				Jefferson, Account of Louisiana.
	1805			25		Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086, 1852.
	1822	[m] 30				Morse, Rep. Sec. War on Indians, 373, 1822.
	1908	+50				
Yazoo, Koroa, and Ofo.	[n] 1698					
	1700				[o] 40–42	Gravier in Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 133.
	1718–26				[p] 200	Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.
	1722	250				La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311.
	1730			[q] 40		Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 221.
	1758			[r] 15		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 74.
	1784			[r] 12		Hutchins, Hist. Narr., 44.
	1908	[r] 1				
Chitimacha	1699			700–800		La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 9.
	1758			[s] 80		De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75.
	1784			[s] 27		Hutchins, Hist. Narr., 39.
	1908	+50				

[a] See Mobile, Tohome, and Naniaba.
[b] Exclusive of Ibitoupa (and Choula?).
[c] Chakchiuma.
[d] 50 Chakchiuma; 25 Taposa.
[e] 150 Chakchiuma; 40 Choula.
[f] Ibitoupa.
[g] With Okelousa.
[h] 50 Washa; 40 Chawasha.
[i] Chawasha.
[j] Washa.
[k] Including Yazoo and Ofo.
[l] Including Yazoo, Ofo, and Koroa (?).
[m] In Louisiana alone.
[n] See under Tunica.
[o] 30 Yazoo; 10–12 Ofo.
[p] 100 Yazoo; 40 Koroa; 60 Ofo.
[q] Yazoo and Koroa.
[r] Ofo.
[s] Those near the Mississippi.

Tribe.	Date.	Population.	Families.	Warriors.	Cabins.	References.
Opelousa	1715(?)	....	....	130	....	Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 247.
	1805	....	....	40	....	Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086.
	1814	20	....	....	....	Amer. State Papers, Public Lands, III, 85.
Atakapa	1779	....	....	[a] +180	....	Ibid., testimony Feb., 1814.
	1805	....	....	[b] 50	....	Sibley in Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086.

[a] 2 eastern bands.
[b] Including 30 Houma and Tunica living with them.

These figures are so fragmentary and conflicting that it is nearly impossible to base any satisfactory conclusions upon them. A close examination of the more reliable among them has led the writer to conclude that on an average two and a half warriors should be allowed to a cabin and one warrior to every three and a half of the population. Fortunately, in the case of almost every tribe some one figure occurs which seems to be approximately correct, and by using this and the estimates given as guides it is possible to form some idea, although a very general one, of the numbers of Indians in the region under consideration at the end of the eighteenth century. The following table has been constructed in the manner suggested, and is supposed to apply to about the year 1698, except in the two cases otherwise specified:

Tribe.	Population.	Warriors.	Cabins.
Natchez	3,500	1,000	400
Taënsa	875	250	100
Avoyel	280	80	32
Bayogoula and Quinipissa (or Mugulasha)	875	250	107
Acolapissa	1,050	300	120
Houma	1,225	350	140
Upper Yazoo tribes (Chakchiuma, Taposa, Ibitoupa, and Choula)	[a] 750	[b] 215	[c] 85
Washa, Chawasha, and Okelousa	700	200	80
Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Moctobi	[d] 875	[e] 250	[f] 100
Mobile, Tohome, and Naniaba	1,225	350	140
Chatot (in 1720)	350	100	40
Lower Yazoo tribes (Tunica, Koroa, Ofo, and Yazoo)	[g] 2,450	[h] 700	[i] 280
Chitimacha	2,625	750	300
Atakapa, Akokisa, Bidai, Deadoses, etc	3,500	1,000	400
Opelousa (in 1715)	455	130	52
Total	20,735	5,925	2,376

[a] 490 Chakchiuma.
[b] 140 Chakchiuma.
[c] 56 Chakchiuma.
[d] 455 Pascagoula.
[e] 130 Pascagoula.
[f] 52 Pascagoula.
[g] 1,575 Tunica, 612 Yazoo and Koroa, 263 Ofo.
[h] 450 Tunica, 175 Yazoo and Koroa, 75 Ofo.
[i] 180 Tunica, 70 Yazoo and Koroa, 30 Ofo.

De la Vente's estimate of 5,000 as the ancient strength of the Natchez when they arrived in the country they occupied in historic times[a] would appear to be rather an under than an over estimate, but Mr. Mooney has suggested that this figure probably refers to the number of warriors. Such an understanding would be necessary if we would try to reconcile their claims here with those made to Du Pratz and other writers. According to the former, they anciently extended from east to west a distance of more than twelve days' journey, and fifteen from north to south, and counted more than 500 Suns.[a] From this data Du Pratz supposes that they had occupied all of the country from the Manchac to the Ohio.[b] On this point Le Petit says: "In former times the nation of the Natchez was very large. It counted 60 villages and 800 Suns, or princes; now it is reduced to 6 little villages and 11 Suns."[c] And La Harpe: "According to their report they had formerly counted 1,900 Suns in their nation and more than 200,000 persons."[d]

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[a] See p. 39.

While such statements have small historic value, there is no doubt that the Natchez had formerly been a larger tribe than when the French first met them. In view of the rapid decrease which these peoples are known to have suffered, it is not at all improbable that Tonti's figure of 1,500 warriors in 1686[e] is correct, and that between this date and 1698 they had lost one-third. An examination of the later figures for this tribe leads the writer to suggest the following estimates: 600 warriors and 2,100 people in 1730, 250 warriors and 825 people in 1734, 135 warriors and 470 people in 1800. At the present time there remains only a small neighborhood and some scattered individuals in the Cherokee Nation, among whom but four speak the language. The figures for other tribes show a similar though not in all cases as striking a decline.

The following may give a rough idea of their total population at various periods:

Taënsa, 875 in 1690, 400 in 1730, 100 in 1764, 70 in 1805. Now extinct.

Avoyel, 280 in 1698, 140 in 1715, 2 or 3 in 1805. Now extinct.

Quinipissa, practically destroyed in 1700.

Bayogoula, 825 (with Quinipissa) in 1698, 350 in 1702, 140 in 1715. Fused with Acolapissa and Houma by 1739.

Acolapissa, 1,050 in 1698, 700 in 1722. Fused with Houma by 1739.

Houma, 1,225 in 1698, 700 in 1700, 450 in 1718, 300 in 1739 (including the remnants of the two preceding), 180 in 1758, 75 in 1784, 60 in 1804. (See p. 291.)

Upper Yazoo tribes, 750 in 1698, 250 in 1722. United with Chickasaw by 1770.

Washa, Chawasha, and Okelousa, 700 in 1698, 315 in 1715, 100 to 120 in 1739, 60 to 75 in 1758. Now extinct or united with Houma.

Pascagoula, 455 in 1698, 260 in 1720, 150 in 1805, 111 in 1829. Now extinct.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 338.

[b] Ibid., 223.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 135.

[d] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 29, 1831.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, III, 556.

Biloxi, 420 (with Moctobi?) in 1698, 175 in 1720, 105 in 1805, 65 in 1829, perhaps 6 to 8 in 1908.

Mobile and Tohome, 1,225 in 1698, 210 in 1758. Now probably fused with Choctaw.

Chatot, 300 in 1720, 140 in 1758, 100 in 1805. Now extinct. Morse's figure, 240 in 1822, must be grossly exaggerated.

Tunica, 1,575 in 1698, 1,000 in 1702, 460 in 1722, 180 in 1758, 60 in 1803, 50 mixed bloods in 1908, including all the scattered remnants.

Yazoo and Koroa, 612 in 1698, 175 in 1722, 150 in 1731. By 1740 fused with Chickasaw and Choctaw.

Ofo, 263 in 1698, 50 in 1722, 45 in 1758, 42 in 1784, 1 in 1908.

Chitimacha, 2,625 in 1698, 700 in 1758, 350 in 1784, 50 in 1908.

Opelousa, 390 in 1715, 120 in 1805, 20 in 1814. Now extinct.

Atakapa, 3,500, with allies, in 1698, 1,750 of whom were in Louisiana in 1698, 175 in Louisiana in 1805, 9 Louisiana Atakapa in 1908. The other tribes extinct.

These figures must be understood to be simply approximations, and far from close ones at that. It is believed that they correctly represent the relative strength of the various tribes, however, and they tell clearly enough the one story of decline and ultimate extinction. Aside from the Houma, who at the present time are almost a new race, and those bands incorporated into the Choctaw or Chickasaw, the Indian tribes of the region we are discussing are represented at the present day by not more than 200 mixed bloods, rapidly verging to extinction in the surrounding population. Of these, probably not a quarter are able to use the ancient languages of their people.

THE NATCHEZ GROUP

THE NATCHEZ

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

The Natchez villages were scattered along St. Catherines creek, east of the present city of Natchez, at short intervals. According to Tonti, it was 3 leagues from the French camp on the Mississippi to the Natchez village whither La Salle had been invited.[a] This would probably be the Great village, which, according to later writers, was not more than a league from the river, but La Salle's camp, instead of being at the nearest point on the river, was probably below, near the mouth of St. Catherines creek. Iberville was told that the Natchez or "Theloël" occupied nine villages, whose names were given him,[b] and, so far as the number is concerned, this statement is confirmed by Pénicaut,[c] while De Montigny says "ten or twelve."[d]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 603.

[b] Ibid., IV, 179.

[c] Ibid., V, 445.

[d] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

The cabins constituting these villages were so far apart that the latter might rather be described as neighborhoods, and in consequence they often covered a considerable tract of country. De la Vente states that "the Natchez, the Tonicas, the Chattas, the Chicachas, etc., are in villages of 6, 10, and as many as 20 leagues,"[a] while on the other hand St. Cosme says that the Natchez and the Arkansas cabins were often a quarter of a league apart.[b]

Pénicaut describes the general location of the Natchez villages in the following romantic and decidedly exaggerated manner:

> The village [meaning either the Natchez villages collectively or the Great village] of the Natchez is the most beautiful one can find in Louisiana. It is situated 1 league from the shore of the Mississipy. It is embellished with very beautiful walks, which nature has formed there without artifice. There are prairies around it, ornamented with flowers, cut up with little hillocks, on which are groves of all kinds of fragrant trees. Many little rivulets of very clear water come from under a mountain, which appears at 2 leagues from these prairies, and, after having watered very many places, they unite into two great rivulets, which pass around the village, at the end of which they join, to form a little river [St. Catherines], which runs over a fine gravel and passes through three villages, which are half a league apart, and finally, 2 leagues from there, it falls into the Mississipy. Its water is very agreeable to drink, because it is cold as ice in summer, and in winter it is tepid.[c]

Very curiously, the names of all nine villages are enumerated but once, and then by Iberville in the place referred to above on the authority of a native a year before he had seen one of them. The names given are as follows: Nachés, Pochougoula, Ousagoucoulas, Cogoucoulas, Yatanocas, Ymacachas, Thoucoue, Tougoulas, and Achougoulas. This information was obtained through the medium of the Mobilian jargon, and *ougoula* or *oucoula* suffixed to five of the names means 'people' in that language. From this circumstance Doctor Gatschet has assumed that the rest of each name is also in Mobilian, and on the authority of Allen Wright he interprets them thus:

> *Pochougoula*, 'pond-lily people,' from Cha'hta *pántchi*, 'pond lily;' *Ousagoucoulas*, 'hickory people,' from Cha'hta *û'ssak, ossak* 'hickory;' *Cogoucoulas*, 'swan people,' from *ókok* 'swan;' * * * *Tougoulas*, 'wood or forest people,' from *iti*, 'wood;' *Achougoulas*, 'pipe people,' from *ashunga*, 'pipe,' literally, 'the thing they smoke from.'[d]

These interpretations must be understood as conjectural on Wright's part. Of the other names Gatschet considers Thoucoue "probably identical with Théloël and the Thioux of later authors," and notes that Ymacachas is "almost homonymous with the Arkansas village Imahao, mentioned above." It is well-nigh impossible, however, that there can have been any connection between the names of a Natchez and an Arkansas town, nor is the resemblance convincingly close. Margry notes that instead of Théloël we should perhaps read Thécoel, in which case Gatschet's suggestion regarding the identity of Thoucoue with it becomes rather strong, especially in view of the fact that the other name for the entire people, Natchez, is also taken from that of a town. But, if this be the case, it is quite certain that it does not refer to the tribe of Thioux, or Tioux, a small subject group, which certainly would not give its name to the entire body. It is more likely that the Tioux town is represented by the next in the list, Tougoulas, which would then be translated 'Tioux people' instead of 'wood or forest people.' Possibly Thoucoue also refers to the Tioux, but in that case it was not the same as Thécoel. Of the remaining names with one exception it is impossible to judge of the interpretations at the present time, especially since the designations given by later writers differ entirely. The exception is in the case of the third name on the list, Ousagoucoulas, interpreted as 'hickory people,' which is evidently that referred to by M. de Richebourg in his memoir on the first Natchez war[a] along with White-earth, and the village of the Grigra as "the village of the Walnuts." The correctness of Wright's interpretation in this instance seems better assured than in most other cases, because the Natchez and the Choctaw words for 'hickory' are very similar—*aca* (Natchez), *û'ssak* or *o'ssak* (Choctaw). By the first French colonists of Louisiana the hickory was always called walnut (*noyer*), although sometimes distinguished as the "white walnut" in contradistinction to the true or "black walnut." Therefore de Richebourg undoubtedly refers to the hickory. Outside of the Tioux village or villages which seem to have been added to the Natchez nucleus in comparatively late times, all authors after Pénicaut speak of but five settlements, of which two were usually on friendly terms with the French, while the other three, though not always in open enmity, were uniformly the authors of disturbances between the two peoples and ultimately furnished the incentive for the last great Natchez war. The two first mentioned were the Great village and Flour village, the three latter, as given by Dumont, the White Apple, or Apple, village, Jenzenaque or Jansenac, and the village of the Gris. These three hostile towns are mentioned by De Richebourg under the names of the village of the Walnuts (or Hickories), White-earth, and the village of the Grigas.[a] This last is evidently the same as that of the Gris, and it was occupied by a small subject tribe called Grigra, probably as Du Pratz says, "because they often pronounce these two syllables when they speak together."[a] White-earth has usually been identified as the White-apple, or Apple village, and if this is accepted, as seems reasonable under the circumstances,[b] we must expect to find in Jenzenaque the village of the Walnuts or Hickories. While such appears probable on circumstantial evidence, the word *Jenzenaque* does not resemble the Natchez equivalents for either 'walnut' or 'hickory' (*yū'x̣tał*, 'walnut'; *a'ca*, 'hickory'). Tsî'nîts-nᴀ'gi, 'childish,' was the nearest combination of sounds my Natchez informant could suggest for this, but it can hardly be regarded seriously. The White Apple village and the village of the Gris can not be satisfactorily identified with any names in Iberville's list, and the same is true of the Flour village. The native name of the Great village is never given by later writers, but it was evidently that originally known as Natchez, the Nachés of Iberville, the original significance of which can not now be determined. Gatschet's derivation from the Chitimacha or the Mobilian trade jargon has no solid basis.

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[a] Letter of Sept. 20, 1704, Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 47.

[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 48.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, v, 444, 1883.

[d] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., 37, 1884.

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 248, 1851.

PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Natchez, like many other American tribes, impressed travelers as tall, strong, robust, and "of a proud air."[c] "They are," says Pénicaut, "fairly handsome in the face and their women also. They have rather agreeable voices, not speaking so strongly from the throat as the other savages."[d] Charlevoix remarks: "The women are pretty well shaped for savages, and neat enough in their dress and everything they do,"[e] and Dumont gives similar testimony. "Besides," he says:

> All these savage women have very well-proportioned figures and are generally quite agreeable in appearance, but some more than others, according to difference in nationality. Among the Paskagoulas and the Billoxis, for example, they are very negligent of themselves and are not extremely neat, while [the women] of the Natchez take very good care of their appearance and pride themselves on an extreme cleanliness.[f]

Du Pratz says:

> All the natives of America in general are very well formed. One sees very few under 5½ feet, and many taller. The leg is made as if in a mold. It is sinewy and the flesh on it is firm. They have long thighs, the head erect

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 222. Gatschet strives to refer this word to a French origin, but this seems improbable.

[b] A village called White Earth is rarely mentioned, but inasmuch as this designation was subsequently given to one of the two large concessions on St. Catharine's creek it is possible that it was earlier applied to a village on the same site. In that case it would have been distinct from White Apple village, which is placed on Dumont's map higher up near the Grand village. Possibly White Earth was the name of a chief rather than a village, and this is intimated in one place by De Richebourg himself.

[c] See the Luxembourg Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 135, 1752.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, v, 446.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 165, 1851.

[f] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 139, 1753.

> and a little flat on top. Their features are regular. They have black eyes, and hair of the same color, coarse and straight. If one never sees those who are extremely fat, no more does he see those as thin as consumptives. The men are ordinarily better formed than the women. They are more sinewy and the women more fleshy. The men are all tall and the women of medium height, but both are well enough proportioned in figure and height, there being none, as in Europe, of gigantic stature or as short as dwarfs. I have seen a single person who was only 4½ feet high and who, although well proportioned, dared not appear among the French until three or four years after their arrival, and then he would not have done so had not some Frenchmen accidentally discovered him.[a]

Estimates of Indian character by white men are seldom satisfactory, being based on the standards current among whites at a certain place and time or colored by romantic or dogmatic considerations, yet it may be profitable at the outset to quote a few opinions of early writers regarding the tribe under discussion. It must not be supposed, however, that we shall find the Natchez much different from Indians in other parts of the North American continent. In fact, as Charlevoix very well remarks, the only striking distinction was in their social organization and government.

Iberville, whose familiarity with Indians was that of a soldier, lets fall an opinion of the people in commenting on the great chief of the Natchez of his time (1700):

> This chief is a man 5 feet 3 or 4 inches tall, rather thin, with an intelligent face. He appeared to me the most absolute savage I had seen, as beggarly as others, as well as his subjects, all of whom were large, well-formed men, very idle, but showing much friendship toward us.[b]

Gravier, who descended the river the same year, gives the verdict of the priest as follows:

> The Natchés, Mr. St. Cosme assured me, are far from being as docile as the Tounika. They practice polygamy, steal, and are very vicious, the girls and women more than the men and boys, among whom there is much to reform before anything can be expected of them.[c]

St. Cosme writes: "One is persuaded that they are all thieves and try only to do harm, and that if they had no fear they would kill a man in order to get his knife."[d]

De la Vente's opinion is more optimistic, however. He says:

> It seems to me that there remains yet among these barbarous people excellent remnants of that beautiful natural law that God engraved on the heart of men in the state of innocence.[e]
>
> Union reigns to such an extent among them that not only does one see no lawsuit among them, but they even receive in common the outrages perpetrated upon a single person and the village, even if it perishes entirely, will

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 308-309.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 412, 1880.

[c] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 136, 1861.

[d] Letter of Oct. 21, 1702, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 45-46.

[e] Letter of De la Vente, July 4, 1708, ibid., I, 45.

> perish rather than abandon the quarrels of one of their brothers, however unjust they may be.
>
> Envy, anger, oaths and pride are unknown among the greater part of them, and to put everything in a word, they have nothing savage but the name, since good sense, which is of all places, has been willing to live among them. * * * Here is a part of what they have preserved without writings or reading, without any other thing than what their fathers have left them by tradition as a heritage of the natural law. * * *[a]
>
> Their honesty regarding that which one sells to them is inviolable on their part, and it would be desirable that the French had as much good faith in their trading as they use themselves in what they trade to us.[b]

Dumont nowhere takes the trouble to make an estimate of the character of the Indians, contenting himself with scattered expressions to the effect that all of the Indian tribes, even those supposed to be on terms of friendship, are utterly perfidious, and that "perhaps not one of the nations of Louisiana can be said to have any religion or worship."[c] Du Pratz, who seems to have appreciated the Indian character best, even to the extent of overestimating it, assures us that his opinion of Indians when he first came to Louisiana was that they were like brute beasts. Having expressed this idea to Bienville one day "the governor answered that I did not yet know those people, and that when I did know them I would do them more justice." And he then remarks:

> He told the exact truth. I have had time to undeceive myself, and I am convinced that those who would see the true portrait of them which I will make presently will be convinced with me that it is very wrong to call men savages who know how to make such very good use of their reason, who think justly, who have prudence, good faith, generosity much more than certain civilized nations who will not suffer themselves to be placed in comparison with them for want of knowing or wishing to give things the value they deserve.[d]

It should be noticed that Du Pratz never calls the Indians "sauvages" but always "naturels."

Farther on he says:

> The Natchez nation was one of the most estimable in the colony in the first times, not only according to their own tradition, but also according to those of other peoples, to whom their greatness and the beauty of their customs gave as much jealousy as admiration.[e]

And in another place he remarks of the same tribe, after noting that the characters of the various nations of Louisiana were different:

> Their manners were besides gentler, their way of thinking truer and fuller of feeling, their customs more rational, and their ceremonies more natural and more serious, which made this nation more brilliant and distinguished it from all others. It was indeed easy to recognize that it was much more civilized.[f]

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[a] Letter of De la Vente, July 4, 1708, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 46.

[b] Letter of July 8, 1708, ibid., 45.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 135, 157, 1753.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 88.

[e] Ibid., II, 221.

[f] Ibid., 308.

But, after all, the final moral estimate of a tribe or nation is a thing that no other tribe or nation is competent to undertake. It will be made by different individuals differently, depending on the standards, environment, and prejudices, or, on the other hand, the sympathetic appreciation of the person acting as judge.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

On the Indian mode of wearing the hair Dumont says, speaking generally:

> They * * * never have any beard nor even the least hair on any part of the body, which comes from the fact that from their youth they take great pains to pluck it out. With regard to the hair of the head the men wear it differently, according to difference in nationality. Some cut it entirely, leaving only a tuft on the top of the head in the Turkish fashion. Others cut it on one side only, on the right or the left, and keep the other side very long. Many also have the head completely shaved and have only a braided tress which hangs on each side, and others are clipped like our monks, having only a crown of short hairs. The women and girls, on the other hand, wear their hair very thick and very long; moreover, they have no other headdress. They have very black and beautiful locks and wear them either braided in tresses or bound into a cue with a belt of that bison hair which I have said to be as fine and soft as wool, instead of a ribbon. These tresses are ordinarily interlaced by way of ornament with strings of blue, white, green, or black beads [made of glass], according to their taste, sometimes also with quills of the porcupine, a kind of hedgehog larger than that which we know and which is more common in Canada than in Louisiana, where I have never seen any.[a]

Du Pratz, evidently confining himself to the Natchez, remarks as follows:

> The natives cut their hair around, leaving a crown like the Capuchins, and leave only enough long hair to make a twisted tress no larger than the little finger, and which hangs over the left ear. This crown is in the same place and almost as large as that of a monk. In the middle of this crown they leave about two dozen long hairs for the attachment of feathers.
>
> Although the natives all wear this crown, yet the hair is not removed or pulled from this place, but it is cut or burned with burning coals. It is not the same with the hair of the armpits and the beard, which they take great care to pull out, so that they never come back, not being able to suffer any hair to appear on their bodies, although naturally they do not have more of it than we.[b]
>
> They (the women) wear nothing on their heads; their hair is at full length, except that in front, which is shorter. The hair behind is fastened in a cue by means of a netting of mulberry threads, with tassels at the ends. They take great pains to pull out the hair and leave none on the body except the hair of the head.[c]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 136, 137.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 198.

[c] Ibid., 195.

Regarding their dress generally we read as follows:

> The men are dressed in deerskins, which are made like our jackets, and descend halfway down the thighs. They have breechcloths and *mytes* [a] underneath, which cover them from the feet to the hips.[b]
>
> The women are covered with a garment of white cloth, which extends from neck to feet, made almost like the Andriennes of our French ladies. * * * The clothing of the girls is different from that of the women; they wear only the breechcloth, which is made like the little taffeta aprons which girls in France wear over their skirts. The breechcloths of the girls are ordinarily made of a fabric of white thread and cover their nudeness only in front from the belt halfway down the legs. They fasten it behind with two cords, at the end of each one of which hangs a tassel which falls behind. There are fringes sewed to the lower part of the breechcloth along the front which hang down to the ankle. The girls wear this until they reach the age of puberty, for then they put on the dress of the women.[c]

> Now that the savages have traded with us they leave off as much as they are able the skins with which they formerly covered themselves. The richest—that is to say, the most skillful hunters—have shirts which they usually wear on their bodies without ever washing them. Some wear over this shirt one of the great coverings of which I have spoken when it is cold and go bare except for their shirts during the hot season. The others, as the chiefs, wear clothing of cloth of *Limbourg*, which we give them ready made. The modest colors are not to their taste. No savage in America wears breeches; they content themselves with a breechcloth, or with a piece of cloth or skin with which they conceal what ought to be concealed. They fasten it to the belt in front and behind. In place of stockings they envelop the leg in another piece of stuff, which they tie under the knee, and which is called *mitasse*.[a] Their shoe is a piece of skin cut and sewed to the size of the foot. Many women, and especially those belonging to the chiefs, have skirts and always wear a kind of skirt which covers them from the waist to the knee. The best clothed have woolen coverings, the less wealthy have neither shirts nor coverings; they go naked from the waist up, unless the cold obliges them to cover themselves with a skin.[d]

> These people go almost naked. The men wear only a kind of belt, through which they pass a fourth of a piece of red or blue cloth, which in that country is called *Limbourg*, which serves to conceal their nudity. Sometimes they employ for the same purpose a piece of linen. This is what they call a *brayet*. This cloth, fastened in front to their belt, passes between their thighs and reaches the same belt behind, where it is also fastened, leaving a rather large end to hang down behind at the two sides.
>
> With regard to the women, they have a kind of short petticoat made of an ell of this same cloth, which reaches the lower leg only and which they call an *alconand*. It is never permitted the girls to wear this petticoat so long as they keep their virginity. It is only after they have lost it, whether through marriage or otherwise, that they can make use of it. Until that time in place of this arrangement they wear a kind of net attached to their belt and terminating in a point just like a kind of *corps d'enfant*, the two sides of which are ornamented with ribbons of bass thread, also worked into a netting. From their belts to their knees hang many strings from the same cord, at the ends of

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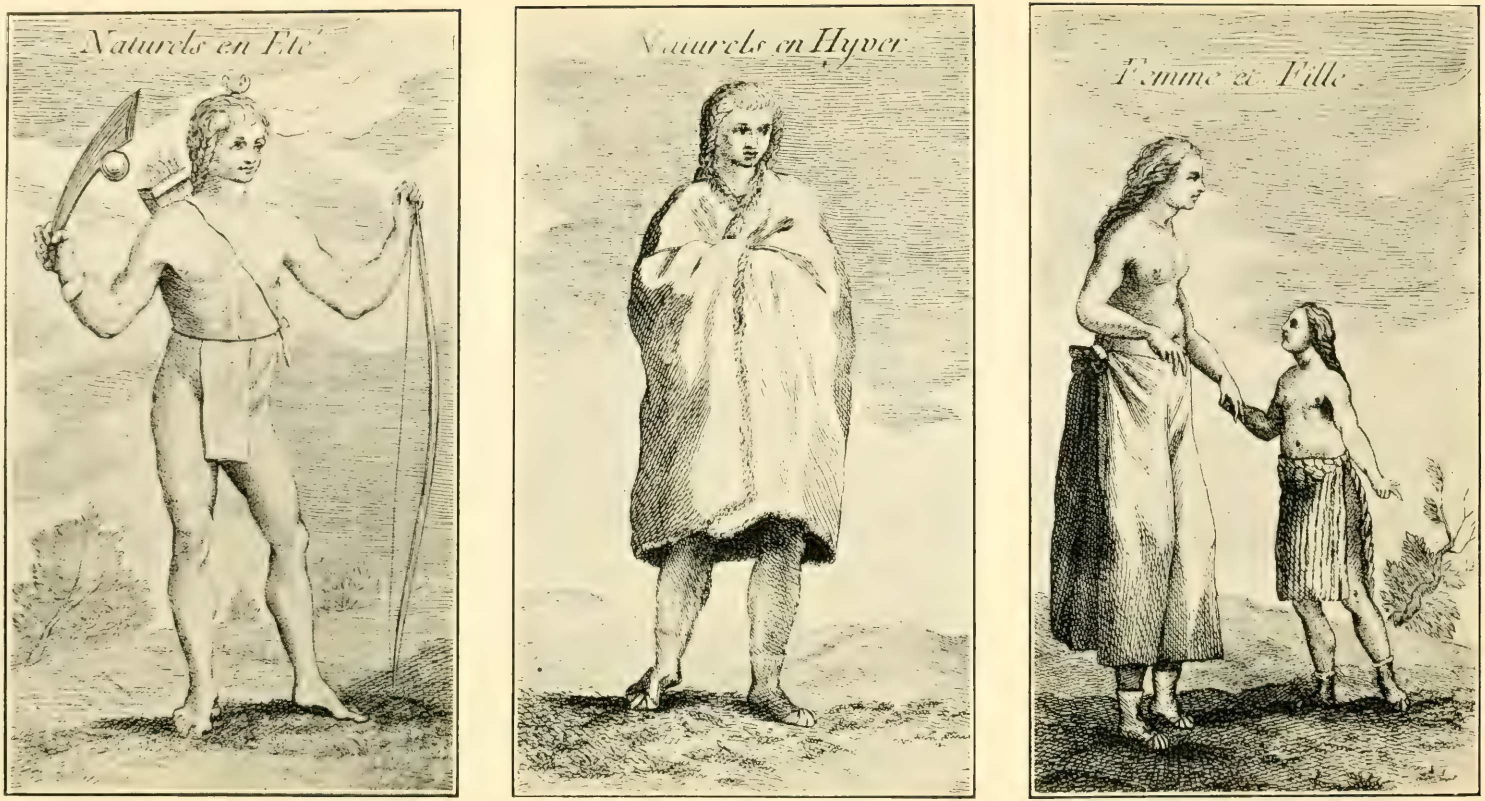
[a] Perhaps this should be *mitasses*, leggings.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 446.

[c] Ibid., 445–446.

[d] The Luxembourg Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 132–133, 1752.


Naturels en Eté
Naturels en Hyver
Femme et Fille

a Summer clothing of a Natchez man

b Winter clothing of a Natchez man

c Clothing of a Natchez woman and girl

NATCHEZ COSTUMES

(From Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 308, 309, 310) which are attached claws of birds of prey like eagles, tiercelets,[a] buzzards, etc., which when these girls walk make a kind of clicking, which pleases them. This sort of ornament does not ill resemble those nets with which our horses are covered to protect them from the flies.[b]

During the hot season the men wear only a breechcloth (*brayer*) (pl. 2, *a*). This is the skin of a deer dressed white or dyed black, but few except chiefs wear breechcloths of black skin. Those who are near the French wear breechcloths made of *Limbourg*. The latter are made of a quarter of an ell of cloth, which, being an ell and a quarter wide, makes a breechcloth five quarters long by one quarter wide. In this way there is some binding at each end. To sustain this breechcloth they have a belt about the hips, into which they pass one end, at a height of 4 inches above the loins. The rest, passing between the thighs, comes up into the belt next the skin, and the end, to the length of about a foot and a half, falls back on the thighs. Those who have deerskins use them in the same manner. * * *

When it is cold the men cover themselves with a shirt made of two dressed deerskins (pl. 2, *b*), which resembles rather a nightgown than a shirt, the sleeves having only such a length as the breadth of the skin permits. They also make a garment for themselves such as the French call *mitasses*, but which they ought rather to name *cuissards*, since it covers the thighs and descends from the hips as far as the region of the moccasins and enters these to the ankles. When they have red or blue *Limbourg* they take pleasure in dressing themselves up, whether with blankets or *mitasses*.

Over all these, if the cold is a little severe, they wear a bison robe left uncolored on the side toward the [animal's] flesh, and with the hair left on, which they place against the body because it is warmer. In the country where beavers are found they make robes composed of six skins of these animals. When the days begin to grow finer and the cold is no longer so violent, the men and women cover themselves only with a deerskin dressed white, and sometimes colored black. There are some of these which have daubings in designs of different colors, as in red or in yellow with black lines.

The women in the warm season wear only half an ell of *Limbourg*, with which they cover themselves. They wind this cloth about their bodies, and are well covered from the belt to the knees. When they have no more *Limbourg* they employ for the same purpose a deerskin. With women, as with men, the remainder of the body is uncovered.

If the women know how to work them, they make mantles for themselves either of feathers or of mulberry bark. * * *

When it is hot, the women wear only a mantle in the shape of a skirt, but when the cold makes itself felt they wear a second, the middle of which passes under the right arm, the two corners being fastened on the left shoulder. In this manner the two arms are free and only one breast is visible. They wear nothing on their heads (pl. 2, *c*).

The boys and the young girls are not dressed at all, but when the girls are from 8 to 10 years of age they are covered from the belt to the ankle with a fringe of mulberry threads attached to a band which passes under the belly. There is also another band over the navel, which is joined to the first behind. The belly between the two is covered with a netting, which holds them in place, and there are behind only two large cords, each of which has a tassel. The boys begin to cover themselves only at the age of twelve or thirteen (pl. 2, *c*).[c]

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[a] Male birds of prey

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 137–139, 1753.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 190–197. The paragraphs have been rearranged

> The men and women seldom wear moccasins when they are not traveling. The moccasins of the natives are made of deerskins. They come together around the foot like a sock, supposing it had the seam above. The skin is cut three fingers longer than the foot, and the shoe is sewed only to the same distance from the end of the foot, and all the rest is wrinkled on the foot. The hinder part is sewed like a sock, but the flaps are from 8 to 9 inches high. They go all the way round the leg. They are joined in front by means of a thong of bearskin, which extends to the ankle, and thus makes lace boots. These moccasins have neither soles nor heels. Those of the men and the women are the same.[a]

Gravier says, in speaking of the Natchez women, "Most of them have black teeth, which are considered beautiful among them. They blacken them by chewing the ashes of tobacco mixed with wood ashes and rubbing them with these every morning."[b] It is singular that no other authority appears to have noted this point, except Iberville in describing the Bayogoula,[c] but all agree regarding their excessive fondness for vermilion. Says Dumont, "All the women of the savages love vermilion passionately, which they use to *mattacher* themselves; that is, to smear not only on their faces, but sometimes on the upper part of the shoulders and the stomach." This vermilion was obtained from the French.[d] Failing it and, of course, in primitive times, they went in search of ocher, which they reddened in the fire.[e]

The Luxembourg memoir says:

> The men and women of the Mississippi paint the face and employ for that purpose different colors with more sincerity than we. Red, blue, black, and white enter into the composition of their complexions. Sometimes half of the face is red or white; another is marked with stripes as broad as the thumb and of opposite colors. In a troop of savages prepared for some ceremony they are differently daubed. The taste of each is seen and distinguished in the manner of applying and placing these colors. It has appeared to me that the most fantastic were among them the most refined; they are not contented with the face; they paint also a part of the head.[f]

Although head-flattening is mentioned by all writers[g] the only good description of the method in which it was brought about is the following from the Luxembourg memoir:

> They have * * * the head pointed and almost of the shape of a miter. They are not born so; it is a charm which is given them in early years. What a mother does to the head of her infant in order to force its tender bones to assume this shape is almost beyond belief. She lays the infant on a cradle which is nothing more than the end of a board on which is spread a piece of the skin of an animal; one extremity of this board has a hole where the head is placed and it is lower than the rest. The infant being laid down entirely naked she pushes back its head into this hole and applies to it on the forehead

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 194–195.

[b] Gravier, Jes. Rel., LXV, 145.

[c] See p. 276.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 155.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 184, 1758.

[f] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 133–134.

[g] Cf. pp. 89–90, 262, 316.

> and under the head a mass of clay which she binds with all her strength between two little boards. The infant cries, turns completely black, and the strain which it is made to suffer is such that a white, slimy fluid is seen to come out of its nose and ears at the time when the mother presses on its forehead. It sleeps thus every night until its skull has taken on the shape which custom wishes it to receive. Some savages near Mobile begin to disabuse themselves, through our example, of a gratification which costs so dear.[a]

Du Pratz says of the ornaments of men generally:

> The ornaments for festivals are in themselves as simple as the garments. The youths are as vain as elsewhere, and are charmed to vie with one another in seeing who shall be most dressed up, so much so that they put vermilion on themselves very often. They also put on bracelets made of the ribs of deer which they have worked down very thin and bent in boiling water. These bracelets are as white and as smooth as polished ivory outside. They wear glass beads in necklaces like the women, and one sometimes sees them with a fan in the hand. They put white down around the head, which is shaved. But to the little forelock or skein of hair which they leave in the middle of the fontanel of the head they attach the whitest straight feathers they can find. They do, in short, everything that a young head is capable of inventing to adorn themselves.[b]
>
> The warriors may also have the lower parts of the ears slit, in order to pass through them iron or brass wire in the form of worm screws, a full inch in diameter.[c]
>
> The women ornament themselves with earrings made of the core of a great shell called "burgo," of which I have spoken. This ear pendant is as large as the little finger and at least as long. They have a hole in the lower part of each ear large enough to insert this ornament. It has a head a little larger than the rest to prevent it from falling out.[d]

Of the use of this shell Dumont speaks more at length, as follows:

> There are found besides on the shores of the sea beautiful shells of a spiral shape called "burgau." They are very suitable for making pretty tobacco boxes, for they carry their mother-of-pearl with them. It is of these burgau that the savage women make their earrings. For this purpose they take the ends of them and rub them a long time on hard stones and thus give them the shape of a nail provided with a head, in order that when they put them in their ears they will be stopped by this kind of pivot, for these savage women have their ears laid open very much more than our French women. One might pass the thumb, however large, through [the slit]. The savages also wear on their necks plates about 3 or 4 inches in diameter, made of pieces of this shell, which they shape in the same manner on stones and to which they give a round or oval shape. They then pierce them near the edge by means of fire and use them as ornaments.[e]

The Luxembourg memoir thus confirms the above seemingly exaggerated statements regarding the size of the apertures made for earrings:

> Their greatest ornament consists of bead necklaces of different colors, with which they load the neck and the ears, where they have holes, as well as the

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[a] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 135–136.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 197–198.

[c] Ibid., 200 (190).

[d] Ibid., 195 (196).

[e] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 94–95.

men, large enough to pass an egg through, which the size and weight of what they put there from infancy greatly enlarges.[a]

The beads spoken of by French writers seem to have been imported, but the imported article probably replaced something similar made of shell or stone. Of the beads in use in his time Du Pratz remarks:

> When they have beads (*rassade*) they make necklaces composed of one or many rows. They make them long enough for the head to pass through. The *rassade* is a bead of the size of the end of the finger of a small infant. Its length is greater than its diameter. Its substance is similar to porcelain. There is a smaller one, ordinarily round and white. They value it more than the other. There is a blue one and one of another style which is banded (*bardelée*) with blue and white. The medium sized and the smallest are strung to ornament skins, garters, etc.[b]

To this list of ornaments must be added the pearls referred to by several writers among both Natchez and Taënsa. Pénicaut says of these:

> They have similarly a necklace of fine pearls which they have received from their ancestors, but they are all spoiled because they have pierced them with the aid of a hot fire. Two or three are placed around the necks of the infant nobles when they come into the world; they wear them to the age of 10 and then they are replaced in the temple.[c]

TATTOOING

> The greater part have fantastic marks imprinted on the face, the arms, the legs, and the thighs; so far as the body is concerned, this is a right which belongs only to the warriors, and one must be noted on account of the death of some enemy in order to merit this distinction. They imprint on the stomachs of their heroes an infinity of black, red, and blue lines; which is not done without pain. They begin by tracing the design on the skin, then with a needle or a little bone well sharpened they prick until the blood comes, following the design, after which they rub the punctures with a powder of the color that the one who has himself marked demands. These colors having penetrated between the skin and flesh are never effaced. * * *[d]

> But the greatest ornament of all these savages of both sexes consists in certain figures of suns, serpents, or other things, which they carry pictured on their bodies in the manner of the ancient Britons, of whom Cæsar tells us in his Commentaries. The warriors, as well as the wives of the chiefs and the Honored men,[e] have these figures pictured on the face, arms, shoulders, thighs, legs, but principally on the belly and stomach. It is for them not only an ornament, but also a mark of honor and distinction, which is only acquired after many brave deeds, and here is how these pictures are made: First, in accordance with the color that is desired, a man makes either a black mixture of pine charcoal or, indeed, of gunpowder dissolved in water, or a red of cinnabar or vermilion. After this five medium-sized sewing needles are taken, which are arranged on a little flat, smooth piece of wood and fastened to the same depth, so that one

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[a] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 133.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 195 (196).

[c] Margry, Découvertes, V, 452.

[d] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 134–135.

[e] The term adopted by the writer for the French *Considéré*.

point does not extend out beyond the others. These needles are then soaked in the color and moved quickly, being applied lightly to the design, which had before been traced on the body, and the color insinuates itself between the skin and the flesh through these needle holes. This operation never fails to give a fever to those who submit to it, and a mange rises on the skin, which afterward dries and falls into dust, but the figure imprinted on the flesh through these needle prickings, whether in red or black, is never effaced. It is carried to the tomb.[a]

From youth the women have a line tattooed across the highest part of the nose, some in the middle of the chin from above downward, others in different places, especially the women of those nations which have an *r* in their language. I have seen some of them tattooed over the entire upper part of the body. Even the breast was tattooed all over, though this part of the body is extremely sensitive * * *.[b]

The youths also have themselves tattooed on the nose, and not elsewhere until they are warriors and have performed some valorous act. But when they have killed some enemy and have brought back his scalp, they have a right to have themselves tattooed and to ornament themselves with figures suitable to the occasion.

These tattooings are so much in vogue among the natives that there are neither men nor women who do not have them made, but the warriors especially have taken no pains to deprive themselves of them. Those who have signalized themselves by some important feat have a war club tattooed on the right shoulder, and beneath one sees the hieroglyphic sign of the conquered nation. The others have themselves tattooed each according to his taste. To perform this operation they attach six needles to a flat piece of wood, well fastened three by three, so that the points do not protrude more than a line [beyond the wood]. They trace the outline of the figure with charcoal or cinders. Then they prick the skin and when they have done this over a section about two fingers in length they rub the place with fine charcoal; this powder is pressed so strongly into the punctures that they never become effaced. However simple this operation is, it inflames the body considerably, sometimes gives a fever, and makes the tattooed person extremely sick if he is not very careful while the inflammation lasts to eat nothing but corn, drink nothing but water, and keep away from women.[c]

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES

Du Pratz describes the Natchez method of making fire as similar to that in vogue with the great majority of Indian tribes—that is, by twirling one stick in a small cavity in another. For this purpose he states that a man took a little dead branch, of the thickness of a finger, which had dried on the tree, and applied one end to a dead but not rotted tree, meanwhile turning it violently until he saw a little smoke come forth. "Then collecting in the hole the dust which this rubbing has produced he blows gently until it takes fire, after which he adds to it some very dry moss and other inflammable material."[d]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 139–140.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 195–196. There is a mistake in numbering the pages here in the original.

[c] Ibid., 198–200. Page 200 is misnumbered 190 in the original

[d] Ibid., 165.

Du Pratz may also intend to convey the information that flints were used for this purpose, but his language is too indeterminate to be relied upon.[a]

For axes they employed "deep gray stones of fine grain, almost like touchstone." They were ground down on pieces of sandstone (*grais*).

> These stone axes are fully an inch thick at the head [or butt], and half an inch thick three quarters of the way down. The edge is beveled, but not sharp, and may be 4 inches wide except that the head is only 3 inches wide. This head is pierced with a hole[b] large enough to pass the finger through in order to be better bound in the cleft at one end of the handle, and this end itself is well bound so as not to split farther.[c]

Knives were ordinarily made of a rather small variety of cane. This was split into four pieces, each of which made a knife that cut very well for a little while. New ones had to be obtained constantly, but the canes from which they were manufactured were very common.

Du Pratz says of these:

> The canes or reeds of which I have spoken so often may be considered of two kinds. The one grows in moist places, to a height of 18 to 20 feet and as large as the fist. The natives make of them mats, sieves, little boxes, and many other articles. The others, which grow in dry lands, are neither as high nor as large, but they are so hard that these people used split portions of these canes, which they call *conshac* [the Mobilian term], with which to cut their meat before the French brought them knives.[d]

He also states that a kind of meal was obtained from the larger variety out of which they made bread or porridge.[d]

> They make bows of acacia wood which is hard and easy to split. They furnish them with cords made of the bark of trees.[e] They fashion their arrows from wood of the tree which bears this name and which is very hard. The points are put into the fire to harden.[f]

Feathers were fastened to these arrows by means of fish glue. Arrows for killing birds or small fishes were made out of little pieces of hard cane, but those intended for the bison or the deer were armed with great splinters of bone adjusted in a split end of the arrow shaft, the cleft and the casing being bound with splints of feathers and the whole soaked in fish glue. War arrows were ordinarily armed with scales of the garfish (*poisson-armé*)[g] fixed in place in the same manner. Arrows intended for large fish, such as the carp sucker or catfish, were merely provided with a bone pointed at both ends "so that the first point pierces and makes an entrance for the arrow, and the other end, which stands out from the wood, prevents the arrow from falling out of the fish's body." This arrow was also attached by a cord to a wooden float which prevented the fish from diving to the bottom or becoming lost.[a]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 165.

[b] Professor Holmes says, however, that among the archeological remains of America no ax of this kind has been found.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 166.

[d] Ibid., 58–59, 167.

[e] Also of steeped and twisted sinew.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 167.

[g] In Ibid., 156, he says "the tail" of the garfish.

Their houses are described as follows:

> [The cabins] of the Arkansas and of the Yazoos are quite round and have almost the shape of our ice houses (*glacières*). They are constructed of large, long poles planted in the earth about 2 feet apart in a great circle 40 to 50 feet in diameter which approach each other above, where they are brought together and tied, forming a kind of dome. Around these poles the savages plait pliant pieces of wood arranged horizontally at vertical distances of about a foot which they attach with cords from pole to pole. Afterward, kneading well with their feet some clay which they mix with that kind of moss of which I have spoken, which is called "Spanish beard," they make a mud with which they plaster their cabins, which, when this work is finished, appear as if built entirely of earth. They are then covered with the bark of the cypress or with palmetto. Such are the houses of the savages in which one discovers neither windows nor chimneys but only a narrow door 5 feet high. There are also some square cabins in which many holes have been pierced at regular intervals. These are something like loopholes, serving to discover the enemy and to shoot through. From this circumstance these cabins have been called "fort cabins." It is probably to protect themselves from the mosquitoes and gnats (*maringouins*) that the savages do not leave any openings in their cabins. Moreover, as it is in the middle of the cabins that they make the fire, it happens that the smoke rising and not finding any exit, after having filled the dome, spreads into the entire cabin and goes out by the door, so that on entering one at first sees nothing and is stifled with smoke. In summer and when the weather is fine the fire is made in front of the cabin outside.[b]

The cabins of the great village of the Natchez, the only one I saw, are in the shape of a square pavilion, very low, and without windows. The top is rounded much like an oven. The majority are covered with the leaves and stalks of corn; some are built of clay mixed with cut straw, which seemed to me to be tolerably strong, and which were covered within and without with very thin mats. That of the great chief is very neatly plastered on the inside. It is also larger and higher than the rest, placed on a somewhat elevated spot, and stands alone, no other building adjoining it on any side. It fronts the north and has a large open space in front, not of the most regular outline.[c]

The cabins of the natives are all perfectly square. There is not one which measures less than 15 feet each way, but there are some more than 30.[d] This is their method of constructing them:

The natives go into the young woods in search of poles of young walnut (hickory) trees 4 inches in diameter by 18 to 20 feet long. They plant the largest at the four corners to determine the dimensions and the size of the dome. But before planting the others they prepare the scaffold (rafters). This is composed of four poles fastened together above, the ends below resting at the four corners. On these four poles they fasten others crosswise 1 foot apart, all making a four-sided ladder or four ladders joined together.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 167–168.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 142–144.

[c] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 159–160, 1851.

[d] Elsewhere he gives the dimensions of the great chief's house as 30 feet square by about 20 high.

> That done they plant the other poles in the earth in straight lines between those at the corners. When they are thus planted they are bound firmly to a cross pole on the inside of each face [or side]. For this purpose they use great cane splints to bind them, at the height of 5 or 6 feet, according to the size of the cabin. This is what forms the walls. These erect poles are not more than about 15 inches apart. A young man then mounts to the top of a corner post with a cord between his teeth. He fastens the cord to the pole, and as he mounts inward the pole bends because those who are below draw the cord to make the pole curve as much as is needed. At the same time another young man does the same to the pole forming the angle opposite. Then the two poles, bent to a suitable height, are firmly and smoothly bound together. The same is done to the poles of the two remaining corners which are made to cross the first. Finally all the other poles are joined at the top, giving the whole the appearance of a bower in a greenhouse such as we have in France. After this work canes are fastened to the lower sides or walls crosswise about 8 inches apart, as high up as the pole which I have spoken of as determining the height of the walls.
>
> These canes being fastened in this manner, they make mud walls of earth mortar (*mortier de terre*) in which they put a certain amount of Spanish beard. These walls are not more than 4 inches thick. No opening is left except the door, which is but 2 feet wide at most by 4 in height, and some are very much smaller. Finally they cover the framework I have just described with cane mats, placing the smoothest on the inside of the cabin, and they fasten them to each other carefully so that they join well.
>
> After this they make many bundles of grass, of the tallest they can find in the low grounds, which are 4 or 5 feet long. It is laid down in the same manner as the straw with which cottages are covered. They fasten this grass by means of large canes and splints also made of cane. After the cabin has been covered with grass they cover all with cane mats well bound together, and below they make a circle of lianas all the way around the cabin. Then the grass is clipped uniformly, and in this way, however high the wind may be, it can do nothing against the cabin. These coverings last twenty years without repairing.[a]

When out hunting, rough brush shelters were erected, closed on the north side on account of the cold.[b] The furniture of even the best of these cabins was evidently very simple, since Charlevoix says of the cabin of the great chief of the Natchez himself: "All the furniture I found in it was a narrow couch of boards raised about 2 or 3 feet above the ground."[c] This, however, would mean nothing more than that the couch was the only immovable piece of furniture, since the town was deserted at the time of Charlevoix's visit, all the people having gone to a feast at another place. The beds are described by Dumont and Du Pratz as follows:

> Around these cabins are ranged at regular intervals the beds of all those who dwell there. These beds are neither turned nor polished. They are only four forked posts planted in the earth and raised about 2½ feet, on which are placed lengthwise, two round poles which with five or six crosspieces make the length and breadth of the bed such as is desired. These crosspieces are covered with a mat made of long green canes, and this is what the bed of a savage consists of, without clothing, without mattress, or feather bed. On this cane mat is

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 172–175.

[b] Ibid., I, 234–235.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 160, 1851.

> spread either a woolen covering which has been obtained from the French or, failing that, a bison skin. Two of these skins are enough covering for one savage. He lies between them, in winter between the hairy sides and in summer between the sides without hair.[a]
>
> These beds are raised a foot and a half from the earth. Six small forked sticks planted in the soil bear two poles crossed by three pieces of wood, on which they place canes so near each other that this kind of flooring which forms the straw mattress is very smooth and well bound to the three pieces of wood that cross the two poles. The furnishings of these beds consist of some bearskins. A skin filled with dry Spanish beard takes the place of a bolster. A bison robe is sufficient covering in a place as close as are their cabins, in the middle of which the fire is made, and the smoke goes out partly by the door, partly through the roof, though with difficulty. The beds are arranged end to end all around the wall of the cabin.[b]

In the account of the Natchez given by Le Petit one or two additional items of information are contained. In speaking of the cabin of the great chief, he says:

> There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering, but on the right is only the bed of the great chief, ornamented with different painted figures. This bed consists of nothing more than a very hard mattress of canes and reeds with a square log of wood, which serves as a pillow.[c]

When out on a hunt or traveling, the ordinary Natchez bed consisted of nothing more than a deerskin and a bison robe.[d]

Another article of furniture is thus referred to:

> The natives have small seats or stools on which they sit. I do not know whether they made use of them before having our axes. I much doubt it when I consider their small inclination to sit on them. These seats are only 6 or 7 inches high. The feet and the seat are of the same piece.[e]

Nevertheless the manufacture of a peculiar chair of this kind by Indians in imitation of the French seems rather unlikely, especially when we remember that one of them formed the throne of the Great Chief.

> Mats are ordinarily 6 feet long by 4 broad and are worked in designs. The gloss of the cane[f] yellows in aging. There are those the designs of which besides being indicated by difference in workmanship are marked by splints colored some in red, some in black, making three different colors in these mats.[g]

These were used to sit or lie upon, and the beds were covered with them. When the chief of the Taënsa came to visit La Salle a servant brought a beautifully woven mat in advance for him to sit upon during the interview.[h]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 144–145.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 181–182.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 127.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 235, 236.

[e] Ibid., II, 182.

[f] For the kind of cane used see p. 58, under Knives.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 182–183.

[h] Margry, Découvertes, II, 210.

> With the skin which they take from the upper part of the canes they make very fine sifters (*tamis*). They also make some with larger openings which serve as sieves (*cribles*), and they work others without openings which take the place of winnowing baskets (*van*). They sell these little pieces of work to the French, who obtain them for trifles. They also make hampers (*paniers*) worked very neatly, and baskets for corn.[a]

> To finish off the grain after it has been crushed, there is need of sifters, sieves, and winnowing baskets. These are made of cane splints. The sifters are finer or coarser, according to the use to which they are destined.[b]
>
> The women also make varieties of burden baskets for carrying grains, meat, fish, or other provisions which they have to transport from one place to another. The French have named them *mannes*, although they rather resemble *mannequins*. They are round, with a depth greater than the diameter, and as large below as above. They make them of all sizes. The medium sized are for the young girls. There are very little ones for gathering strawberries.
>
> The women of these countries, as of other regions, need to protect their jewels and all that contributes to ornament their persons. For this purpose they make double baskets, or those which have no reverse (one basket fitting into another). The cover is large enough to inclose all the lower part, and it is into these that they put their earrings, bracelets, garters, beads, hair ribbons, and vermilion (or ocher) to paint themselves.[c]

Du Pratz describes the process of manufacturing pottery as taking place at an imaginary previous period, when the people first came from Asia, but it is perhaps what he had seen going on before him, and with the tense altered runs as follows:

> They go in search of heavy earth, examine it in the form of dust [i. e., before it had been wet], throwing out whatever grit they find, make a sufficiently firm mortar, and then establish their workshop on a flat board, on which they shape the pottery with their fingers, smoothing it by means of a stone which is preserved with great care for this work. As fast as the earth dries they put on more, assisting with the hand on the other side. After all these operations, it is cooked by means of a great fire.
>
> These women also make pots of an extraordinary size, jugs with a medium-sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs for bear's oil, which hold as many as 40 pints, also dishes and plates like the French. I have had some made out of curiosity on the model of my earthenware. They were of a quite beautiful red.[d]

In another place he says that the red color was due to ocher obtained from veins in a bluff called the White Bluff (*l'Écore Blanc*). This was smeared on the pots before they were hardened, and dried over the fire.

Says Dumont:

> What is more remarkable is that without a potter's wheel, with their fingers alone and patience, they [the women] make all kinds of earthen vessels, dishes, plates, pots to put on the fire, with others large enough to contain 25 to 30 pots of oil.[a]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 154.
[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 179.
[c] Ibid., 183–184.
[d] Ibid., 178–179.

The mantles referred to in describing the dress of women are usually spoken of as being made of mulberry bark, but Pénicaut mentions "the bark of the nettle" also.

> When they have steeped these barks in water for eight days (he says) they dry them in the sun for a very long time, and when they are dry beat them until they have changed into bast. Then they put them in lye and wash them three or four times until they are white. Then they spin them and make of them the cloth out of which they manufacture their clothing.[a]

The following is Du Pratz's description:

> To make mulberry-bark mantles they go into the woods in search of shoots or sprouts of mulberry which come from these trees after they have been cut down. The shoots are from 4 to 5 feet high. They cut them before the sap is gone, take off the bark, and dry it in the sun. When this bark is dry they pound it to make the gross part fall away. The interior, which is like bast, remains entire. This they pound anew, to make it finer. They then expose it to the dew, in order to bleach it.
>
> When the bark is in this state they spin it roughly, like shoemaker's thread or thread for sewing shoes. They cease to spin as soon as they have enough of it. Then they set up their frame, which consists of two stakes extending 4 feet out of the ground, between the tops of which runs a large thread on which other threads are double knotted. Finally they make [weave] a crossed texture, which has a border worked in patterns extending all the way around. This stuff is at least an ell square and a line in thickness. The mantles of mulberry-bark thread are very white and very neat. They are fastened on by means of cords of the same thread, having tassels hanging at each end.[b]

We find the following regarding feather work:

> With the thread which they obtain from the bark of the bass tree[c] they make for themselves a kind of mantle which they cover with the finest swan feathers fastened on this cloth one by one, a long piece of work in truth, but they account their pains and time as nothing when they want to satisfy themselves.[d]

> The feather mantles are worked on a frame similar to that on which wig makers work hair. They lay out the feathers in the same manner and fasten them to old fish nets or old mulberry-bark mantles. They place them in the manner already outlined one over another and on both sides. For this purpose they make use of little turkey feathers. The women who can obtain feathers of the swan or Indian duck make mantles of them for the women of the Honored class.[e]

The last writer also states that the feather crowns of the sovereigns were composed of swan feathers, and that "the young people of both sexes make tippets of the skin ornamented with its down."[f]

Dumont adds that "with the tail feathers of turkeys which they know how to arrange they make fans, which not only serve them, but which our French women themselves do not disdain to use,"[g] a statement also made by Du Pratz.[h]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 446.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 192–193.

[c] Ropes and cords for all sorts of purposes were made out of the bark of this tree.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 155.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 191–192.

[f] Ibid., 113.

[g] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 154.

[h] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 125.

Regarding another industry Dumont says: "They also spin without spinning wheel or distaff the hair or rather wool of the bison, of which they make garters (*jarretières*) and ribbons."[a] The belts worn by men, which Du Pratz refers to as having been manufactured by the women, were probably of the same material,[b] though in another place he refers to the fur of the opossum ("wood rat") as being spun and used to make garters, "which they afterwards dye red."[c]

The best account of the manner of dressing skins is by Dumont, and is as follows:

> When they have the skin of a bison, deer, or other animal they begin by making many holes all around it with a knife, after which they steep it in water for two or three days. Then they stretch it on a wooden frame where they fasten it with cords, binding it strongly, and they make the hair fall from it. Afterward they rub and scrape this skin, in order to soften it, with a flint which has been forced into a cleft in one end of a stick of wood, and in order to make it soft and white they make use of the cooked brain of a deer. After this operation the skin is as soft and as white as our calf or sheep skins can be made. It is on the skins thus dressed that they daub or paint all kinds of figures, the designs for which they trace in accordance with their fancy, employing for these paintings red, yellow, black, green, blue, without making use of oil to dilute the colors, but only of the glue which they extract from these same skins. The skins thus daubed serve the French as coverings for gaming tables. The savages also have sufficient skill to dress and prepare bison skins in the same manner on one side only, carefully preserving the hair or wool on the other. These latter serve as bed quilts and are very warm. It is also in the skins dressed in this manner that the savages lie, as I have said, during the winter, and I can certify that they are fully as good as a good mattress.
>
> It is true that although these are well dressed and very white they can not be wet, for as soon as they are wet when they afterward dry they shrink in such a manner that neither leggings, nor stockings without feet, nor shoes, drawers, or other kind of clothing can be made of them. In order to make use of them for these purposes it would be necessary for them to be dressed with oil, but the savages do not know how. They have only discovered how to make them supple, and here is the way they do it:
>
> They first dig a hole in the earth about 2 feet deep, having at the top a diameter of 6 inches and a little less toward the bottom. They fill this hole with cow dung, rotted wood, and maize ears and place over it two rods in the shape of a cross, the four ends of which are planted in the earth so as to form a kind of cradle on which they stretch the skin which they wish to tan. They then set fire to the combustible substances in the hole and fasten the skin down all around by means of many little pegs which they plant in the earth and which hold it. Then they cover it with earth above and along the edges, so as to close the passage to the smoke. Then, the materials in the hole becoming consumed without throwing out flame, the thick smoke which comes out of it, especially owing to the cow dung, not finding any exit, attaches itself to the skin, which it *boucanes* (smoke dries) and dyes it of a yellow color. After this first dressing, it is turned on the other side and a second given to it, and when

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 154–155. For Du Pratz's reference to this see p. 86.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 184.

[c] Ibid., 94.

> it is thus prepared it may be used for all kinds of purposes. However much it is washed or lathered, provided one takes the precaution to let it dry in the shade, it never hardens and is always as soft and supple as chamois. Our Frenchmen make very neat drawers and vests of it, and the *voyageurs* leggings or stockings without feet, as well as a kind of shoe very much like our pumps, with the only difference that it is folded on the foot and shuts together like a purse. These are proof against canes and roots, but would be of little use on our roads paved with pebbles and gravel.[a]

Du Pratz is very brief but to the same general effect, so far as the preliminary dressing is concerned. He says that the hair was made to fall off by soaking and the skin afterward scraped with the flattened bone of a bison, after which each animal was dressed by means of its own brain. He also speaks of skins being dressed with the hair on, out of which particularly robes or coverings were made. "For sewing these skins," he adds, "they make use of sinews beaten and spun. For piercing the skin they employ a bone from the leg of the heron sharpened in the form of an awl." [b]

> The skins of deer, which were purchased in early times from the natives and which take at Niort, where they are perfected, the name of doeskins, did not please these manufacturers at all, because the natives changed the quality of the skins in dressing them, but since these skins have been demanded without any preparation except the removal of the hair, they take more of them and give them to a better market than before.[c]

One special use to which skins were put was in the manufacture of burden bearers.

Du Pratz says:

> These * * * are formed of two bands of bearskin worn with the white side out. These bands are of the breadth of the hand and are joined together by means of little straps of the same quality of skin. These straps are long enough to fasten burdens to, which they (the women) carry much more often than the men. One of these bands passes over the shoulders, embraces them, and holds them tight. The other passes over the forehead and supports it (the burden) in such a manner that they relieve each other.[d]

Besides painting skins in different colors the native women often ornamented them with porcupine quills.

> For this purpose they take off the quills of the porcupine which are white and black.[e] They split them fine enough to use in embroidery. They dye a part of the white red, another part yellow, while a third part remains white. Ordinarily they embroider on black skin, and then they dye the black a reddish brown. But if they embroider on the tree bark the black always remains the same.
>
> Their designs are rather similar to some of those which one finds in Gothic architecture. They are composed of straight lines which form right angles

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 146–149.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 169.

[c] Ibid., III, 378, 379.

[d] Ibid., II, 184.

[e] In ibid., 99, he says "white and brown."

where they meet, which a common person would call the corner of a square. They also make designs of the same style on the mantles and coverings which they fashion out of mulberry bark.[a]

In another place Du Pratz describes the manufacture of their red and yellow dyes as follows:

> The *bois-ayac* is a tree which is ordinarily small and does not grow larger than the leg, perhaps because it is cut very often. * * * The natives use it in making [yellow] dyes. They cut it into little bits, crush it, and then boil it in water, after which they drain off this water and put the feathers and hair, which they customarily dye yellow before dyeing it red, into this to steep. In performing this operation they take care to cut the wood in winter, but when they wish to give only a slight color to their skins, for they are not very fond of yellow, they pay no attention to the season and cut the wood at all times.[b]
>
> It is of the root of this plant (*achetchy*) that the natives make their red dyes. After having dyed an object yellow and a beautiful citron color with *bois-ayac*, as I have said before, they boil the roots of the *achetchy* in water and squeeze them with all their strength. Then they steep what they wish to dye in this boiling water. What was naturally white before having been dyed yellow takes on a beautiful poppy color, and what was brown, as bison hair, which is chestnut colored, becomes red-brown.[c]

The only canoe in common use on the lower Mississippi was the dugout, called by the French pirogue. The manufacture of these required single trees of enormous size, which demanded great skill and patience even to cut down. This is said to have been accomplished as follows:

> These [native] axes * * * could not cut wood neatly, but only bruise it. For this reason they always cut a tree close to the ground so that the fire that they built at the foot of the tree would more easily consume the filaments and fibers of the wood which the axe had mashed. Finally, with much trouble and patience, they managed to bring the tree down. This was a long piece of work, so that in those times they were much busier than at present, when they have the axes we sell them. From this it happens that they no longer cut a tree down at the base, but at the height which is most convenient.[d]

After having felled the tree, which for this purpose was usually a cypress, but in the case of very large canoes poplar was used, it was cut off to the required length in the same manner, and fire was also used in hollowing it out. Du Pratz says:

> This occasions them an infinite amount of labor, since they have no other utensils in this work than wood for making fire and wood for scraping, and only small wood is required to burn. In order to set fire to this tree destined for making a pirogue, a pad of clay, which is found everywhere, has to be made for the two sides and each end. These pads prevent the fire from passing beyond and burning the sides of the boat. A great fire is made above, and when the wood is consumed it is scraped so that the insides may catch fire better and may be hollowed out more easily, and they continue thus until the fire has consumed all of the wood in the inside of the tree. And if the fire burns into the sides they put mud there which prevents it from working farther than

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 99–100, 184–185.

[b] Ibid., 44–45.

[c] Ibid., 63.

[d] Ibid., 166–167.

is demanded. This precaution is taken until the pirogue is deep enough. The outside is made in the same manner and with the same attention.

The bow of this pirogue is made sloping, like those of the boats which one sees on the French rivers. This bow is as broad as the body of the pirogue. I have seen some 40 feet long by 3 broad. They are about 3 inches thick which makes them very heavy. These pirogues can carry 12 persons and are all of buoyant wood. Those of the Arkansas are of black walnut.

To guide these pirogues the natives make little oars, which are not fastened to the boat. They are called paddles (*pagaies*). They are similar to those given in illustrations, where they are placed in the hands of river gods when they are represented. They are only 6 feet long. The French make them only an inch thick, and they are infinitely lighter.[a]

The raft (*cajeu*) was a temporary ferry used in crossing rivers or bayous lying in the way of a party traveling across country. It is thus described by Du Pratz:

It (the raft) is a float composed of bundles of canes bound side by side then crossed double [i. e., a second tier being placed at right angles crosswise]. Travelers employ these vessels in crossing rivers. They are made on the spot when one encounters a river. This happens only to those who travel far away from the habitations of the natives, and when one does not go by water. In all Louisiana one is always assured of having continually at hand something with which to cross a river because canes are found very near the water.[b]

Mortars for pounding corn were hollowed out of sections of trees in very much the same manner as canoes. They—

made a pad of kneaded earth on the upper side, which was that which they wished to hollow. They put fire in the middle and blew it by means of a reed pipe, and if the fire consumed more rapidly on one side than on the other they immediately placed some mud there. They continued in this way until the mortar was sufficiently wide and deep.[c]

ECONOMIC LIFE

The principal animals hunted were the bear, deer, and bison. Regarding the bear, Dumont says:

The savages feed willingly on the flesh of this animal, but for that purpose it must be thin. In any other condition only the four feet can be eaten. The rest is nothing but fat. * * *

* * * In this province of Louisiana instead of caverns these animals choose hollows of trees into which to retreat, on which point it may be observed that these domiciles are raised more than 30 or 40 feet above the earth, and that two bears never lodge there together. Toward the end of March or the beginning of April, before quitting their retreat, the females of these animals bear their little ones. They are then not at all thin in spite of their long fast, and it is in this season that the natives pay them a visit, either to capture their cubs or to make use of their fat. In order to discover them, they go through the woods examining whether on the bark of the trees they notice the imprint of this animal's claws. When they have found one that bears these marks they do not yet content themselves with this indication, and in order to assure

themselves so much the more they imitate the cry of the bear, which is that of a little child. The mother bear, hearing a cry at the foot of her tree and thinking that it is one of her little ones that has suffered itself to fall down, puts her head outside of the hole and thus discloses herself. Then the savages, sure of their prey, prepare to dislodge her, but how is it to be accomplished? To uproot a large and tall tree or cut it down with axes would be too long an operation. They have a more expeditious method. Here it is.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 188–189. [b] Ibid., 186–187. [c] Ibid., 177.

They first choose the nearest tree they can find to that where the animal has made its retreat, after which one of them climbs into this tree, and seats himself astride a branch of the height, if it is possible, of the opening of the bear's hole. Then his comrades who are below place in his hands a large cane 25 to 30 feet long, at the end of which is attached a creeper or a string. At the extremity of this creeper or string the savages tie some dry canes to which they set fire, and the one who is on the tree swinging the cane throws the fire into the hole which serves the animal as a retreat. If he is unable to succeed in this manner he fastens a little string to the end of an arrow and to this string a piece of tinder, a kind of touchwood (*amadou*), which he lights, after which he shoots the arrow into the hole. The tinder, which is then suspended perpendicularly in the middle of the hole, takes fire little by little, burns the string to which it is tied, and falls on the animal, which in moving about to shake it off sets fire to the straw, the dry grass, or the rotten wood with which its dwelling is ordinarily provided. Then the female bear, not being able to endure the ardor of this element, determines to move, which it does backward, descending sedately and showing from time to time its teeth and tongue, which is of a most beautiful scarlet. It is not given time to descend far enough to place its feet on the ground. While it is on the way it is knocked down or shot. Of its little ones some, wishing to imitate their mother, follow her and descend after her, but scarcely have they reached a height from the ground equal to that of a man than they are seized and a cord is passed around their necks. It is thus that they are tamed. Others in trying to save themselves hold to the branches of the trees, where they are shot.[a]

Du Pratz covers the same ground, but with certain variations:

After a sojourn of some time in the country and, having found fruits in abundance, the bears are fat, and it is then that the natives go to hunt them. They know that in this state the bears place themselves under cover—that is to say, settle themselves in trunks of old dead trees still standing of which the heart is rotted. It is there that the bear lodges himself. The natives make a tour through the woods and visit trunks of this kind. If they notice claw marks on the bark they are assured that a bear is lodged in this place.

However, not to be deceived in their conjectures, they strike a very heavy blow on the foot of the trunk and then run rapidly away to conceal themselves behind another tree opposite the lowest of the bear's openings. If there is a bear in this tree he hears the blow which makes the trunk tremble. Then he mounts as far as the opening to see what importunate persons come to trouble his repose. He looks at the foot of his fortress, and not perceiving anything there capable of interrupting him returns to the bottom of his dwelling, displeased no doubt at being disturbed by a false alarm.

The natives having seen the prey which they are persuaded is not able to escape them, collect dead canes which they crush with their feet so that they may burn more easily. Then they make a bundle of them which one carries up into the nearest tree together with fire. The others place themselves in ambush on other trees. The one who has the fire lights one of these pieces of cane and when it is burning well throws it like a dart into the hole of the bear. If he does not succeed the first time he begins again until the bear is forced to come out of his refuge. When there is enough fire in the trunk to light the rotten wood within it the bear, who is not a lover of such a lively heat, comes out backward and abandons his home to the ardor of the flames. Then the hunters, who are all ready, shoot arrows at him as fast as possible, and with so much promptness that he is often killed before he has been able to reach the foot of the trunk.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 76–80.

This chase is very useful, for besides the flesh, which is very good and very healthful, the skin and the fat, from which oil is extracted, are of great use, much value being placed on them, for both are of daily use.

As soon as the bear is in the power of the hunters some persons detach themselves to hunt deer, and never fail to bring back one or two.

When they have a deer they begin by cutting off its head, then skin the neck, rolling the skin as one would a stocking, and cut up the flesh and bones as fast as they advance. This operation can not fail to be laborious because it is necessary to take out all the flesh and the bones through the skin of the neck in order to make a sack of this skin. They cut it as far as the hams and other places where there are outlets. When the skin is entirely empty they scrape it and clean it. Then they make a kind of cement with the fat of the same deer and a few fine ashes. They put it around the orifices which they close very tightly with the bark of the bass tree and leave only the neck through which to cask the bear's oil. It is this which the French call a *faon* of oil. The natives put the flesh and the fat to cook together so that they may detach themselves from each other. They do this cooking in earthen pots of their own manufacture, or in kettles if they have them. When this grease or oil is lukewarm they put it into the *faon*.

They come to trade this kind of oil to the French for a gun or ell of cloth or similar things. That was the price of a *faon* of oil at the time I lived there. But the French use it only after having purified it.[a]

This is the manner of hunting deer, as described by Dumont:

When a savage has succeeded in killing a deer he first cuts off its head as far down as the shoulders. Then he skins the neck without cutting the skin, and, having removed the bones and the flesh from it, he draws out all the brains from the head. After this operation he replaces the bones of the neck very neatly and fixes them in place with the aid of a circle of wood and some little sticks. Then he re-covers them with their skin, and, having dried this head partly in the shade and partly in the smoke, he thus has an entire deer's head, which is very light, and which with its skin preserves also its hair, its horns, and its ears. He carries it with him hung to his belt when he goes hunting, and as soon as he perceives a bison or a deer he passes his right hand into the neck of this deer, with which he conceals his face, and begins to make the same kind of movements as the living animal would make. He looks ahead, then turns the head rapidly from one side to the other. He lowers it to browse on the grass and raises it immediately afterward. In fact, always concealing his face with this head, he deceives the animal which he wishes to approach by means of his gestures, and if during this time it happens that the animal stops to observe him the savage, though he has his leg in the air to move forward, stays it there, and has enough patience to remain in this posture until the living animal, taking him for another animal of his species, begins to approach him.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 86–89.

Then the savage, seeing him within gunshot, lets the deer head fall to the earth, passes his ready (*bandé*) gun from his left hand to his right with admirable skill and rapidity, shoots the animal, and kills it, for he very rarely misses it.[a]

Du Pratz thus describes the hunting of deer:

> The natives go to hunt the deer, sometimes in common and often singly. The hunter who goes alone provides himself for this purpose with the dried head of a deer, the brain being removed and the skin of the neck being still hanging to the head. This skin is provided with circles made of cane splints, which are kept in place by means of other splints lengthwise of the skin so that the hand and arm can easily pass inside. Things being so arranged, the hunter goes into those parts where he thinks there are likely to be deer and takes the precautions which he thinks necessary not to be discovered. As soon as he sees one he approaches it with the step of a wolf, hiding himself behind one thicket after another until he is near enough to shoot it. But if before that the deer shakes its head, which is a sign that it is going to make caprioles and run away, the hunter, foreseeing his fancy, counterfeits this animal by making the same cry that these animals make when they call each other, which very often makes the deer come toward the hunter. Then he shows the head, which he holds in his hand, and causes it to make the movement of a deer which browses and looks up from time to time. The hunter while waiting always holds himself concealed behind the thicket until the deer has approached within gunshot, and although the hunter sees little of its side he shoots it in the shoulder and kills it. It is in this way that a native without hunting companions, without dogs, and without chasing comes finally, by means of a patience which we do not have, to kill a deer, an animal of a swiftness which at most is only exceeded by the number of excitements which take hold of it at each instant and carry it very far off, where the hunter is obliged to go to hunt it with patience for fear a new fantasy will take it away forever and make its enemy lose time and trouble. Let us now see how they chase in company and take a deer alive.
>
> When the natives wish to hold the deer dance, or wish to exercise themselves pleasantly, or even when the desire seizes the great Sun, a hundred go to hunt this animal, which is brought back living. This is why many young men go, who scatter in the prairies where there are thickets to find a deer. As soon as they have perceived it the band approaches it in the form of a very open crescent. The bottom of the crescent advances until the deer springs up and takes to flight. Seeing a company of men in front of it, it very often flees toward one of the ends of the crescent or half circle. This point stops it, makes it afraid, and thus sends it back toward the other point which is a quarter of a league or thereabout distant from the former. This second does the same as the first and drives it back.
>
> The play is continued for a fairly long time, which is done expressly to exercise the young people, or to give pleasure to the great Sun, or to some little Sun whom he names in his place. Sometimes the deer tries to flee and go out of the crescent by the opening between the points, but then those who are at the very points show themselves to make him reenter and the crescent advances to keep him always inclosed between the youths. In this way it often happens that the men have not gone a league while the deer has made more than twenty with the different turns and caprioles which it has made from one side to the other, until at last all the men come together a little

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 150–151.

> farther and make only a circle when they perceive that the animal is very much fatigued. At that time they crouch almost to the earth when the deer comes to their side, and as soon as it gets near them rise with shouts and drive it from one side to the other so long as the deer is able to sustain itself. But finally, not being able to do anything more from fatigue, its limbs fail it, it falls, and allows itself to be taken like a lamb. They take care, however, to attack it only from the rump, in order to escape any blow of its antlers or fore feet, which, however, happens to them sometimes in spite of all the precautions which they take.
>
> Having seized the deer they present it to the great Sun, if he is present, or to that one he has sent to give him this pleasure. When he has seen it at his feet and has said, "It is good," the hunters cut open the deer and bring it back in quarters to the cabin of the great Sun, who distributes it to the leaders of the band who have gone on this hunt.[a]

As noted in the account given by Dumont, the bison was sometimes hunted like the deer. Anciently it appears to have ranged well down toward the mouth of the Mississippi, but in Du Pratz's time it had already retired some distance from the Natchez country. Still it would appear that at certain seasons of the year hunting parties from that tribe pursued it into its nearer grazing grounds. Regarding this animal, after having given a description of it, Du Pratz says:

> This bison is the principal meat of the natives, and has also been for a long time that of the French. The best piece, and one which is extremely delicate, is the hump, of which I have just spoken. This animal is hunted in winter, and at a distance from lower Louisiana and the river St. Louis [the Mississippi], because it is unable to penetrate there on account of the thickness of the woods, and besides it is fond of the tall grass which is found only in the plains of the highlands. In order to approach and shoot it a person goes against the wind and aims at the shoulder, so as to knock it down at the first shot, for if it is merely wounded it runs upon the man. In this chase the natives usually kill the cows, having found that the flesh of the males smells badly (*le bouquin*), an inconvenience from which it would be easy for them to preserve themselves if they knew as soon as the beast is dead to cut off the back sides (*suites*), as is done to stags and boars. That would not be the only advantage they would derive from it. The species would not diminish, much tallow would be obtained, and the skins would be better and larger.[b]

Unless the hunt was far from home game was always brought into camp by the women:

> When the husband goes hunting near the village, if he kills a deer or bison he never brings it back to the house, but only the tongue of the last animal or the head of the first, which on arriving he throws at the feet of his wife, as much to pay her the homage of his hunt as to tell her to go and search for what he has killed. He indicates to her about where he has left the beast, and in order that she may be able to find it with more certainty he takes care on his return to break the branches of the shrubs along his route at intervals, a thing which marks the fact that he has passed there. The woman sets out with her slaves, if she has any, following the tracks of her husband, and when she has found the beast she brings it back to the cabin. There she cooks as much of it as she considers necessary, and sells the rest to the French,

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 69–73.

[b] Ibid., 67–68.

if there are any in the neighborhood. If there are none, she *bucans* it—that is, she dries it in the smoke in order to preserve it.[a]

Although many other kinds of animals were of course hunted and trapped, the method of doing so has not been preserved. Du Pratz was informed by his Natchez companions that turkeys must be taken by means of a dog, which forced them to fly up into a tree, where they would sit and allow themselves to be shot without attempting to leave. But if a man chased them on foot they would quickly distance him.[b] The Indians never shot birds on the wing.[c] The nations which he mentions as eating alligators[d] were probably those of southwestern Louisiana, not the Natchez.

Large fish, such as the carp sucker and catfish, were caught by means of lines or shot with arrows, as described above.[e] Smaller fish, especially the sardine [?], were taken, as they ascended the Mississippi, in nets made solely for this purpose of the bark of the bass tree. When a large number of these fishes had been taken, too great to be carried off in the net itself, or when large fish had been caught, a special device was resorted to.

> For this purpose they take a green and supple tree branch an inch and a half thick and join the two ends firmly, which gives it the shape of a large-sized racket. Across this branch they extend many pieces of bark and spread a great quantity of leaves upon them, place the fish on these leaves, and cover them with the same. When the fish and leaves have been bound firmly to the tree, which is the basis of everything, they attach it to their [carrying] collars[f] and transport the burden as they would a carrying basket.[g]

Regarding their treatment of meats generally, Du Pratz says:

> The meats which they eat ordinarily are bison, deer, bear, and dog. Among birds they eat all the aquatic kinds and all kinds of fishes. Whether it be meat or fish, they eat it only boiled or roasted. They smoke the meat to preserve it. First let us see how they have their meat cooked when they are out hunting. We will afterward discuss how they smoke it.
>
> When the natives wish to roast meat in order to eat it at once, which seldom happens except during the hunting season, they cut off the portion of bison which they wish to eat, which is ordinarily the fillet. They put it on the end of a wooden spit planted in the earth and inclined toward the fire. They take care to turn this spit from time to time, which cooks the meat as well as a spit turned before the fire with much regularity.
>
> That the meat may keep during the time they are hunting and that it may serve as nourishment for their families for a certain time, the men during the chase have all the flesh of thighs, shoulders, and most fleshy parts smoked, except the hump and the tongue, which they eat on the spot. All the meat that is smoked is cut into flat pieces in order that it cook well. It is not cut too thin, however, for fear lest it dry up too much. The grill is on four fairly strong forked sticks and poles above a foot apart and above these canes 4

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 152–153.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 220–221.

[c] Ibid., 236.

[d] Ibid., II, 104.

[e] See pp. 58–59.

[f] Made of bark of the bass tree.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 180.

> inches apart. This grill is raised about 3 feet above the earth, in order that one may be able to put a fire made of large sticks of wood underneath. They turn the meat and withdraw it only when it is cooked to such a degree that the upper side is roasted and very dry. Then they take off what is cooked and put other pieces on. Thus they smoke their meat, which can be carried everywhere and preserved as long as it is desired. They never eat raw meat, as so many persons have falsely imagined. Even in Europe we have entire kingdoms which do not give their meats as much time to cook as the natives of Louisiana allow to the most delicate morsels of bison, which is their principal nourishment.[a]

Originally the sole domestic animal was probably the dog which Du Pratz describes as differing from the native wolf only in its bark.[b] The only suggestion of any other he gives on the authority of his Chitimacha slave. He says: "My slave told me that in her nation and in her village they have them [turkeys] and have raised them without more care than is required for young chickens."[c] If anything of this kind were done, however, it was probably in very recent times, after the Indians had received chickens from Europeans, and at all events it is not made to apply to the Natchez. Of the rearing of hens by these people, Dumont speaks thus:

> These [Natchez] women also raise many hens without having need of a henhouse. Their hens and their cocks go to roost in the evening on trees near the cabin, where they pass the night, and in the morning at the cry uttered by their mistress all present themselves at the door, where she gives them food. This [meal] lasts for all day. It is supposed that from that time until evening they ought to hunt for their nourishment. With regard to the eggs, as the savages make no use of them, the hens are left at liberty to lay them where it pleases them. This is ordinarily in the thickets, where they take care to set upon them themselves, after which, when they are hatched, they lead their chicks in the morning to the cabin to let the mistress see that without her caring for them her property has increased and that the number of her boarders has augmented.[d]

Agriculture had attained so much importance among the Natchez that St. Cosme, one of our best authorities regarding them, could say: "Some [people], like the Natchez, did not have any other means of living, not being hunters."[e] This, as we have seen, is an overstatement.

Although the discussion of maize and tobacco by Dumont and Du Pratz does not pretend to refer entirely to the varieties possessed by the natives, it is evident that most, if not all, of these varieties were native to the country. Their descriptions of maize follow:

> * * * Few people are ignorant of maize. It is what we call in France Turkish grain. There is this sole difference that in France this grain yields only a yellow meal, in place of which the meal of that which is cultivated in Louisiana is as white as that of the finest wheat. The maize grows ears as big

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 10–12.

[b] Ibid., II, 74.

[c] Ibid., 125–126.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 153. Hens are said to have been obtained from a European vessel wrecked on the Atakapa coast before the time of Iberville.

[e] Letter of St. Cosme, Jan. 8, 1706, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., I, 47.

as the fist, some of which bear as many as 300 grains and more arranged horizontally on the ear and as large as peas, from which one is able to judge what is the infinite bounty of the Creator, since from a single maize stalk which is able to produce from seven to eight ears and which grows from a single seed, Providence, always to be admired, knows how to bring from two to three thousand.

Two kinds of maize are distinguished, one of which is suitable for making meal and the other not. This last has a very round grain. The other has one a little flatter and is distinguished by a kind of scratch or groove which extends the entire length of the grain. Both have their uses and serve equally for the nourishment of the savages, the negroes, the French, and travelers (*voyageurs*). They can be prepared in 42 styles, each of which has its special name. It is useless for me to enter here in detail all the different ways in which maize may be treated. It is sufficient to inform the readers that there is made of it bread, porridge (*bouillie*), cold meal (*farine froide*), ground corn (*farine grôlée*), smoke-dried meal or meal dried in the fire and smoke, which being cooked has the same taste as our little peas and is as sugary. That is also made which is called gruel (*grut*), that is to say that having beaten and pounded it for some time in a wooden mortar, mingled with a little water, the skin or envelope with which it is covered is taken away. The grain thus beaten and dried is transported to great distances and keeps perfectly. The finest which remains serves to make hominy (*sagamité*), which is a kind of porridge cooked with oil or meat. It is a very good and very nourishing aliment.[a]

Louisiana produces many kinds of maize, such as the flour maize which is white, flat, and corrugated, but more tender than the other kinds; the gruel or grits maize which is round, hard, and glossy. Of this latter kind there is white, yellow, red, and blue. The maize of these two last colors is more common in the highlands than in lower Louisiana. We have besides the little grain or little maize, so named because it is a variety smaller than the others. This little grain is sowed as soon as [the settler] arrives in the country, in order to have something to live on very soon, because it comes up very quickly and ripens in such a short time that a person can gather two harvests in the same field and the same year. Besides this advantage it has that of flattering the taste much more than the large kind.

The maize which we call in France Turkish grain is the grain proper to the country, since it was found cultivated by the natives. It grows on a stem 6, 7, and 8 feet in height. It puts out great ears of about 2 inches in diameter, on which have been counted 700 grains and more, and each stalk sometimes bears 6 and 7 ears, according to the quality of the earth. That which suits it best is black and light. Heavy earth is less favorable to it.

This grain, as is known, is very wholesome for men and for animals, above all for poultry. The natives adapt it in many ways to vary their dishes. The best is by making of it cold meal. As there is no person, even without appetite, who does not eat of it with pleasure, I will give the manner of preparing it in order that our provinces of France which harvest this grain may be able to draw from it the same usefulness.

First, this grain is half cooked in water, then drained and well dried. When it is well dried, it is ground or scorched in a dish made expressly for the purpose, being mixed with ashes to keep it from burning, and it is moved incessantly in order to give it the red color which is proper. When it has assumed this color all the ashes are removed, it is rubbed well and placed in a mortar with ashes of dried bean (*faviolcs*) plants and a little water. Then it is gently pounded, which makes the skin of the grains burst and reduces it completely to meal. This meal is crushed and dried in the sun. After this last operation this meal may be transported anywhere and kept for six months. It must be observed, however, that one ought not to forget to expose it to the sun from time to time. In order to eat it a vessel is filled with it a third full and the rest almost entirely with water, and at the end of some minutes the meal is found swollen and good to eat. It is very nourishing and is an excellent provision for travelers and for those who go trading, that is to say, to enter upon any negotiations.[a]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 32–34.

The Natchez prepared their fields for cultivation by means of a curved mattock made of hickory ("white walnut"). These were used—

> to weed the maize and cut down the canes in order to make a field. When the canes were dry they set fire to them, and to sow the maize, they made a hole with the hand, in which they put some grains. These mattocks were made like a capital L. They cut by means of the sides of the lower end, which is very flat.[b]

The Journal of *Le Marin* says that the Bayogoula cultivated their fields by means of bison bones, probably the shoulder blades, and there is every reason to believe that these were used by the Natchez and other lower Mississippi Valley tribes as well.[c]

Maize was reduced to flour in the wooden mortars previously described.[d]

The work was done in common. De Montigny states that the entire village assembled and, after a general dance, followed by a great feast, men and women repaired to the chief's land, and in half a day worked it, planted it, or gathered the harvest from it.[e] "Planting of the grain," wrote M. de la Vente, "is always done in common; to-day the whole village works for one and to-morrow all of the same village will work for another, and so successively until all of their work is finished." [f]

The dishes afterward made of it are described thus:

> They make of some of it bread cooked in a vessel, of some bread cooked in the ashes, and of some bread cooked in water. They make of it the cold meal of which I have spoken in the article on maize, ground corn (*farine grôlée*), and the coarse and the fine grits (*gruau*) called in that country *sagamité*. In my opinion this dish and the cold meal are the two best. The others are only for variety.[g]

Elsewhere he refers to them again:

> There is made of it (maize) ground corn. It is a dish of the natives like the *Co oëdlou* or bread mixed with beans (*favioles*). Smoke-dried grain also origi-

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 3–6.

[b] Ibid., 26, 176.

[c] See p. 277.

[d] See p. 67.

[e] Letter of Aug. 25, 1699, referred to by M. Gosselin in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 47.

[f] Letter of July 4, 1708, ibid.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 8–9; also Dumont's account on p. 74.

> nated with them. So far as smoke-dried little grain is concerned it suits us as well as them.[a]
>
> Cold meal (*farine froide*) is that which is liked best. If the natives find it good the French relish it very well. I can say that it is a very good aliment and at the same time the best that one can take on a long journey, because it refreshes and is very nourishing.[b]

Du Pratz describes two sorts of canes, one, much taller than the other, growing in moist places to a height of 18 to 20 feet and as large as the fist.

> * * * At the end of a certain number of years [these] bear grain in abundance. This grain, which rather resembles oats, except that it is three times as thick and longer, is carefully gathered by the natives, who make of it bread or porridge. This meal swells up as much as that of wheat.[c]

The same writer speaks of two other kinds of grain in the following words:

> They also make food of two grains, of which one is called *choupichoul*,[d] which they cultivate without difficulty, and the other is the *widlogouill*, which grows naturally and without any cultivation. These are two kinds of millet which they hull in the same way as rice.[e]

The former is referred to in another place:

> I ought not to omit here that from the lowlands of Louisiana upward the river St. Louis [Mississippi] has many sand banks, which become entirely dry after the waters have gone down at the end of the flood. These sand banks vary in length. There are some half a league long which do not lack a good breadth. I have seen the Natchez and other natives sow a grain which they called *choupichoul* on these sand banks. This sand is never cultivated and the women and children cover the grain, with a great deal of indifference, with their feet, almost without looking at it. After this sowing and this kind of cultivation they wait until autumn and then gather a great quantity of this grain. They prepare it like millet and it is very good eating. This plant is that which is called "beautiful savage lady"[f] and which grows in all countries, but it needs a good soil, and however good is the quality of any European soil it there reaches a height of only 1½ feet, while on this river sand without cultivation it reaches a height of 3½ or 4 feet.[g]
>
> When these grains fail them they have recourse to potatoes which they find in the woods, but it is only when necessity compels them, just as when they eat chestnuts.[h]

Although the beans and pumpkins described by Du Pratz were those native to the country, he does not state definitely that the natives cultivated them, though this was certainly the case with pumpkins.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 345–346.

[b] Ibid., 346.

[c] Ibid., II, 58–59.

[d] Perhaps cockspur grass (*Echinochloa crusgalli*).

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 9. Probably wild rice or water millet.

[f] *Belle dame sauvage.*

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 316–317.

[h] Ibid., III, 9–10.

> Beans, red, black, and of other colors, have been found in this country and they have been named "forty-day beans," because they need only that time to grow and be good to eat green.[a]
>
> The *giromons* are varieties of pumpkins. There are two sorts. The one is round and the other in the shape of *corps de chasse*. These last are the better, having firmer flesh of a less insipid sweetness, containing fewer seeds, and keeping much better than the other. These are the ones of which preserves are made. For this purpose they are shaped like pears or other fruits and preserved thus with very little sugar, because they are naturally sweet. Those who are unacquainted with them are surprised to see entire fruits preserved without finding any seed inside. The *giromons* are not only eaten preserved; they are also put into soups. Fritters (*bignets*) are made of them, they are fricasseed, they are cooked in the oven and under the embers, and in all ways they are good and pleasing.[b]

Another vegetable cultivated by them was the watermelon.

Du Pratz speaks thus of native fruits:

> When it [the persimmon] is well ripened the natives make bread of it, which keeps from one year to another, and the virtue of this bread, greater than that of fruit, is such that there is no diarrhea or dysentery which it does not arrest, but one ought to use it with prudence and only after being purged. In order to make this bread the natives scrape the fruit in very open sieves to separate the flesh from the skin and seeds. From this flesh, which is like thick porridge, and from the pulp they make loaves of bread 1½ feet long, 1 foot broad, and of the thickness of the finger, which they put to dry in the oven on a grill or, indeed, in the sun. In this latter fashion the bread preserves more of its taste. It is one of the merchandises which they sell to the French.[c]
>
> The natives had doubtless obtained from the English colony of Carolina the peaches and the fig-trees which they had when the French established themselves in Louisiana.
>
> The peaches are those which we call clingstones (*alberges*). They are as large as the fist, do not leave the stone, and have such an abundant juice that a kind of wine is made of it. The figs are either violet or white, large, and of very good taste.[d]

The occasional employment of chestnuts as food has been referred to above.[e] Of the black walnut Du Pratz says:

> The meat is enveloped in such a hard shell that, although its taste is very good, the difficulty of extracting it makes one lose the desire to do so. However, the natives make bread of it.[f]

Another food of peculiar character is thus described:

> One [of two excrescences on trees] is a kind of agaric or mushroom which grows at the foot of the walnut, especially when it is overthrown. The natives, who pay great attention to the choice of their nourishment, gather these with care, have them boiled in water, and eat them with their grits. I have had the curiosity to taste of these, and I have found them very delicate but a little flat, which could be easily corrected by means of some seasoning.[g]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 8–9.

[b] Ibid., 11.

[c] Ibid., 18–19.

[d] Ibid., 20.

[e] P. 76.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 25.

[g] Ibid., 51.

Says Du Pratz concerning the taste of his Indian friends:

> Those [Indians] on the best terms with the French eat of our dishes only what has been plainly boiled or roasted, never soup or ragout. They are afraid of the ingredients we put into them. They eat no salads nor anything uncooked except fruits. In the way of drinks they want only pure water, or brandy also very pure, but neither wine nor any other drink pleases them at all. It is necessary, however, to except the drink which they use at the war feast and never at any other time.[a]

The war drink here referred to is the famous black drink of the southern tribes made from *Ilex cassine*. It was made very intoxicating, says Du Pratz, by being boiled away considerably.[b]

To season their food, the Natchez and other Mississippi tribes used salt obtained usually from Caddoan people to the northwest, bands of whom were often met by the early explorers bringing sacks of it across to trade. Regarding the source of supply and the method of obtaining it, Du Pratz has the following to say:

> When one has mounted Black river about 30 leagues one finds on the left a stream of saline water, which comes from the west. Ascending this stream about 2 leagues one comes upon a lake of salt water, which is perhaps 2 leagues long by 1 wide. One league higher toward the north he comes upon another lake of salt water almost as long and as wide as the first.
>
> This water passes without doubt through some salt mines. It has the salt taste without having the bitterness of the water of the sea. The natives come from quite long distances to this place to hunt here during the winter and to make salt here. Before the French sold them kettles they made earthen pots on the spot for this operation. When they have enough of a load they return into their own country loaded with salt and dry meats.[c]

The description given of the gathering of tribes to make salt and hunt is natural enough, and probably true, but there appears to have been some error in the information received by the author. Although many streams and some lakes are named "saline," this seems to have been rather because there were salt licks in the neighborhood than because the waters so designated were themselves salt, nor is there any stream or lakes corresponding to the description. Perhaps Du Pratz misunderstood his Indian informants who were describing salt licks farther west or north. A lake called "Saline" exists between Catahoula lake and Red river, and may be one of those mentioned by Du Pratz.

Regarding their times for eating, it is said:

> Although at certain times they have meat or fish in abundance, they eat only when they have an appetite, without confining themselves to any hour of the day. It is also unusual to find many of them eating together or at the same time, unless it be at the feasts, where all eat from the same dish, except the women, the young boys, and the children, each of whom eats from his own. The little children eat with their mothers.[d]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 13.

[b] Ibid., II, 46.

[c] Ibid., I, 307–308.

[d] Ibid., III, 12.

Tobacco:

> The lands of Louisiana are as suitable as can be desired for the cultivation of tobacco, and without disparaging that which grows in many other countries where it is much raised, I venture to say, without trying to force my opinion on anyone, that that of Natchez surpasses in goodness even the tobacco of Virginia and S. Domingo. I say this of Natchez because the soil of this post appears to be more favorable than any other to the culture of this plant. However, it must be admitted that there is very little difference between the tobacco which is harvested there and that which grows in some other cantons—Point Coupee, for example, Natchitoches, and even New Orleans—but whether on account of the situation or the goodness of the land, it can not be denied that that of Natchez and Yazoo is preferable to all others.[a]
>
> All the savages are in general very fond of tobacco smoke. They are often seen to swallow 10 or 12 mouthfuls in succession, which they keep in their stomachs without being inconvenienced after they have ceased to draw, and give up this smoke many successive times, partly through the mouth and partly through the nose.[b]
>
> The tobacco which has been found among the natives of Louisiana appears also to be native to the country, since their ancient word (tradition) teaches us that in all times they have made use of the calumet in their treaties of peace and in their embassages, the principal usage of which is that the deputies of the two nations smoke it together.
>
> The tobacco native to the country is very large. Its stalk, when it is allowed to go to seed, grows to a height of 5½ and 6 feet. The lower part of the stem is at least 18 lines in diameter and its leaves are often almost 2 feet long. Its leaf is thick and fleshy. Its sap is pungent, but it never disturbs one's head.
>
> The tobacco of Virginia has a broader, but shorter leaf. Its stem is not so large and does not grow nearly as high. Its odor is not disagreeable, but it has less pungency. It requires more stems to the pound, because its leaf is thinner and not so fleshy as the native variety, a fact I proved at Natchez where I tried the two kinds. That which is cultivated in lower Louisiana is smaller and has less pungency. What is grown in the islands [West Indies] is more slender than that of Louisiana, but it has more pungency, which gives one headache.[c]

Throughout the area occupied by the Gulf States tobacco was mixed with leaves of a species of sumac to reduce the strength of the former and make it hold out longer. Of this, Du Pratz says:

> The Machonetchi, or vinegar tree (sumac), is a shrub, the leaves of which somewhat resemble those of the ash, but the stem to which these leaves hang is much longer. When these leaves are dried the natives mix them with tobacco, to temper it, because in smoking they do not care to have the tobacco so strong.[d]

> * * * they mix the tobacco with the leaves of a little shrub which is called the sumac (*vinaigrier*), whether to reduce the strength of the first or because formerly they made use of this last in lieu of tobacco. The two now mingled and chopped together are called among them *feningue*.[e]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 34–35.
[b] Ibid., 189.
[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 360–361.
[d] Ibid., II, 45.
[e] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 189.

MEDICINE

> When the natives are sick they eat no fish and very little meat, and they even deprive themselves of that if the nature of the malady demands it. Then they take only hominy or meal cooked in meat broth. If the sick person is worse they have a small quantity of coarse meal cooked in the same rich broth, and give of this broth [itself] only to one who is doing well.
>
> As soon as a man is indisposed his wife sleeps with another woman on the bed which touches that of the sick person at the foot or at the head. The husband of this neighbor finds another place to lie down. In this way the wife is in a position to help her husband without inconveniencing him in any manner.[a]

Du Pratz says of the Natchez doctors:

> The charlatans (or jugglers, as the French have named them), who have been seen in each nation of Canada to perform the office of priests and doctors, and who, among the neighbors of the Natchez, do the work of diviners, are confined among them to the functions of sucking afflicted portions of the body, after having made some scarifications with a very slender flint splinter. These scarifications do not occupy so much space that they can not be sucked all together.[b]

This would indicate a specialization of the medical functions unusual in America, and the statement is unsupported by the rest of our authorities. Says Dumont:

> Since, as has just been seen, the savages have no religion, at least apparently, and in consequence no external worship, it naturally follows that they have among them no priests or priestesses. There are, however, certain men who might be thought to take their place, at least they may be regarded as diviners, sorcerers, or magicians, since they are in fact consulted as such, and as, through ridiculous ceremonies, they pretend to accomplish things which, if they were true, would surpass without difficulty all human power.
>
> These men, who are called *alexis* or jugglers, also mix themselves up in medicine, and it must be admitted that, without science and without study, without drugs, and ordinarily without any preparations, they many times cure their sick as surely as the most skillful physicians could do.[c]

Dumont's statements in this place are so general that we might assume there was a specialization of functions among the medicine men of the Natchez which had escaped him, but the same objection can not be made to the descriptions in the Luxembourg memoir and by Charlevoix and Le Petit, given on pages 178 to 180.

Dumont thus describes treatment by scarification and sucking in almost the same words as Du Pratz:

> The *alexis* never use lancets to draw blood, but when they have a sick person who they think needs to be bled they take a splinter of flint with which they make many incisions in the flesh of the sick person in the place where he feels the pain. After that they suck the blood, either with the mouth or with the end of a bison horn, which they have sawed off and of which they have made

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 12–13.

[b] Ibid., II, 383–384.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 169–170.

a kind of cone (*cornet*) which they apply to the place. This is what they call a bleeding.[a]

This scarification was naturally identified by the Frenchmen with their own treatment by blood letting, but it may be suspected from what we know of similar customs elsewhere in America that the whole proceeding was gone through in order to draw out a malignant spirit or some supernatural object which was causing the disturbance. However, if we are to rely upon the same authors, the Natchez doctors deserved that name more than most aboriginal practitioners in North America, since a large part of their treatment was by means of herbs, and it is highly praised by both. Du Pratz was himself treated by them in both ways and describes his experience as follows:

> However, my sickness [consisting of pains in the thighs] did not diminish at all, and the more it was prolonged the more I apprehended an unfavorable outcome. For this reason I determined to avail myself of a [native] surgeon or juggler who was recommended to me and who told me he would cure me by sucking the place where my pain was. He made some scarifications with a splinter of flint, all about the size of the incision of a lancet, and disposed in such a fashion that he was able to suck all of them at one time, which he did, causing me thereby extreme pain. He stopped from time to time, apparently to enable me to endure his work, and treated me thus for the space of half an hour. I had food given to him and sent him back after having paid him, the usage being too well established in all countries to pay those who treat diseases, whatever happens.
>
> The next day I felt a little relieved. I went to walk in my field. During my walk I was advised to place myself in the hands of Natchez doctors, who were said to have much knowledge and made cures which partook of the miraculous. Many examples were cited to me, which were confirmed by persons worthy of confidence.
>
> What would I not have done for my recovery? Into whose hands would I not have put myself in view of the pains which I then suffered? Besides, the remedy was very simple, according to the explanation which was made to me. It involved nothing more serious than a poultice; it was applied to the affected part, and at the end of eight days I was in condition to go to the fort. I was entirely cured, for from that time I felt nothing more. What a satisfaction for a young man who finds himself in perfect health after having been compelled to keep to his house for the space of four months and a half, without having been able to go out for an instant![b]

It is not entirely clear from this whether the doctors were both Natchez. If this were the case the words would seem to imply a still further differentiation of function among them between the doctor who treated by scarification and blood letting and the one who depended on herbs. Later Du Pratz had a second experience of the ability of Natchez herbalists, in the course of which he makes rather disparaging comments on the medical profession of his own people. However, in his day there was undoubtedly much less difference between the efficacy of European and Indian physicians than would be the case at present.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 172–173.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 135–136.

He says:

> For some days I had had a lachrymal fistula in the left eye which gave out when it was pressed a humor of very bad augury. I had it looked at by M. de S. Hilaire, a skillful surgeon, who had worked about twelve years at the Hotel-Dieu de Paris.
>
> He told me that it would be necessary to use fire on it; that in spite of this operation my sight would not be at all affected; that it would be as good as before, except that my eye would be bloodshot, and that if I did not have it operated on promptly the bone of the nose would decay.
>
> These statements grieved me much, I having to fear and to suffer. I was, however, resolved to go through with it, when the great Sun and his brother arrived early in the morning with a man loaded with game for me. I thanked them, and told them that they must remain and eat their part of it. They accepted the invitation.
>
> The great Sun perceived that I had an enlargement about the eye, and asked me at the same time what it was. I told him, and explained that to cure it they had told me that it was necessary to put fire to it, but that I had made up my mind to it with difficulty, because I dreaded the consequences. He answered nothing, and without forewarning me he ordered the one who had brought the game to go and bring his doctor, and to tell him that he was waiting for him at my house. On account of the diligence of the messenger and the doctor, the latter arrived an hour later. The great Sun told him to look at my eye and to make an endeavor to cure me. After having examined it the doctor said that he could cure it with simples and water. I gave him permission with so much the more pleasure and facility, as through this treatment I did not run any risk.
>
> The same evening the doctor came with his simples pounded together, and making but a single ball, which he placed in a deep basin with water. He made me bend my head over into the basin, so that my sick eye, held open, was steeped in the water. I continued doing this for eight or ten days, evening and morning, after which I was entirely cured without another operation and without it being evident there, and I never had another attack afterward.[a]

It is easy to learn by this account, comments Du Pratz—

> How skillful are the native doctors of Louisiana. I have seen them make surprising cures on our Frenchmen themselves, on two, among others, who were placed in the hands of a French surgeon who was established at this post. These two sick persons had to take strong remedies, but after having been treated for some time their heads were so swollen that one of them escaped from the surgeon with as much agility as would a criminal from the hands of justice, if he found a favorable opportunity. He went to find a Natchez doctor who healed him in eight days. His comrade remained with the French surgeon, where he died three days after the flight of the first, whom I saw three years afterward enjoying perfect health.
>
> In the war which I narrated last the Great Chief of the Tonikas, our allies, was wounded by a ball which pierced his cheek and came out under the jaw to reenter the body, where it was on the point of going out toward the shoulder blade, and had remained between the skin and flesh. His wound was disposed in such a manner because at the time when they shot him he had

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 207–209.

> bent over like those of his troops to fire his gun. The French surgeon who took charge of him and dressed him with great care, was skillful and spared nothing for his cure, but the doctors of this chief who visited him every day asked the Frenchman how much time it would take to cure him; the latter replied that it would take at least six weeks. They answered nothing, but went away at once to make a litter, spoke to their chief, placed him on it, carried him away, and treated him in their own manner. It took but eight days to cure him completely.
>
> There is no one in the colony who is ignorant of the facts which I have just reported. These physicians have made a great number of other cures, the narration of which would demand a special volume; I am satisfied to report only these three, which I have just cited, to let it be seen that the maladies which are elsewhere regarded as almost incurable, which are cured only at the end of a long period and after great suffering being experienced, maladies of this kind, I say, are cured without a painful operation and in little time by the native doctors of Louisiana.[a]

De la Vente appears to have been as much impressed as Du Pratz. He remarks that they had "preserved excellent remedies for their ills, particularly for external maladies. I have seen many," he adds—

> Who have received 4 or 5 bullet or arrow wounds through the stomach and who are so perfectly cured of them that they do not suffer any inconvenience. * * * Through the knowledge of simples which they have received from their fathers they will cure hands, arms, and feet that our best surgeons would not hesitate to cut.[b]

The same writer says also that the natives professed to have a remedy which would restore one who had been wounded, no matter how severely, if he only had strength enough to chew and swallow it. Even in the case of internal diseases, with which they were less familiar, a simple infusion of roots often sufficed to cure them of all ills.[c]

Du Pratz tells us that he was requested to make a special investigation of Louisiana plants and the uses to which they were put by the natives.

> The Western Company, informed that this province produced a quantity of simples, the virtues of which being known to the natives gave them so much facility in curing all kinds of diseases, gave orders to M. de la Chaise, who came from France in the capacity of director-general of this colony, to have researches made for simples suitable for medicine and dyeing, by means of some Frenchmen who might have obtained the secret from the natives. I was pointed out to M. de la Chaise, who had no sooner arrived than he wrote to me begging me to give my attention to this research; I did it with pleasure and gave myself up to it heartily, because I knew that the company was continually doing what it was able for the good of the colony.
>
> When I thought I had done in this respect what would satisfy the company I transmitted in earth in cane baskets more than 300 simples with their numbers, and a memorandum which detailed their qualities and taught the manner of

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 209–211.

[b] De la Vente, quoted by Gosselin in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amer., 15th sess., I, 49–50.

[c] Ibid., 50.

using them. I learned that they had been placed in a botanic garden made expressly for them by order of the company. * * * [a]

It is to this investigation that we owe several notes regarding the medicinal virtues or supposed medicinal virtues of certain plants given by the same author in other places.

I will not undertake to detail all the virtues of the balsam of the sweet gum (copalm or liquidambar), not having learned all of them from the native doctors of Louisiana, who would be as astonished to see that it serves us only for making varnish as they were when they saw our surgeons bleed their patients. I will tell therefore only those which have been revealed to me.

This balsam is an excellent febrifuge. Before meals 10 or 12 drops are taken in some broth on an empty stomach. Even if more should be put in one need not fear that it will do any harm. It is too good a friend of nature. The native doctors purge the sick person before giving it. It cures wounds in two days without any evil consequences. It is equally sovran for all kinds of ulcers, after a poultice of pounded ground ivy has been applied for five days. It cures diseases of the lungs; it removes obstructions; it relieves from colic and from all internal ills; it gladdens the heart. In fact, it contains so many virtues that I learn with pleasure that something new is discovered in it every day.[b]

The native doctors employ this simple ("the barbed creeper") in fever cases in this manner. They take a piece of the barbed creeper as long as the finger. They split it into as many parts as possible and put it into about a pint of water, Paris measure. They boil all until it is diminished by one-third. This decoction is then poured out and strained, and the remedy is prepared. Then they purge the sick person, and the next day, when the attack of fever recommences, they give him a third part of the water from the creeper to drink. It happens very often that he is cured the first time, but if the fever comes back he is purged anew and the next day he is made to drink another third of the medicinal water, which rarely fails to have its effect at this second dose. It is only for the greatest certainty that he is made to take the third part of the decoction. This remedy is, in truth, bitter, but it strengthens the stomach, a precious advantage which it has over Peruvian bark, which is accused of producing a contrary effect.[c]

Another creeper is called by the native doctors "the medicine for poisoned arrows."[d] It is large and beautiful. Its leaves are quite long and the pods which it bears are thin, about 1 inch wide, and 8 to 10 inches long.[e]

* * * Besides the sudorific virtue which the China root possesses like sarsaparilla, it has that of making the hair grow, and the native women make use of it for this purpose with success. With this object they take the root, cut it into little pieces, boil it, and wash their hair in this water. I have seen many whose hair reached beyond the buttocks and one among them whose hair descended to the heels.[f]

However many virtues we in France know the maiden hair (*capillaire*) to possess, the native doctors know still more.[g]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 211–212.

[b] Ibid., II, 28–29.

[c] Ibid., 55–56.

[d] This is the only reference I have to the use of such arrows in Louisiana.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 56.

[f] Ibid., 57.

[g] Ibid., 58.

> Its sudorific virtue [that of the *plat de bois*] is so powerful that the native doctors employ it altogether, although they are well acquainted with sassafras, sarsaparilla, China root, and other [remedies].[a]
>
> The ground ivy is known by the native doctors to have many more virtues than our botanists have told me they knew regarding it. It has, among other virtues, that of relieving women in childbirth, when a decoction of it is taken; that of curing ulcers, when it is crushed and put on the ulcerous place; but above all I ought not to omit mention of one of its qualities, which is that of being a sovereign remedy for headache, to which it is commonly said that no remedy has been found. Its leaves, when quite green, being crushed in a sufficiently large quantity and placed on the head as a poultice, cure promptly.[b]

A "kind of wild onion" is mentioned by Dumont, which, when mashed and applied to the wound, acted as an antidote to the poison of a rattlesnake.[c] This is evidently the same as the rattlesnake medicine called by the Natchez "oudla-coudlogouille," of which Du Pratz speaks. He says that the falling flower leaves a large head which rattles like the rattle of this snake, and this would suggest, in the light of what we know of Indian medicine generally, that its virtue rested rather on this similarity than on any actual curative properties.[d]

De la Vente asserts that after having rubbed their hands with these herbs the native doctors would take up rattlesnakes, handle them without fear, and receive no bites from them.[e]

Dumont has the following to say regarding sweating:

> The Spanish beard, that moss which grows on the trees and of which I have spoken elsewhere, is one of the remedies which they employ oftenest in their cures. They make use of it principally in cases of sluggishness, lassitude in the limbs, cramps, and even internal disorders, and here is the method which they observe in these maladies. They first have prepared in the cabin of the sick person a bed raised about 1½ feet from the ground and different from others in that the canes with which it is covered instead of being close together are fully an inch apart. The savage physician then spreads the moss or Spanish beard over this bed to the depth of from 7 to 8 inches, after which, having made the sick man lie down on this mattress entirely naked, he covers all his body with the same moss, so that only his face appears. Then these *alexis* put burning charcoal under the bed which they smother with herbs which they have boiled and surround the bed with coverings. The smoke of these herbs passing through the moss excites in the sick person an abundant sweat, for it may be said that they are not at all sparing, and that they make him sweat in spite of himself and to excess. Moreover, when he comes out of this bath they have no need of towels to wipe him. The corner of the hand performs that office and makes rivulets of sweat run over his entire body. If after this remedy the sick person is not at once absolutely cured, he at least receives much relief and ordinarily some days afterward he recovers his health perfectly.[f]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 60.

[b] Ibid., 61–62.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 110.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 60–61.

[e] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 50.

[f] Sweating is also referred to by De la Vente, Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 50.

I say that that happens ordinarily, but this remedy is not so certain that it does not sometimes find stubborn maladies which it is unable to terminate. This I have seen in a savage of the Yazoos, who for at least two years was tormented with acute pains. He had only one daughter who took care of him, and he had passed through the hands of all the *alexis* of his village without being able to find either cure or relief for his malady. Wearied out finally with suffering and with the duration of a sickness which put him out of condition to go hunting or to war, even to go out and walk about, he one day told his daughter to go in search of something of which he said he had need in a place which he indicated to her. She started, and scarcely had she gone out of the cabin when the savage rose, loaded his gun with three balls, and broke his head. This determination and this contempt for life are not unusual among the savages. Not only do they deliver themselves willingly to death, as will be seen when I treat of their funeral rites, but even when one among them has had the misfortune to have a leg or an arm broken, as they are very sure that their *alexis* have not the art of resetting it, and besides they have among them neither hunchbacks nor crooked people, they make a feast to the one who is thus crippled, and after some days of amusement they strangle him.[a]

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

This entire ground is fairly well covered by Du Pratz, who says:

As soon as a native woman has been confined she goes to the edge of the water. She washes herself there as well as her infant. From there she comes back to lie down again, and fixes her child on the cradle which is already prepared. This cradle is about 2½ feet long by 8 to 9 inches broad. It is artistically made of straight canes running the length of the cradle, and at the end they are cut in half and bent back under to make the foot. The whole is only half a foot high. This cradle is very light, since it weighs not more than 2 pounds. It is on the bed of the mother, who is thus readily able to suckle her infant, which being in a warm cabin can not be cold however little it is covered. This child being rocked endways can not have the head disturbed like those which are rocked sideways in the manner that is employed in France and elsewhere, and which in that way run the risk of being overturned, a danger which the natives do not at all fear. A thin bed of Spanish beard is made on which the child is placed. The mother fastens to it the legs, the thighs and the buttocks, and leaves the belly and the stomach free. The arms and the shoulders are also fastened. The head is placed on a little pillow of skin filled with Spanish beard, which does not extend beyond the upper part of the cradle, in such a way that the head is as low as the shoulders, and is held to this pillow by thongs which are double strips of deerskin over the forehead. It is this which makes their heads flat. The child in this state is unable to move. It is rocked lengthwise by making the cradle move on two pieces of cane which are two rollers. When the child is a month old they put below its knees leggings [or garters] made of bison wool, which is very soft. Then above the ankle they tie the legs with threads of the same wool to a height of from 3 to 4 inches, according to the age of the child, which wears these bands until it has attained its 14th or 15th year.

The children of the natives are fair at birth, but they darken because they rub them with bear's oil while little in order to stand exposure to the sun. They let them crawl on all fours without having them walk on their legs, still too feeble to bear the weight of the body. They rub them with oil for two reasons: First, to render the sinews more flexible; in the second place, to prevent the flies from biting them when they are all bare and left to themselves in this manner.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 170–172.

They do not put these infants on their feet until they are more than a year old, and when they begin to raise themselves up they always have a young girl of from 10 to 12 years to hold them under the armpits. They let these children suckle as long as it pleases them; at least unless the mother finds herself pregnant, when she no longer nurses.

When the boys approach 12 years a bow and arrow are made for them, proportioned to their strength. To train them, they put a little bunch of grass of the size of the wrist and long as the hand, bound with four cords on the end of a pole a little pointed, and which extends about 10 feet out of the earth. The one of these young boys who knocks down the bunch of grass receives the reward of praise which an old man, who is always present, gives him. The one who shoots best is named the young warrior. The one who shoots less well, but who is almost as adroit, is named the apprentice warrior, and so with others who are named on account of their earnestness rather than their hits.

As from their tenderest years they are threatened with the old man if they are obstinate or do any harm, which happens rarely, they fear and respect him more than anyone else. * * *

If the young people should happen to fight, a thing which I never saw nor heard of during the time I lived among them, they would threaten to make them live very far from the nation as persons unworthy to dwell with others; and it is often repeated to them that if one strikes them they should be careful not to return it. I have already said that I have studied them a very long time, but I have never heard of any of these disputes or beatings among the young people or the grown men.

They have no police among them, for the reason that in following exactly the law of nature they have no contention, and thus have no need of judges.

As fast as the children grow the men and women take care to accustom those of their sex to the labors and exercises which are suitable to it, and it is not at all difficult to interest them in these. But it must be admitted that the girls and the women work more than the men and the boys, who have not many other labors than those of hunting, fishing, and cutting wood, of which the women bring in the very smallest piece. Finally they have the corn fields to make and weed.[a] On days of rest they amuse themselves by making mattocks, according to their fashion, paddles, and oars; but these utensils once made last for a long time. On the other hand the woman has to bring up her children, to pound the maize in order to nourish the family, to feed the fire, to manufacture a quantity of utensils, which involve long labor and do not last long, like pottery, mats, clothing, and a thousand other similar things, of which I have spoken in the article on the labors of the natives.[b]

When the children are from 10 to 12 years old they are accustomed little by little to carrying small burdens, which are increased with age. A traveler has told me that the nations of the north make their children carry very large burdens. I can hardly believe it, because I have always noticed that all the nations, without exception, are very sparing of youth, and that all are of the opinion that it is not necessary to lead young people far nor to marry them until they are about 25, and that othewise they would become enervated. * * *

Racing is from time to time the exercise of the youths, but they are not permitted to exhaust themselves, owing to the length of the ground, nor by renewing running for fear lest they heat themselves too much. The swifter at this exercise jest sometimes at those who are slower, but the old man who directs them prevents the raillery from going too far, for he carefully avoids subjects of quarrel and discord among them. It is, without doubt, for this reason that they never let them wrestle, in order to cut off the road to all that might give birth to division among them. I am well persuaded that this education, added to the gentleness of their character and that of the climate, renders them as sociable as we see them among themselves and with those who come to know them.

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[a] Du Pratz is mistaken if he means to say that the ordinary fields were cultivated entirely by the men. This was true only of certain sacred fields.

[b] See pp. 62–64.

In order that the youths maintain that agility which running exacts at the same time that it gives it, the youths are early accustomed to bathe every morning to fortify the sinews and to harden them in the cold and by the fatigue, besides teaching them how to swim that they may be able to flee from or pursue an enemy. For this purpose an old man is chosen to call them every morning in the year until they know how to swim well, boys and girls without exception, another labor for the mothers who go there to teach their infants, who are compelled to go from the age of 3 years. Those who already know fairly well how to swim make a great noise in winter beating the water to drive away the alligators and to warm themselves. The old man tells them this; they must believe it.

All that I have so far reported enables one to see sufficiently well that the women are very much tied down by work, and I am able to assure you that I have almost never seen them enjoying any leisure. However, I have never heard them complain of their sufferings, unless it was for those which the children give them, which arise as much from the anxiety which maternal love gives as from the labors which they have around them. Besides, the labors of their state having become familiar from their earliest youth, they give themselves to them without repugnance.

The girls are warned from their earliest years that if they are lazy or awkward they will have only a lout for a husband. By this means they are made to emulate one another and to see who will do best. I have noticed in all the countries which I have visited that the girls make good use of this threat.

Let not one think on that account that the young men are entirely lazy. Their occupations, indeed, are not of such long duration, but they are much more painful, and, as they need more strength, reason demands that they husband their youth so much the more without being exempted from the exercises. Great attention is paid never to beat them in infancy, for fear lest a bad blow might wound them. I leave the reader to decide which would more inspire sense in a child, fear or beatings, in order to give them an education which vanishes as soon as they are away from the impression of the blows which they were obliged to receive in order to learn to think well.

By sparing their youth in this manner the body grows, shapes itself, and becomes strong without trouble. In their youth they follow the men only to the hunt to learn the rules and to accustom themselves to be patient. Beyond that they are not employed in any rough work, in order not to weaken them and render them incapable of going to war and do work which exacts much strength. But when they are grown men they work the field or waste, and prepare it to receive seed.[a] They go hunting and to war, dress skins, cut down trees, make their bows and arrows, and aid each other in building their cabins.

I admit, however, that much more time is left to them than to the women, but this time is not always lost. On the contrary, I find it very well employed. These people have no assistance from writing, and are able to preserve their own history only through tradition. Thus it is impossible for them to learn it except by frequent conversations. The old men are the depositaries of this, and as it has been very faithfully transmitted from generation to generation they call it "the ancient word." What contributes much to preserve it in all its purity is that they do not teach it to all the young people indifferently. This tradition is all their science and the only authority on which they are able to base their reasonings. This is why reason makes them vividly conscious of the fact that they ought not to waste this treasure, and that the surest means of preserving it unaltered is not to intrust such a precious deposit to people who have not the prudence necessary to make good use of it, or who in a little while would entirely deform it by additions or by omissions equally unfortunate for the truth. They therefore choose for this purpose those among the youths of whom they had the best opinion in order to teach them past things. Moreover, this choice is very easy for them, because the children are always under their eyes and the old men are in a very good position to know them, the same cabin ordinarily embracing the same family.[a]

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[a] See note [a], p. 87.

In another place he declares:

It is inconceivable with what exactness the preeminence of men is observed among these peoples. In any assembly whatever, whether of tne nation as a whole or of many families together or of a single particular family, the smallest boys have precedence of the most aged women, and when food is distributed at a meal it is presented to the women only after all the males have received their share, so that a boy of 2 is served before his mother.

The women, always busy, without being distracted or seduced by the gallantries of lovers, never think of rebelling against a usage in which they have been steadily reared, and never having seen any example to the contrary they never shun it. They have not even the least idea of it. Submissive as much by habit as by reason, they preserve through their docility the peace which they have in their families, peace which they would very soon make vanish if, like others, they pretended to have the right to give it.[b]

This account of Du Pratz is probably correct in most particulars, but it is rather idealized, and there seems to be a serious mistake made in speaking of the care of the fields as work performed solely by men. It is possible that he had in mind the preparation of certain sacred fields, the product of which was intended for the harvest feast, to be described later, but such is not the impression conveyed. Dumont and all other writers invariably assign this work to the women, and it is evident that it was at least shared by them.

The ground covered in the above is not reviewed so thoroughly by Dumont, but the following paragraphs bear upon the same subjects:

It may be perceived from what I have said of the ornaments and dress of these peoples that they ought to be well hardened to cold. Besides, they never fear it. They are seen, even in quite severe frosts—men, women, and children—going after daybreak to bathe in the river in order to make themselves harder and more insensible. They also have the custom of rubbing themselves frequently with bear's oil, which contributes still further to harden the skin and protect them from the bites of gnats (*maringouins*) and mosquitoes. When their children come into the world they take care to crush and flatten the upper part of the forehead with a plank, so that when they shall have grown up they may be in a better condition to bear all kinds of loads.[a]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 309–321.

[b] Ibid., 385–386.

Among the savages the men in general concern themselves only with war, hunting, or fishing. Formerly they had for arms only the bow and arrow, but now almost all are provided with firearms, and they show much skill in using them. Most of them are excellent hunters. Besides, our Frenchmen employ them willingly to hunt for them during the winter. They give them for that guns, powder, balls, lead, vermilion, *Limbourg*, kettles, and other articles of merchandise, and in return these savages furnish them game of all kinds—geese, ducks, bison, deer, etc. They also trade with them for bear's oil, as well as dressed bear, bison, or deerskins, which they give them for other articles of trade.[b]

The savage women are not less skillful nor less industrious than the men, and are besides very laborious. Moreover, they are charged with all the details of life and of the household. They are the ones who prepare the fields, sow them, gather the harvest, and prepare food for their husbands, who eat alone whenever it pleases them, which happens very often.[c]

Then follow detailed descriptions already given of the work done by women in bringing in, cooking, and selling or drying game, raising chickens, making baskets, feather fans and mantles, and pottery, spinning and weaving bison hair, bass bark, etc.

GAMES

Next to the ball game to be described [d] in connection with the harvest festival, the most important Natchez game was the chunkey game, common to all southern tribes. Dumont speaks of it as follows:

The savages have still another kind of game in which they exercise themselves, not merely for amusement, but also to gain each other's property, to the point of ruining themselves. This is what is called "the cross." This game consists in throwing at the same time many poles 15 or 16 feet long and as thick as the fist after a bowl which rolls on a well pounded and very smooth piece of ground, such as is found in the center of each village. When the bowl stops that one whose pole is nearest this bowl wins the point. The play continues as far as *pocolé*, that is 10, and the savages often ruin themselves, as I have said, wagering on the game their powder, their guns, their skins, their *Limbourg*, in a word, all that they may have.[e]

Du Pratz describes it thus:

The warriors of these nations have invented the game which is called "of the pole," but should rather be named "of the cross," since this pole, which is 8 feet long, resembles in shape a letter "F" in roman characters. Only two play this game, and each has a pole of the same kind. They have a flat stone shaped like a wheel, beveled on the flat sides like the wheel of the game of Siam. But it is only 3 inches in diameter and an inch thick. The first throws his stick and rolls the stone at the same time. The skill of the player consists in managing so that the stone touches the pole or stops very near it. The second throws his pole the instant the stone begins to roll. The one whose pole is nearest the stone scores a point and has the right to throw the stone.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 140–141.

[b] Ibid., 145–146.

[c] Ibid., 151–152.

[d] Pp. 177, 119–120.

[e] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 202–203.

This game, like many others, begins with little and often ends in the ruin of one of the players. In the beginning they stake only some single beads, then entire strings. When they have lost their beads they go stealthily to search for those of their wives, and sometimes lose them also. Then the game becomes animated. The loser goes to find his garment of cloth or skin. Everything is good, so that it helps to satisfy his fury for playing. If he loses this sole garment he is ruined as much as the person who plays and loses his silver, his wardrobe, and his equipage. The settlers do not like native gamblers, because after this loss they go to their houses, under some false pretext, to buy another garment, which they seldom pay for. The people of their own nation do not esteem them more than we do. Happily these infatuated players are rare.

The men become very much fatigued over the game I have just described, because they run after their poles as if by running they could guide them in accordance with their desires.[a]

He continues as follows, regarding the games of the women and children:

But if the game of the men is rough and fatiguing, that of the women is extremely gentle and calm, since they sit down to play and all their instruments weigh scarcely an ounce.

The pieces with which they play are three bits of cane, 8 to 9 inches long, split in two equal parts, and pointed at the ends. Each piece is distinguished by the designs cut into the convex side. Three play together and each has her bit. In playing they hold two of these pieces of cane on the open left hand and the third in the right hand, the rounded side above, with which they strike on the two others, taking care to touch only the ends. The three pieces fall, and when two of them have the convex side up the one who has played scores a point. If there is only one she scores nothing. After the first the two others play in their turn.

I never noticed that there was anything before these women which might add interest to their game. I have even thought that they did not dare to expose themselves to lose anything for fear of disturbing the peace of the household. I have been a witness of what I report concerning the game of these women, but they did not see me, because when they are surprised at play they are ashamed and conceal themselves at once, a fact which afterwards caused me never to discover myself, in order not to disturb them. Besides they take care to sit apart and not to utter a word, and thus they can not be detected except by means of the small pieces of cane which make little noise.

The youngest boys, and above all the girls, have no game to which one can give a name, unless it be the ball game with which they sometimes amuse themselves when the weather is good. This *pelotte* or ball is made of a handful of dry Spanish beard, which is rolled together and tied as strongly as possible with a string. It is then covered with a piece of dressed deerskin. This ball game consists in knocking the ball back and forth with the palm of the hand which they employ with considerable skill.[b]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 2–4.

[b] Ibid., 4–6.

ETIQUETTE

When the natives meet Frenchmen with whom they are acquainted, they grasp the hand and shake it a little, bending the head slightly and saying to them always in their language, "Is it you, my friend?" If one has nothing of consequence to say to them, or if they themselves have nothing of consequence to propose, they pursue their way.

If they are going to the same place as the Frenchman whom they meet or whom they join they never pass him, unless they are pressed by something well worth the trouble. In this case they pass at some paces from the person and reenter the road only when they are at a little distance.

When one enters their houses they utter the word of salutation, *ichla mongoula*, which signifies what I have just said, "Is it you, my friend?" They give the hand and tell him to be seated (*chpénélé*, 'seat thyself'), pointing to a bed which serves for this purpose. They let the person who has arrived rest and wait for him to speak first because they presume he must be out of breath from the walk, and no one dares disturb the silence which then reigns in the cabin.

As soon as the one who has arrived begins to speak the wife brings some of the food which they have already prepared. The master says: "*Apas-ich* (eat)." Whatever they present must be taken, however little one wishes it, for otherwise they imagine that they are despised. After these little ceremonies one says what one wishes to transact with them or what one desires them to do.

When the natives meet together, however many there be, only one speaks, and two persons never speak at the same time, but always one after another. If, in the same company, a woman has something to say to another, she speaks to her in such a low voice that no one in the company hears anything. No one is interrupted, even for the purpose of scolding an infant, and if the infant is fractious he goes very far. When a question is agitated and deliberated upon in council, silence is kept for a short time. Each one speaks only in his turn, and one never cuts the word of another short.

This usage, which may be considered prudent conduct, is why the natives have difficulty in keeping from smiling when they see many Frenchmen or French women talk together, and always many at a time. I noticed this for two years, and very often asked the reason for it without being able to learn it. Finally I pressed my comrade so much on this point that he said to me: "Why does that trouble you? It does not concern you." Finally I solicited him so earnestly that he was unable to refuse me, and after having begged me not to be angry he said to me in the common [i. e., Mobilian] language what I here translate: "Our people say that when many Frenchmen are together they speak all at once, like a flock of geese." [a]

Shaking of hands was introduced after the arrival of the French. The ancient form of salutation was that described by Iberville, although the people who used it were the Bayogoula, living farther down the river.

Having come to the place where my brother stood, the chief, or captain, of the Bayogoulas came to the edge of the ocean to show me friendship and civility in their manner, which is, being near you, to stop, pass the hands over one's own face and breast, and then pass their hands over yours, after which they raise them toward heaven, rubbing them on themselves again and embracing.[b]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 6–8.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 154–155.

These are the usages between persons of nearly the same rank, but in the Natchez nation the idea of nobility was so highly developed that a special etiquette was employed toward one of the upper classes, especially the great Sun, and he was approached with the most slavish obeisances.

> When the great Sun speaks to anyone [of the common people] he (the latter) is obliged to salute him with three *hous* as soon as he has finished speaking. If a simple Sun is spoken to he is saluted with one *hou* only, but it is necessary that this be out of the presence of the sovereign. The Suns themselves salute him every time he speaks to them and every morning they go to pay their respects to him with this salutation of a single *hou*. Even his brother (the head war chief) was not exempt, but he did it in a very low tone, which sufficed for the rest of the day.[a]

Says De Montigny:

> They spoke to him (the great Sun) always with great respect. A woman or a child never dared to enter his cabin; only the old men and the most important of the nation could enter there; everything in his words as in his maintenance witness to the great respect in which he was held. No one would be permitted to sit on his bed, to make use of his goblet, to pass between him and a cane torch or flambeau which was lighted every evening in order to illuminate his cabin.[b]

And St. Cosme says:

> For nothing in the world would one wish to contradict them (the Suns) or give them pain. If they fell ill, infants were usually immolated to appease the spirit, and when they came to die great persons were killed who came to offer themselves, showing great joy over it.[c]

Custom is so powerful in matters such as this that the great Sun expressed the greatest surprise on one occasion that a certain Frenchman would not be willing to die with him.[d]

This reverence is perfectly understandable, however, when it is considered that the Suns were held to be descendants of the supreme deity and in reality deities themselves, the chiefs being regarded as spirits that it was important to be careful of and respect. They had in their hands abundance, health, and life, as well as poverty, diseases, and death.[e] Not that they brought these things about directly, but by intercession with their ancestor, who was of the blood of the supreme being, and sent the diseases and the mortality on account of the small respect which in later times the people had had for his descendants.[f]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 54.

[b] De Montigny, letter of Aug. 25, 1699, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 42.

[c] St. Cosme, letter of Jan. 8, 1706, in ibid.

[d] De Montigny, letter of Aug. 25, 1699, in ibid., 49.

[e] St. Cosme, Jan. 8, 1706, in ibid., 41.

[f] Gosselin, on authority of St. Cosme, in ibid., 40.

MARRIAGE

Chastity in unmarried girls was not valued and was nearly nonexistent. Looseness on the part of Natchez and Taënsa women was particularly noted and commented upon by the first missionaries,[a] and there was little in their dealing with the Frenchmen to improve them in this respect. Far from being held in contempt, a girl was esteemed in proportion to the dowry she could amass by the loan of her person, and Pénicaut even says, as cited below, that the Natchez realm of future happiness was withheld from those who were niggardly regarding it.

> The girls (says Dumont) let themselves out willingly to the Frenchmen in the capacity of slaves and mistresses at the same time, and for an ell of *Limbourg*, which in that country is worth sixteen pounds in notes, they remain with them in these two relations during the space of a month. As among these nations there are neither religion nor laws which forbid this libertinism they abandon themselves to it without shame and without scruple, giving themselves sometimes to one and sometimes to another, their virtue never being proof to a present made to them, be it only a trifle. It is not that among these savage girls there is none who is wise, but it must be admitted that they are very rare.[b]

Says the Luxembourg memoir:

> Those [women] who are not married have great liberty in their pleasures; no one can disturb them. Some are found whose chastity can not be shaken; there are some also who desire neither lovers nor husbands, although chastity among the savages is one of the least virtues. The greater number take good advantage of the liberty which custom gives them.[c]

After describing the licentious dances of the Natchez, Pénicaut comments:

> I am not at all astonished that these girls are lewd and have no modesty, since their fathers and mothers and their religion teach them that on leaving this world there is a plank, very narrow and difficult to pass, to enter into the grand villages, where they pretend they are going after death, and only those who have disported themselves well with the boys will pass this plank easily. One sees the consequences of these detestable lessons, which are instilled into them from their earliest years, supported by the liberty and idleness in which they are kept, since a girl up to the age of 20 or 25 does nothing else, the father and mother being obliged to have her food provided, and yet in accordance with her taste and what she asks for, until she is married.
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> If through these infamous prostitutions one become pregnant and is delivered of a child, her mother and father ask her if she wishes to have children; if she replies no, and they are unable to nourish it, they immediately strangle this poor little new-born child outside of the cabin and inter it, without its making the least impression on them; but if the girl wishes to keep her child, they give it to her and she nourishes it.[d]

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[a] See Gravier in Jes. Rel., LXV, 131–135.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 155.

[c] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 137.

[d] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, V, 447–448.

Says Charlevoix:

> We know no nation on this continent where the female sex is more irregular than in this. They are even forced by the great chief and his subalterns to prostitute themselves to all comers, and a woman for being common is not the less esteemed.[a]

And Du Pratz says:

> When the boys and girls have arrived at the age of puberty they associate with each other familiarly, and have the liberty of doing so. The girls, forewarned that they will no longer be mistresses of their own hearts after they are married, know how to dispose of them to their advantage in forming their wardrobe as the price of their pleasures, for in that country, as elsewhere, the rule is nothing for nothing. Her intended, far from finding fault with this, on the contrary values his future wife in proportion to the fruits which she has produced.[b]

After marriage, however, all this is changed; and, if we may believe the almost unanimous reports of our authorities, infidelity, except such as was commanded by the husband, was extremely uncommon on the part of married women and divorce nearly unknown. Says Du Pratz:

> In the eight years in which I was their neighbor I saw only a single case. Then it was because the woman was very bad, according to the opinion of the Natchez as well as of the French. Each took the children of the same sex.[c]

A dissenting voice seems to be raised by the writer of the Luxembourg memoir, however, who evidently refers to the Indians of lower Louisiana, though not certainly to the Natchez. He says:

> The husband can repudiate his wife, and the wife quit her husband; his parents give him another.

Depressing as this moral condition appears at first sight, it is one always in danger of arising where a distinction is drawn between love and marriage in the relations between the sexes; where, in other words, the permanent union, or "official marriage," is founded on considerations other than those of mutual affection. In this respect it must be confessed that there are civilized nations at the present time in little better condition than were the Natchez two centuries ago.

Marriage customs are described as follows:

> * * * marriage among the savages is not the most serious affair of life. If there are some laws, they are very accommodating. A savage marries as many women as he wishes; he is even in some manner obliged to in certain cases. If the father and mother of his wife die and if she has many sisters, he marries them all, so that nothing is more common than to see four or five sisters the wives of a single husband. The one who becomes a mother first has her prerogatives, which consist in being exempt from the painful labors of the

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 165, 1851.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 386–387.

[c] Ibid., 387.

> household, such as crushing maize or Turkey wheat (*bled de Turquie*), which the savages use instead of bread and which is the only grain they cultivate. A savage amuses himself little by sighing to obtain a girl who pleases him. On carrying some presents to the house of her father and regaling the family of his mistress she is granted to him on the spot, and he leads her into his cabin. * * * The savages rarely marry outside of their nation; the small amount of unity which there is between these nations is the cause of it.[a]

> When a boy has determined to marry a girl they go into the woods together, and while the boy is hunting the girl makes a cabin of boughs in the woods and lights a fire near the cabin. When the boy has returned from the chase, having killed a bison or a deer, he brings a quarter of it to the cabin, and then they go to search for the rest. After they have returned to the cabin they roast a piece of it, of which they make their supper, and the next day they together carry the products of the chase to their village, into the house of the girl's father and mother. They inform the relatives, to each of whom is given a piece of game, which they carry to their houses. The boy and the girl dine with the father and mother of the latter, and finally the boy leads the girl away as his wife to his house, where she remains. Then it is no longer permitted her to go to the dances of the boys and girls, nor to have commerce with any man but her husband. She is obliged to work within the house. Her husband is permitted to repudiate her if he finds that she has been unfaithful to him, until she has a child by him.[b]

It would seem, however, that a man might and often did dispose of his wife's favors himself. This is stated in the following account by Charlevoix:

> The marriages of the Natchez are very different from those of the savages of Canada. The principal difference we find in them consists in the fact that here the future spouse begins by making, to the relations of the woman, such presents as have been agreed upon; and that the wedding is followed by a great feast. The reason why there are few but the chiefs who have several wives is that, as they can get their fields cultivated by the people without any charge, their wives are no burden to them. The chiefs marry with less ceremony still than the others. It is enough for them to give notice to the relations of the woman on whom they have cast their eyes that they place her in the number of their wives. But they keep one or two in their cabins; the others remain with their relations, where their husbands visit them when they please. No jealousy reigns in these marriages. The Natchez lend one another their wives without any difficulty, and probably from this proceeds the readiness with which they part with them to take others.[c]

[The ceremonies of] marriage, says Le Petit—

> are very simple. When a young man thinks of marrying he has only to address himself to the father of the girl, or if she have none, to her eldest brother, and they agree on the price, which he pays in skins or merchandise. Even when a girl has lived a licentious life, they make no difficulty in receiving her if there is the least idea that she will change her conduct when she is married. Neither do they trouble themselves as to what family she belongs

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[a] Luxembourg Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 137–139. It must be remembered that it is not certain with what tribes this writer was most familiar, but from what he says it appears clear that they belonged to lower Louisiana and that the Natchez was one of them.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 448–449.

[c] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 166, 1851.

to, provided she pleases them. As to the relatives of the girl, their only care is to inform themselves whether he who asks her is an able hunter, a good warrior, and an excellent workman. These qualities diminish the price which they have a right to ask on the marriage.

When the parties have agreed, the future husband goes to the chase with his friends; and when he has sufficient either of game or of fish to feast the two families who have contracted the alliance, they assemble at the house of the parents of the girl. They particularly serve the newly married pair, who eat from the same dish. The repast being ended, the bridegroom smokes the calumet toward the parents of his wife, and then toward his own parents, after which all the guests retire. The newly married people remain together until the next day, and then the husband conducts his wife to the residence of her father-in-law, where they live until the family has built for him a cabin of his own. While they are constructing it, he passes the whole day in the chase to furnish food, which he gives to those who are employed in this work.

The laws permit the Natchez to have as many wives as they choose. Nevertheless, the common people generally have but one or two. This, however, is not the case with the chiefs. Their number is greater, because having the right to oblige the people to cultivate their fields, without giving them any wages, the number of their wives is no expense to them.

The marriage of the chiefs is made with less ceremony. They content themselves with sending to fetch the father of the girl whom they wish to espouse, and they declare to him that they will give her the rank of their wives. They do not fail, however, as soon as the marriage is consummated, to make a present to the father and mother. Although they have many wives, they keep but one or two in their own cabins; the rest remain at the houses of their parents, where they go to see them when they wish.

At certain periods of the moon these savages never lie with their wives. Jealousy has so little place in their hearts that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference to the conjugal union results from the liberty they have of changing them when it seems good to them, provided, however, that their wives have never borne children to them, for if any have been born of the marriage nothing but death can separate them.[a]

Dumont says:

When a young savage wishes to marry a girl whose father and mother are still living, after having obtained her consent, he goes to make the demand for her from her parents. If they grant it to him he does not fail, some days afterward, to make a present to his future father-in-law of a gun, for example, and to his mother-in-law of a complete covering of *Limbourg*, and if the girl he is going to marry has sisters, it is also necessary for him to give them vermilion, beads, bracelets. In a word, before marrying he is obliged to make some present to all the nearest relatives of his intended. What is remarkable is that in spite of the corruption and libertinism which reign among the barbarians, the bond of marriage is much more respected by them than among more civilized people. With the exception of the great chief of the nation, who alone among them has the privilege of being able to marry many women, all the others have only one, and it is unheard of for separation and divorce to be spoken of. A savage is never seen to change the woman whom he has once married. He keeps her until death.[b]

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 140–143.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 156–157.

The most detailed account is that of Du Pratz, largely based, however, on the authority of another eyewitness:

> If a boy and a girl suit each other and they desire to marry, it is neither the fathers nor the parents, still less the mothers or the relations, who concern themselves in this matter. It is only the chiefs of the two families, who are ordinarily great-grandfathers and sometimes more. These two old men have an interview, in which, after the demand for the girl has been made on the part of the boy, they examine whether there is any relationship between the two parties who wish to marry and in what degree, for within the third degree, inclusive, they never marry. This interview of the old men assumes that the alliance suits them, and that already it has been agreed to by the fathers, grandfathers, and others as far up as the family chiefs, for if ony one of them disapproves of it it is never concluded. Among these nations which we treat as savages the laws never suffer interpretation so as to authorize children to bring into the family of their fathers women who would not at all suit them and give them a posterity which would displease them from the moment of birth. In the same way the avarice, the ambition, and many other passions so well known in the ancient world never stifle in the fathers the natural feeling which makes us desire that our blood be perpetuated, and does not lead them to antagonize their children beyond all reason, still less to force their inclinations. By an admirable agreement and one well worthy of being imitated, only those who love each other are married, and those who love each other are married only when their parents agree.
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> Boys rarely marry before having reached the age of 25. Before that age they are regarded as still too feeble, without understanding, and without experience.
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> When the old men have agreed upon the marriage and have appointed the day, the necessary preparations to celebrate are made. The men go to hunt. The women prepare the maize and furnish the boy's cabin as well as their skill and their means permit. The day agreed upon having come, the old man on the side of the girl comes out of his cabin and conducts the girl to that of the boy. The entire family follows in order and silently, and those who laugh do so only moderately.
>
> He (the old man) finds outside of the latter cabin all the relatives of the boy, who receive him and salute him with their common cries of joy, *hou hou*, many times repeated. He enters. The old man on the side of the suitor says, *Cabanancté*, " It is you," to which he replies, *Manatte*, " Yes." The first old man again begins to speak and, indicating with a joyful air the beds which serve as seats, says to him, *Petchi*, " Sit down." These people, as may be seen, are not fond of giving compliments, and they do not treat each other better at home than they do us when we go to see them. Such is their silent character. They think they would lose time over things entirely useless if they spoke more than is absolutely necessary. I will add that it is a very wise custom among them to make the one who comes rest before entering upon the conversation. The time which they give to breathe is perhaps a half of a quarter of an hour.
>
> After this period of repose the old men rise, and making the intended bride and groom advance between them, ask them if they are satisfied to take each other and if they love each other. They make them see that they ought not to marry if they have not a sincere desire to live well together, that no one compels them to unite, and that, having taken each other by their own choice, they will be rejected from the family if they do not live together in peace. After this injunction the own father of the boy brings the present which his son is going to make and places it in his hands. The own father of the intended

wife also advances and places himself at the side of his daughter. Then the boy says to his intended, "Do you wish to have me for your husband?" She answers, "I indeed wish it and I am happy over it. Love me as much as I love you, for I do not love and I will not love any except you." At these words the suitor covers the head of his allianced with the present which he has received from his father and says to her, "I love you; that is why I take you for my wife, and here is what I give to your relations to purchase you." Then he gives the present to the girl's father.

The husband wears a tuft on the top of his hair which hangs over his left ear, to which is attached a sprig of oak leaves, and in his left hand a bow and arrows. The tuft rising up witnesses that he ought to be the master, the oak sprig that he does not fear to go into the woods nor to lie outside in order to hunt. The bow and the arrows signify that he does not fear the enemy and that he will always be prepared to defend his wife and his children.

The wife holds in her left hand a little branch of laurel, and in her right an ear of maize, which her mother has given her at the time when she received, with her father, the present from her husband. The laurel signifies that she will always preserve a good reputation, and the ear of maize that she will take care of the household and prepare her husband's meals.

The married couple having said what I have just repeated, the girl lets the ear of maize which she held in her right hand fall, and presents it to her husband, who takes it also in his right hand, saying to her, "I am your husband." She answers, "And I your wife." Then the husband goes to grasp the hands of all of his wife's family. Then he leads his wife to his family in order that she go through the same ceremony. Finally he conducts her toward his bed and says to her, "That is our bed. Take care of it," which signifies that she is not to soil the nuptial couch.

It is thus that native marriages are celebrated. I learned all these things from an old settler. The Tattooed-serpent allowed me to look on at one marriage. It is true that they ordinarily conceal themselves from the French, because they are apt to laugh at the least thing which appears extraordinary to them. Besides, these people are no more able to accommodate themselves than are all the other nations of the world to the liberties which the French take everywhere away from home.

After the marriage celebration there is made a feast. Then they play, each according to sex and age, and finally toward evening they begin to dance and continue until daylight. The middle of the cabin is always free, because the beds of the family are ranged lengthwise along the walls.[a]

Except for the fact that it was indoors this dance is like those described elsewhere.

The differences between these various accounts may be explained partly by the fact that they probably differed in elaborateness in the different social ranks, especially as between the nobility and the common people, and partly because some writers had obtained fuller information than others. Bearing these points in mind, there is sufficient agreement in outlines. The lack of ceremony in connection with the marriages of chiefs is probably due to the fact that the chiefs' wives were necessarily Stinkards, while the wives of many of the male Stinkards were women of the nobility. The limitations placed upon marriages by the social organization will be considered in the section devoted to that subject.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 387–393.

Male concubinage existed among the Natchez as elsewhere in North America. Dumont says that a male concubine, or "hermaphrodite," "among the Natchez, and perhaps also among many other savage nations, is called 'the chief of the women.'"

> It is certain (he adds) that although he is really a man he has the same dress and the same occupations as the women. Like them he wears his hair long and braided. He has, like them, a petticoat or alconand instead of a breechcloth. Like them he labors in the cultivation of the fields and in all the other labors which are proper to them, and as among these people, who live almost without religion and without law, libertinism is carried to the greatest excess, I will not answer that these barbarians do not abuse this pretended chief of the women and make him serve their brutal passions. What is certain is that when a party of warriors or of Honored men leaves the village to go either to war or to the chase, if they do not make their wives follow them, they always carry with them this man dressed as a woman, who serves to keep their camp, to cook their hominy, and to provide, in short, for all the needs of the household as well as a woman might do.[a]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Aside from their temple nothing attracted more attention from visitors to the Natchez than their peculiar strongly centralized form of government. Following are the statements regarding it recorded by various writers.

From the Luxembourg Memoir:

> The chief of the entire nation is the great Sun and his relations little Suns, who are more or less respected according to their degree of proximity to the great chief. The veneration which these savages have for the great chief and for his family goes so far that whether he speaks good or evil, they thank him by genuflections and reverences marked by howls. All these Suns have many savages who have become their slaves voluntarily, and who hunt and work for them. They were formerly obliged to kill themselves when their masters died. Some of their women also followed this custom; but the French have undeceived them regarding such a barbarous usage.[b] All these relatives of the Sun regard the other savages as dirt.[c]

From Pénicaut:

> This great chief commands all the chiefs of the eight other villages. He sends orders to them by two of his servants (*laquais*), for he has as many as 30 of them who are called *loüés*, in their language *tichon*. He also has many servants who are called *Oulchil tichon* (Great Sun servants) who serve him for many ends. The chiefs of the other villages send him what has been obtained from the dances of their villages. His house is very large; it can hold as many as 4,000 [!] persons. This grand chief is as absolute as a king. His people do

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 248–249.

[b] There is no ground for this statement unless the change could have taken place between the death of the Tattooed-serpent, in 1725, and the great outbreak four years later, which seems improbable.

[c] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 143–144.

not come near him through respect. When they speak to him, they are 4 paces distant. His bed is at the right on entering the cabin; there are [under it] four wooden posts, 2 feet in height, 10 feet apart one way and 8 the other. There are crossbars going from one post to another, on which the planks are placed which form a kind of table, which is very smooth, of the same length and breadth as that of the bed, which is reddened all over. On this kind of table there is a mat made of fine canes and a great bolster of goose feathers, and for covering there are the skins of deer for summer and the skins of bison or bear for winter. Only his wife has the right to sleep there with him. Only she, too, can eat at his table. When he gives the leavings to his brothers or any of his relatives, he pushes the dishes to them with his feet. On rising, all the relatives or some old men of consideration approach his bed, and raising their arms on high, make frightful cries. They salute him thus without his deigning to notice them.

It must be noticed that a grand chief noble[a] can marry only a plebeian, but that the children which come from this union, whether boys or girls, are nobles; that, if he happens to die before his wife, his wife must be strangled to accompany him into the other world. In the same manner a girl noble, that is to say, a daughter of a wife of a chief noble, when she wishes to marry, is only able to marry a plebeian, and if she dies after she is married before her husband, the latter has to be put to death also to accompany her in the other world. The children who come from these marriages are reputed nobles or Suns.

Their nobility is very different from that of our Europeans, for in France the more ancient it is the more it is esteemed. Their extraction, on the contrary, is no more esteemed noble at the seventh generation; moreover, they draw their nobility from the woman and not from the man. I have asked them the reason for this, and they have replied to me that nobility can come only from the woman, because the woman to whom children belong is more certain than the man.[b]

From Charlevoix:

What distinguishes them more particularly is the form of their government, entirely despotic; a great dependence, which extends even to a kind of slavery, in the subjects; more pride and grandeur in the chiefs, and their pacific spirit, which, however, they have not entirely preserved for some years past.

The Hurons believe, as well as they, that their hereditary chiefs are descended from the Sun; but there is not one that would be his servant, nor follow him into the other world for the honor of serving him there, as often happens among the Natchez. * * *

The great chief of the Natchez bears the name of the Sun; and it is always, as among the Hurons, the son of the woman who is nearest related to him that succeeds him. They give this woman the title of woman chief; and though in general she does not meddle with the government, they pay her great honors. She has also, as well as the great chief, the power of life and death. As soon as anyone has had the misfortune to displease either of them, they order their guards, whom they call *allouez*, to kill him. "Go and rid me of that dog," say they; and they are immediately obeyed. Their subjects, and even the chiefs of the villages, never approach them but they salute them three times, setting up a cry, which is a kind of howling. They do the same when they retire, and they retire walking backward. When they meet them they must stop and range themselves on both sides of the way, and make the same cries till they are gone past. Their subjects are also obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and of their hunting and fishing. Lastly, no person, not even their nearest relations, and those who are of noble families, when they have the honor to eat with them, have a right to put their hands to the same dish, or to drink out of the same vessel.

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[a] Unlike other French writers, Pénicaut appears to call the highest grade of the nobility "chief nobles," equivalent to the "Suns" of other writers, while the term "Sun" he extends over this and the second grade, which he calls "nobles."

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 449–451.

The daughters of the noble families can marry none but obscure persons; but they have a right to turn away their husbands when they please, and to take others, provided there is no relationship between them.

If their husbands are unfaithful to them they can order them to be knocked on the head, but they are not subject to the same laws themselves. They may have besides as many gallants as they think fit, and the husband is not to take it amiss. This is a privilege belonging to the blood of the great chief. The husband of any one of these must stand in the presence of his wife in a respectful posture; he does not eat with her; he salutes her in the same tone as her domestics. The only privilege which such a burdensome alliance procures him is to be exempt from labor and to have authority over those who serve his wife.

The Natchez have two war chiefs, two masters of the ceremonies for the temple, two officers to regulate what is done in treaties of peace or war; one that has the inspection of works, and four others who are employed to order everything in the public feasts. It is the great chief who appoints persons to these offices, and those who hold them are respected and obeyed as he would be himself.[a]

From Le Petit:

The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they can not conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterward raising his hand above his head, and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course.

There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering; but on the right is only the bed of the great chief, ornamented with different painted figures. This bed consists of nothing but a mattress of canes and reeds, very hard, with a square log of wood which serves for a pillow. In the middle of the cabin is seen a small stone, and no one should approach the bed until he has made a circuit of this stone. Those who enter salute by a howl, and advance even to the bottom of the cabin without looking at the right side where the chief is. Then they give a new salute by raising their arms above the head and howling three times. If it be anyone whom the chief holds in consideration he answers by a slight sigh and makes a sign to him to be seated. He thanks him for his politeness by a new howl. At every question which the chief puts to him he howls once before he answers, and when he takes his leave he prolongs a single howl until he is out of his presence.

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 162-163, 165, 1851.

When the great chief dies they demolish his cabin and then raise a new mound, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor. The old men prescribe the laws for the rest of the people, and one of their principles is to have a sovereign respect for the great chief as being the brother of the sun and the master of the temple.

These people blindly obey the least wish of their great chief. They look upon him as absolute master, not only of their property but also of their lives, and not one of them would dare to refuse him his head, if he should demand it; for whatever labors he commands them to execute, they are forbidden to exact any wages. The French, who are often in need of hunters or of rowers for their long voyages, never apply to anyone but the great chief. He furnishes all the men they wish, and receives payment, without giving any part to those unfortunate individuals, who are not permitted even to complain. One of the principal articles of their religion, and particularly for the servants of the great chief, is that of honoring his funeral rites by dying with him, that they may go to serve him in the other world. In their blindness they willingly submit to this law, in the foolish belief that in the train of their chief they will go to enjoy the greatest happiness. * * *

The government is hereditary; it is not, however, the son of the reigning chief who succeeds his father, but the son of the sister, or the first princess of the blood. This policy is founded on the knowledge they have of the licentiousness of their women. They are not sure, they say, that the children of the chief's wife may be of the blood royal, whereas the son of the sister of the great chief must be, at least on the side of the mother.

The princesses of the blood never espouse any but men of obscure family, and they have but one husband, but they have the right of dismissing him whenever it pleases them, and of choosing another among those of the nation, provided he has not made any other alliance among them. If the husband has been guilty of infidelity, the princess may have his head cut off in an instant; but she is not herself subject to the same law, for she may have as many lovers as she pleases without the husband having any power to complain. In the presence of his wife he acts with the most profound respect, never eats with her, and salutes her with howls, as is done by her servants. The only satisfaction he has is that he is freed from the necessity of laboring and has entire authority over those who serve the princess. * *

The great chief nominates to the most important offices of state; such are the two war chiefs, the two masters of ceremony for the worship of the temple, the two officers who preside over the other ceremonies which are observed when foreigners come to treat of peace, another who has the inspection of the public works, four others charged with the arrangement of the festivals with which they publicly entertain the nation and such strangers as come to visit them. All these ministers, who execute the will of the great chief, are treated with the same respect and obedience as if he personally gave the orders.[a]

From Dumont:

In each of the savage nations, as in all the nations of the earth, two kinds of men may be beheld, of which the one seems born to command and to enjoy all the honors, the other to obey and to grovel in obscurity. It is these which we name the great and the people. The first are, among the savages, the chiefs, the Suns, and the Honored men. All those who are not embraced in this class and decorated with one of these titles compose the people and are called Stinkards (*Puants*).

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 126–137.

The submissiveness of the savages to their chief, who commands them with the most despotic power, is extreme. They obey him in everything he may command them. When he speaks to them they howl nine times by way of applause and to show him their satisfaction, and if he demands the life of any one of them he comes himself to present his head. But at the death of this chief his children, boys or girls, never inherit his power and never succeed to the command. His descendants reenter the rank of Stinkards, and it is for the boys to perform actions of valor which may raise them to the dignity of Honored men. It appertains only to the female Sun, whom they call also the white woman, to perpetuate the stem from which spring their chiefs. She has more power so long as she lives than the chief himself, who may be her son or her brother, and never her husband, whom she is able to choose if she wishes from among the Stinkards and who is rather her slave than her master. The males who spring from this woman are the chiefs of the nation, and the girls become, like herself, female Suns or white women.

In order to understand this propagation of the nobility and the government in these savage nations let us go back as far as the law which establishes the succession among them, and let us suppose that at the time of this establishment there remained only one *Oüachill-Tamaïll;* that is to say, one female Sun or white woman. Let us suppose, besides, that this woman has two children, a boy and a girl. Then, according to the law which wills that the nobility be perpetuated through the women and degenerate through the men, this boy sprung from the white woman will be established as the true *Oüachill-Liquip;* that is to say, great chief or great Sun, but at his death his children are only nobles. The children of these become simply Honored, and the children of these last fall back into the rank of Stinkards. On the other hand, of the sons of his sister, who was herself white woman or female Sun, the eldest will be great chief or great Sun, the second little Sun chief of war, and the others only Suns, their children degenerating successively, as I have noted. As to her daughters, they are not only white women or female Suns but it is also through them that the Suns and the nobility will be perpetuated in the nation.

When these savages are asked the reason for the establishment of this law they reply that, as in accordance with their usage at the death of the great chief or great Sun, his wives must also die with him, as well as his male and female servants, without which he would be without wives and without followers in the other world, it happens from that that the female Suns never desire to be married to the great chief, who for this reason is always obliged to marry Stinkard women. 'But if it should happen,' say they, 'that this Stinkard woman should by chance yield herself to a Stinkard man and the child that arose from this intercourse came to command us, it would follow that we would be governed by a Stinkard, which would not be in order. On the other hand,' they added, 'whether the female Sun has children by her husband or by any other person whatever, it matters little to us. They are always Suns on the side of their mother, a fact which is most certain, since the womb can not lie.'

With regard to the Honored men, it is seen by what I have just said that birth gives this rank to all the grandchildren of the great chief. But besides birth there are other means by which a Stinkard may raise himself to this degree of nobility in the nation. One of the most usual is to render himself famous by some action of valor and bravery. The scalp of an enemy, for example, which a warrior may have carried away, or even the tail of a mare or of a horse will suffice to enable him to obtain this title, and to give him, as well as his wife, the right to disfigure the body by carrying on their skins strange figures, which, as I have said, form their principal adornment.

Here is still another means by which a Stinkard, provided he is married, may attain to the rank of the Honored. If this Stinkard, at the death of the great chief of the nation, has a child at the breast, or at any rate of very tender years, he repairs with his wife and his child to the cabin where this chief is laid out. As soon as they have arrived there the father and mother wring the neck of their infant, which they throw at the feet of the body, as a victim which they immolate to the manes of their chief. After this barbarous sacrifice they roll between their hands some twists of Spanish beard, which they put under their feet, as if they would signify by that that they are not worthy to walk on the earth, and in this condition they both remain standing before the corpse of the great chief without changing their positions or taking nourishment all day. During that time the cabin is visited by all kinds of persons who come, some from curiosity, others to see one time more the one who had governed them and to desire him a good passage. Finally, when the sun has set, the man and the woman come out of the cabin and receive the compliments of all the warriors and Honored men, to the number of whom they have been added by this strange and cruel ceremony.[a]

From Du Pratz:

The Natchez Nation is composed of nobility and people. The people are called in their language *Miche-Miche-Quipy*, which signifies *Puant* (Stinkard), a name, however, which offends them, and which no one dares to pronounce before them, for it would put them in very bad humor. The Stinkards have a language entirely different from that of the nobility, to whom they are submissive to the last degree. That of the nobility is soft, solemn, and very rich. The substantive nouns are declined, as in Latin, without articles. The nobility is divided into Suns, Nobles, and Honored men. The Suns are so named because they are descended from a man and woman who made them believe that they came out of the sun, as I have said more at length in speaking of their religion.

The man and woman who gave laws to the Natchez had children, and ordained that their race should always be distinguished from the mass of the nation, and that none of their descendants should be put to death for any cause whatsoever, but should complete his days calmly as nature permitted him. The need of preserving their blood pure and safe made them establish another usage of which examples are seen only in a nation of Scythians, of which Herodotus speaks. As their children, being brothers and sisters, were unable to intermarry without committing a crime, and as it was necessary in order to have descendants that they marry Stinkard men and Stinkard women, they wished in order to guard against the disastrous results of the infidelity of the women that the nobility should be transmitted only through women. Their male and female children were equally called Suns and respected as such, but with this difference, that the males enjoyed this privilege only during their lives and personally. Their children bore only the name of Nobles, and the male children of Nobles were only Honored men. These Honored men, however, might by their warlike exploits be able to reascend to the rank of Nobles, but their children again became Honored men, and the children of these Honored men, as well as those of the others, were lost in the people and placed in the rank of Stinkards. Thus the son of a female Sun (or Sun woman) is a Sun, like his mother, but his son is only a Noble, his grandson an

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 175–181.

Honored man, and his great-grandson a Stinkard. Hence it happens, on account of their long lives—for these people often see the fourth generation—that it is a very common thing for a Sun to see his posterity lost among the common people.[a]

The women are free from this unpleasantness. The nobility is maintained from mother to daughter, and they are Suns in perpetuity without suffering any alteration in dignity. However, they are never able to attain the sovereignty any more than the children of the male Suns, but the eldest son of the female Sun nearest related to the mother of the reigning Sun is the one who mounts the throne when it becomes vacant. The reigning Sun bears the title of great Sun.

As the posterity of the two first Suns has become much multiplied, one perceives readily that many of these Suns are no longer related and might ally themselves together, which would preserve their blood for the most part without any mixture, but another law established at the same time opposes an invincible obstacle, namely, that which does not permit any Sun to die a violent death. It is this, that it was ordered that when a male or female Sun should come to die his wife or her husband should be put to death on the day of the funeral, in order to go and keep him company in the country of spirits. That could not be carried out if the wife and husband were both Suns, and this blind and barbarous custom is so punctually observed that the Suns are under the pleasing necessity of making mesalliances.[b]

Concerning the despotic authority of the great Sun, Du Pratz says:

In fact these people are reared in such perfect submission to their sovereign that the authority which he exerts over them is a veritable despotism, which can be compared only to that of the first Ottoman emperors. He is, like them, absolute master of the goods and life of his subjects, he disposes of them according to his pleasure, his will is his reason, and, an advantage which the Ottomans have never had, there is neither any attempt on his person nor seditious movements to fear. When he orders a man who has merited it to be put to death, the unhappy condemned individual neither begs nor makes intercession for his life, nor seeks to escape. The order of the sovereign is executed on the spot and no one murmurs. The relatives of the great chief share more or less of his authority in proportion to the nearness in blood, and the Tattooed-serpent has been seen to have three men put to death who had arrested and bound a Frenchman whom he loved much, in order to kill him, although we were then at war with the Natchez.[c]

The great chief or great Sun wore, as a mark of his preeminent position and authority, a feather crown.

This crown is composed of a cap and a diadem, surmounted by large feathers. The cap is made of a netting, which holds the diadem, which is a texture 2 inches broad and presses together behind tightly as is desired. The cap is of black threads, but the diadem is red and embellished with little beads or small white seeds, as hard as beads. The feathers which surmount the diadem are white. Those in front may be 8 inches long, and those behind 4 inches. These feathers are arranged in a curved line. At the end of these feathers is a tuft of hair (*houpe de poil*) and above a little hairy tassel (*aigrette de crin*), all being only an inch and a half long and dyed a very beautiful red. This crown or feather hat is an object very pleasing to the sight.[a]

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[a] The Suns conceal this degradation of their descendants with so much care that they never suffer strangers to be taught about it. They do not wish anyone to recognize them as being of their race, neither that they themselves boast of it nor that their people speak about it among themselves. It is much when the grandfathers say that such an one is dear to them.—[Note by Du Pratz.]

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 393–397.

[c] Ibid., 352–353.

Nevertheless, the Sun also had a council to advise him, and sometimes his authority was considerably curtailed by it, as well as by the more prominent and energetic village chiefs, a fact which comes out clearly in the course of the last Natchez war. De la Vente seems to have the Natchez in mind when he speaks of a council composed of the principal warriors in which the more ancient always occupied the highest places. "They are listened to like oracles," he writes, "and the young people make it a point of honor to follow their opinions to the point of veneration."[b] It appears that the great Sun and the great war chief could also be controlled by them—a very important fact (see pp. 245–246).

The essence of the Natchez system, so far as it is revealed to us by French writers, may be shown diagrammatically as follows:

NOBILITY:
- *Suns:* Children of Sun mothers and Stinkard fathers.
- *Nobles:* Children of Noble mothers and Stinkard fathers, or of Sun fathers and Stinkard mothers.
- *Honored People:* Children of Honored women and Stinkard fathers, or of Noble fathers and Stinkard mothers.

STINKARDS: Children of Stinkard mothers and Honored men, or of Stinkard fathers and Stinkard mothers.

The Suns were a purely hereditary body, and, as might be inferred from this diagram, were the smallest of all classes. La Harpe states that in 1700 there were 17 Suns,[c] but it is not clear whether he includes only those in the Grand Village or the entire number, and whether the Suns of both sexes are referred to. Le Petit (1730) gives 11 Suns.[d] The intermarriage of Stinkards is nowhere directly mentioned, but it must be assumed, for otherwise Stinkards would in time become as few as Suns, whereas it is evident that they constituted the largest part of the population. War chieftainships, and probably most of the secondary offices, were open to the second rank of Nobles.[e]

After settling among the Creeks and the Cherokee, totemic divisions made their appearance, if they were not already in existence, and the writer was told of the following seven clans: *nạ'pi ō'wạts*, 'wind clan;' *tsa^{n} ō'wạts,* 'deer clan;' *tsō'go ō'wạts,* 'bear clan;' *îciwạda ō'wạts,* 'panther clan;' *ê'nogôl ō'wạts,* 'raccoon clan;' *ū'lạx ō'wạts,* 'snake clan;' *cō'got ō'wạts,* 'bird clan.' These correspond in number but not in names to the clans of the Cherokee. They are all represented among the Creeks, however, and Gatschet was also told of a beaver clan existing there.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 201; by error in original, 191.

[b] De la Vente, letter of July 4, 1708, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 42.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 28, 1831.

[d] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 135.

[e] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 29.

It would be interesting to know whether a totemic clan system similar to that of the surrounding Muskhogean tribes existed in ancient times along with this aristocratic government, but the absolute silence of every one of our authorities argues strongly against it. Probably the aristocratic system acted in the early days of the tribe to prevent its development. On the whole the Natchez castes may best be compared with the war classes of Muskhogean tribes to which, however, a hereditary element has been added.

In spite of their strong maternal organization government within the separate families was just as positively paternal.

> Paternal authority, as I have said, is not less inviolable and sacred than the preeminence of the men. It is still among the Natchez of Louisiana such as it was in the first age of the world. The children belong to the father, and so long as he lives they are under his power. They live with him—they, their wives, and their children. The entire family is inclosed by the same cabin. The old man alone commands there, and only death puts an end to his empire.[a]
>
> This old man is the oldest of the family, often enough the great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather, for these natives live long, and although they have gray hair only when they are great-grandfathers, some are seen to live when entirely gray, not being able to stand on their feet, but without any other malady than old age, so that it is necessary to carry them outside of the cabin in order to take the air or to do anything else that is necessary, assistance which is never refused to these old men. The respect in which they are held in the family is so great that they are regarded as judges. Their counsels are judgments. An old chief of a family is called "father" by all the children of the same cabin, be they his nephews or grandnephews. The natives often say that such an one is their father. It is the chief of the family. When they wish to speak of their own father they say that such an one is their true father.[b]
>
> As these people have little business between one another, or rather have none at all, this paternal authority is seen to come out in nothing more perfectly than in marriages.[c]

METHOD OF COUNTING TIME

> The savages have neither days, nor weeks, nor months. They do not even have years. They always count by moons, and their count goes only as far as ten, for the highest point in their arithmetic does not go beyond this sum. They count very well so far, but when they have arrived there it is necessary that they recommence with one, after which they say one ten, two ten, as far as ten times ten without being able to go farther. It is for them the *non plus ultra.* Besides, when they have reached that point they are heard to say "Tallabé" [*talui*], which signifies, "There are so many that I can not count

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 386. [b] Ibid., 313. [c] Ibid., 386.

> them any more." There have been some French captains who, commanding in very distant posts where they had only very feeble garrisons, have profited skillfully by the narrow bounds of this calculation to impose on the savages when they came into our forts "without design," said they, but in fact to examine the place and the forces which were there. They arranged that those of their soldiers who entered their houses in shirts should go out only in vests and those who went out in vests entered again only in jerkins. By means of this disguise and of some others of the same nature one man counted by the savages had the value often of five or six, and a little garrison of twenty or thirty men passed in their minds for an army.[a]

This plausible ruse could hardly have succeeded after a period of contact of some length. It is true that the Indians do not count up to higher numbers with facility, but if there were any good reason for doing so it is probable that they could have carried them up with the help of sticks to a much higher figure.

Du Pratz states that the Natchez divided the day into four equal parts, "the first of which comprises half of the morning, the second is till noon, the third comprises half of the afternoon, and the fourth is from the half of the afternoon until evening."[b] He considers these as equivalent, respectively, to the periods from daybreak until 9, from 9 until 12, from 12 until 3, and from 3 until dark.[c] Of the divisions of the year he says:

> This nation begins its year in the month of March, as was the practice for a long time in Europe, and divides it into 13 moons. This thirteenth moon is added to complete the year and to make the course of the planet [i. e., the moon] agree in the matter of time with that of the sun. At every new moon they celebrate a feast, which takes its name from the principal fruits reaped in the preceding moon, or from the animals that are usually hunted then * * *.
>
> The first moon is that of the Deer. The renewal of the year spreads universal joy. In order to render this feast more distinguished they then represent an event of interest to them of which they guard the memory preciously. * * *[d]
>
> The second moon, which corresponds to our month of April, is that of the Strawberries. The women and children collect them in great quantities, and as strawberries abound in this country it may be judged whether the great Sun lacks them. The French also avail themselves of this harvest. The warriors then make their presents of wood ducks, which they have provided by a hunt made expressly for the purpose.
>
> The third moon is that of the Little Corn. This month is often awaited with impatience, their harvest of the great corn never sufficing to nourish them from one harvest to another.
>
> The fourth is that of the Watermelons, and answers to the month of June. This month and the preceding are those in which the sardines [?] run up against the current of the river.
>
> The fifth moon is that of the Peaches. It answers to our month of July. In this time grapes are also brought in if the birds have left any of them to ripen.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 187–189.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 223.

[c] Ibid., 222.

[d] See pp. 111–112.

The sixth moon is that of the Mulberries. It is in the month of August. At this feast birds are also brought to the great Sun.

The seventh moon is that of Maize or the Great Corn.[a]

The eighth moon is that of the Turkeys and corresponds to our month of October. It is then that this bird comes out of the thick woods to enter the open woods in order to eat nettle seeds, of which it is very fond.

The ninth moon is that of the Bison. Then they go to hunt this animal. As it always stays some leagues from the cantons inhabited by men, precaution is taken to send forward to find it in order to know on what side it has thrown itself. When this is known everyone sets out, young and old, girls and women, unless they have little children, for this hunt being rough there is work for everyone. Many nations wait until later before going, in order to find the bison in greater numbers and the cows fatter. I have said before that the natives, not knowing enough to cut off the back parts of the males as soon as they have killed them, only kill them when they are fat, in order to get the tallow, without taking away the flesh, which is good to eat only when this precaution has been taken.

The tenth moon is that of the Bears. In these hunting seasons the feasts are not large, because the warriors, being all away from home, take away many of the people with them.

The eleventh moon, which corresponds to our month of January, is that of the Cold Meal. At this time many bustards, geese, ducks, and other similar kinds of game are to be had.

The twelfth moon is that of the Chestnuts. This fruit has already been collected a long time ago, but nevertheless this month bears the name.

Finally the thirteenth moon is that of the Nuts. It is added to complete the year. It is then that the nuts are broken in order to make bread, mingling it with corn meal.[b]

FEASTS

"These feasts," says Du Pratz—

> are equally religious and political, religious in that they appear to be instituted to thank the Great Spirit for the benefits he has sent men, political in that the subjects then pay their sovereign the tribute which they owe, for however absolute the authority of the great Sun may be, although many give themselves to him to serve him, and a number of warriors attach themselves to his person, to follow him wherever he goes, and to hunt for him, yet he raises no stated impositions; and what he receives from those people appears given, not so much as a right due as a voluntary homage and a testimony of their love and gratitude.[c]

That this "testimony" was occasionally something of a burden, however, may be gathered from the statement of Charlevoix that the great village of the Natchez was not large because "the savages, from whom the great chief has a right to take all they have, get as far from him as they can; and therefore, many villages of this nation have been formed at some distance from this."[d]

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[a] The feast which takes place during this month is described on pp. 113–121.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 354–383.

[c] Ibid., 353–354.

[d] Charlevoix, Journal, in French, Hist. Coll. La., 159, 1851.

The feasts are said by Du Pratz and Le Petit to have been celebrated in each Natchez village, yet, if we are to trust Dumont, some of the larger were participated in by several if not all.[a]

Du Pratz gives descriptions of two of these feasts, that held in the month of Deer, and that held in the month of Maize or Great Corn. The origin and manner of observance of the former were as follows:

> Anciently a great Sun having suddenly heard a great tumult in his village went out quickly to quiet it and fell into the hands of a hostile nation which had come to surprise them. But the warriors having immediately run to his assistance, took him back and put their enemies to flight.
>
> In order to recall this honorable deed of their history, all the warriors separate themselves into two bodies distinguished by the color of their plumes. The one party has white plumes; the other, which represents the enemy, has red ones. The two bands place themselves in ambush near the cabin of the great chief, and that of the enemy, at the head of which is the great war chief, comes out first. It advances a short distance, making many movements and contortions and uttering great cries. The great Sun then comes out of his cabin in all his apparel, but rubbing his eyes as if he had just awakened. The enemies throw themselves upon him and endeavor to carry him away, when the other warriors rush up and take him out of their hands. This action takes place without any accident on either side and without quarrels, but not without noise. The cries of the enemies are cries of death while attacking; those of the nation attacked are cries of fear and terror. There are some heard which seem to be intended to encourage them. But the enemy continues the cries of death so long as the great Sun is in their hands. The nation running against the enemies approaches them. Both make many movements which denote the strategems of war, which last half an hour. During this time the great Sun defends himself with a war club of the ancient pattern, made entirely of wood. He knocks down a great number of the enemy without, however, touching them. The mere motion of the blow throws them down, and in fact the blow approaches so near their heads that one would say that he really struck them. I was surprised to see playing such a magnificent rôle with so much activity and address this venerable old man, the great Sun, whose glances shot terror into the hearts of his enemies, to which they bore witness by their different cries, for it must be observed that all these cries, although without any articulation, are distinct and have their signification. Finally the nation attacked comes and joins with the enemies. These latter tremble on seeing the fury painted in the eyes and the gestures of those arriving. These cries change. Those who represent the Natchez knock down a great number of them [the enemy], who get up again after the Natchez have passed beyond them. Finally the enemy flee and are pursued as far as a wood, which is represented by a thicket of canes, which is always left for the young people. The Natchez then bring back their prince, and, satisfied with such a complete victory, and at having rescued the great Sun from such great danger, utter cries of joy, with which the air reverberates, and which the echoes of the neighboring woods repeat in their turn. The entire nation which sees his return witnesses its satisfaction by redoubled cries of joy mingled with love, which appear genuine. The old men, the women, and the children, who are merely spectators along the edge of the open space, endeavor to

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[a] See p. 118.

imitate the warriors by their cries of joy. In a word, the general happiness is so lively and so natural that it offers an interesting spectacle, and I avow sincerely that I have taken as much pleasure in this mimic warfare as in any comic piece I have ever seen presented at the theater. It is certainly true that a battle of this kind fixes the attention of the spectator extremely, because it is only a pantomime, and, besides the gestures, it is necessary to know how to distinguish the different cries.

The great Sun, having been led back to his cabin, rests there and recovers from the violent movements he has gone through with, which are such that an actor of 30 would have difficulty in sustaining them for such a long time. Nevertheless, this prince was more than 90 years old. While he rests the warriors who had represented the enemies reenter among the people by groups, and, pretending to be ignorant whether their sovereign is wounded or not, because they do not see him appear, utter sighs so plaintive that they draw pity from strangers. This entire spectacle is very amusing, and not being entirely satisfied with what the chief of the guardians of the temple told me about them I wished to see these feasts with my own eyes, and I have seen them more than once.

Scarcely has the great Sun rested half an hour when he comes out without his crown. Then the cries of joy and respectful salutation are heard from all sides, but they cease as soon as they see him take the road to the temple. He stops in the middle of the open space opposite the temple, before which he makes a kind of obeisance, bending very low, and without bending his knees he takes up a little earth which he throws on his head, and then turns successively toward the four quarters of the earth, doing the same thing in each direction. Then, without changing his position, he looks fixedly at the temple, which he has to the south of him, he extends his arms horizontally (or in a cross) and remains without more movement than that of a statue. He remains in this attitude about half an hour. Then the grand master of ceremonies comes to relieve him and do the same thing. This one is himself relieved at the end of a similar period of time by the great war chief, who remains there equally long.

During the kind of prayer which the prince makes a profound silence is preserved, and when he has reentered his cabin plaintive cries begin again and cease only when the two chiefs have completed their ceremony, because then the great chief comes out of his cabin, dressed with the ornaments which proclaim his dignity, which are the crown or feather diadem which I have described in the article on clothing.[a] A necklace of large pearls and feathers hangs from the diadem. They bring his throne, which is a large stool with four feet made from one piece of wood. As soon as the sovereign appears on his throne cries of happiness are heard and last until the end of the feast. This throne is covered with a beautiful skin, well painted and ornamented with different designs. He seats himself on his throne, and the warriors cover his shoulders with a beautiful bison robe and his feet with many peltries. The women make him presents of different kinds, uttering meanwhile loud cries of joy, and the last who brings them terminates the feast.

All these ceremonies outside being finished, the Suns conduct the sovereign back into his cabin. If there are strangers, he has them invited to eat. One can rest by taking a walk until evening if he wishes to see the dance, which takes place on every feast day in the cabin of the great Sun.[b]

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[a] See pp. 106–107.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 355–361.

The harvest feast is described as follows:

This feast is incontestably the most solemn of all. Essentially it consists in eating in common and in a religious manner new corn which has been sown with this intention with suitable ceremonies.

When they wish to sow this corn they choose a new plot of earth, which within the memory of man has never been cultivated. They cut the canes, the creepers, the vine stalks, and all that makes a thick forest. They peel the trees to the wood from the base of the tree to the height of 2 feet. All that which is cut and laid on the earth may cover it to a depth of 2 feet. It is left thus for fifteen days. Then they set fire to it, and it burns so hotly and rises so high that it burns the tops of the trees, brings down the sap which may have gone up, burns the roots of the canes and the rest of the underbrush, at least in great part, so that it leaves only some green canes, the roots of which extend so deeply into the earth that the fire is unable to damage them; but these die during the year.

All that concerns the working of this field and the culture of this grain is done only by the warriors from the time they have begun to cultivate it to the moment of the feast, and the great war chief is always at their head. These are not only the ones who cultivate the field and put it in a condition to receive seed; they are also those who sow the maize and weed it as many times as are necessary. The smallest operations are not in the least unworthy of their hands. It would be a profanation if any other should touch it, and if it happened that a native other than a warrior put his hand on it, this grain is so much respected and so sacred, it is believed that he would never be able to go away from the field, but would perish there miserably.

When the corn approaches maturity the warriors go to the place where the corn is going to be eaten and where it is eaten every year. At the edge of this open space they make a kind of granary which they call *Momo-ataop*, which means valuable granary or venerable granary. This open space is fairly large. It is, however, almost entirely shaded by the excessive height of the trees which surround it. It is covered with a beautiful lawn, the grass of which is cut from time to time, so that it may not get too high before the time of the feast. The trees which inclose this place make a large grove without any underbrush. Beneath is grass only as high as the knee around the open space, but farther off it has a height as elsewhere of 4 or 5 feet.

The granary which they make for storing this grain is of round shape, raised 2 feet above the earth. It is furnished inside with cane mats. The bottom is made of large whole canes; the outside is also provided with them, because the teeth of rats, however good, are unable to make an opening in them on account of the natural varnish which covers them. This also prevents them from going up the sides of the granary in order to enter through the covering, which, owing to the manner in which it is made, protects this grain from the greatest storms. The French call this granary "the tun," on account of its round shape.

All things being thus disposed and prepared for the harvest, and the grain being ripe, the warriors go to gather it. They put it in cane baskets and carry it to the granary, where other warriors take it, climb the ladder, and throw it into the granary, which has rather the shape of a tower than of a tun with regard to its diameter and height. When this grain is entirely inclosed it is well covered and left without fear of thieves. The sovereign is informed that all is ready for the feast. He sets whatever day pleases him for eating it in common and in his presence.

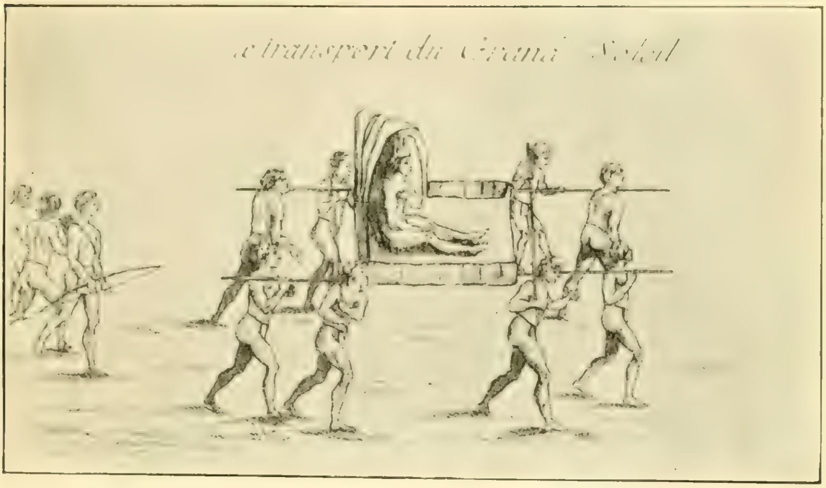
The feast day being fixed, the necessary arrangements for this ceremony are made some days before. The cabin of the great chief is built opposite the granary and that of the great war chief at the side of this granary. That of the sovereign is on an elevation of earth about 2 feet high, which has been brought hither. It is made by the warriors of grass and leaves. At the same time the warriors of each family come to make a cabin for all their relations.

The feast day having at last arrived, the entire nation begins to prepare itself at daybreak. The old men, the young people, the women, and the children leave at sunrise. Each one brings the utensils necessary for preparing the grain, and as soon as they arrive they collect wood to make a fire at the proper time. The old warriors prepare the litter on which the great Sun is going to be brought (pl. 3, *a*). This litter is composed of four red bars which cross each other at the four corners of the seat, which has a depth of about 1½ feet. The entire seat is garnished inside with common deerskins, because it is not seen. Those which hang outside are painted with designs according to their taste and of different colors. They conceal the seat so well that the substance of which it is composed can not be seen. The back part of this seat is covered like the equipages we call chaises (*soufflets*). It is covered outside and in with leaves of the tulip laurel. The outside border is garnished with three strings (*cordons*) of flowers. That which extends the farthest outside is red. It is accompanied on each side by a string of white flowers.

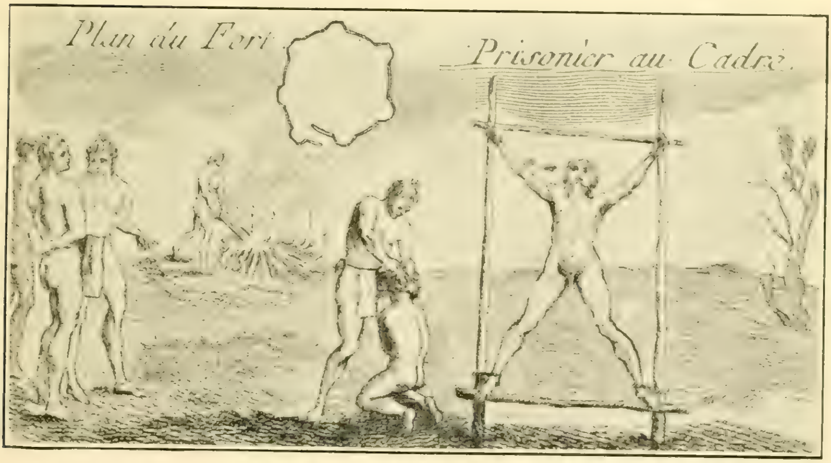
Those who prepare this conveyance are the first and the oldest warriors of the nation. They place it on the shoulders of the 8 who are the only ones to take it out of the village. In this way there remain only 16 of them there, because all of the others have gone, a little after sunrise, with their great chief [of war] and those who command the warriors under his orders. He disperses them a hundred paces apart and places 8 in each relay. For this purpose he chooses those of his warriors who are the strongest and the most vigorous. The others wait at the open space with him to receive the great Sun.

These dispositions made and the warriors' post having been reddened and planted by themselves in the middle of the space, with ceremony (for the great war chief has to hold it while the warriors make it firm), the great Sun, when the sun is a quarter of the way up, goes forth from his cabin adorned with his diadem and the other ornaments which indicate his dignity. On the instant, the warriors who have remained to carry him utter many redoubled cries in succession and with so much strength that those who hear them may be assured that these men are not consumptives. As the warriors of the relays are not more than a hundred paces apart, they hear the first cries and repeat them on the spot, so that in a minute they are informed at the open space, although it is half a league distant.

The great Sun seats himself in the litter, adorned with the ornaments suitable to the supreme rank, for good sense alone has enabled these people to know that these ornaments are the marks of sovereignty, and in the ceremonies their princes always wear them, if not all, at least a part. Then the 8 oldest warriors place him in this state on the shoulders of those who are going to carry him. The cries are continued from his departure from his cabin until he is beyond the village. At most this is a matter of two minutes. Those who carry him and those who receive him do it with so much quickness and skill that a good horse would be able to follow them only at a canter, for those who await him at each relay lift him from the shoulders of those who arrive with so much agility that he does not stop at all and does not cease to go with the same rapidity, so that that journey, I believe, lasts only six or seven minutes at most.


Le transport du Grand Soleil

a Manner in which the great Sun was carried to the harvest festival of the Natchez


Plan du Fort
Prisonier au Cadre.

b Method of torturing prisoners among the Natchez and other tribes
Above is the outline of a fort

CUSTOMS OF LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRIBES

(From Du Pratz, II, 367, 428)

Scarcely have those in the open space perceived him than the whole nation which is awaiting him fills the air and the neighboring woods with cries of joy. The great Sun arrives in the open space at the side of the cabin which has been prepared for him. Before descending he makes a circuit of the square sedately. When he is in front of the grain he salutes it with *hou hou hou*, three times, long drawn out, and made with respect. All the nation replies to this salutation with nine other *hou hou's*, which are not at all confused, so that at the ninth he sets foot to earth and seats himself on his throne.

All the warriors whom he has left behind follow him at their leisure but without stopping, and there remain in all the cabins of the nation only old men and old women who are no longer able to walk, and the sick. There are but too many of these old people to whom life has become insupportable although the body is in very good health, but their legs refuse service. The guardians of the eternal fire do not leave the temple.[a] Their wives carry them some of the dishes prepared of this grain to eat.

The great Sun lets his warriors rest and gives time for making the new fire, which comes from a violent rubbing of wood against wood. Any other fire would be profane. During this interval the great Sun remains with the other Suns or princes, each of whom is ornamented with a little diadem, the feathers which surmount it being not more than 4 inches long and all equal. Only the great war chief who was at that time brother of the great Sun was distinguished from the other Suns. He had a large white feather fastened to his hair, at the end of which was a red tuft which carried a tassel of the same color. This feather extended above the others in his diadem by about 2 inches.

When this great war chief sees that all the warriors await orders at the doors of the cabins belonging to their families, he goes with 4 warriors previously chosen and named to distribute the grain to the women. He presents himself with them before the throne and says to the great Sun: "Speak, I await your word."

Then this sovereign rises, comes out of his cabin, and bows toward the four quarters of the world, commencing with the south. As soon as the chief and the warriors have gone to the granary, he raises his arms and his hands toward heaven, whither he directs his looks, and says: "Give the grain," and at once seats himself. The great war chief thanks him by a single *hou*, long drawn out, and goes on. The princes and princesses whose cabins are near thank him also by three *hou's*. Then all the men do the same thing, repeating it nine times, but three at a time with a little time between. The women and all the young people of both sexes keep a profound silence and prepare their baskets to go after the grain. They go to the granary as soon as the thanks of the people have been given.

During the time of the thanksgivings, the four warriors with their great chief having arrived, each ascends a ladder, they quickly take the covering off of the granary, throw the pieces aside, and give grain to the female Suns and afterward to all the women who present themselves, indifferently. As soon as they have received it they run and flee as if they had stolen it. Those who have remained in the cabins place themselves in front of the others and seem to wish to snatch it from them. They empty it on skins and husk it quickly. Scarcely have they enough of it to make one crushing than they put it into their mortars or mills to shell it. The pot is on the fire with boiling water or water ready to boil. They throw this meal into it and hasten to cook it. As soon as it is cooked they await the word to eat it, and they never touch any of it before.

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[a] Nevertheless in 1721 Charlevoix found the guardian absent from the temple, probably attending a feast; see p. 160.

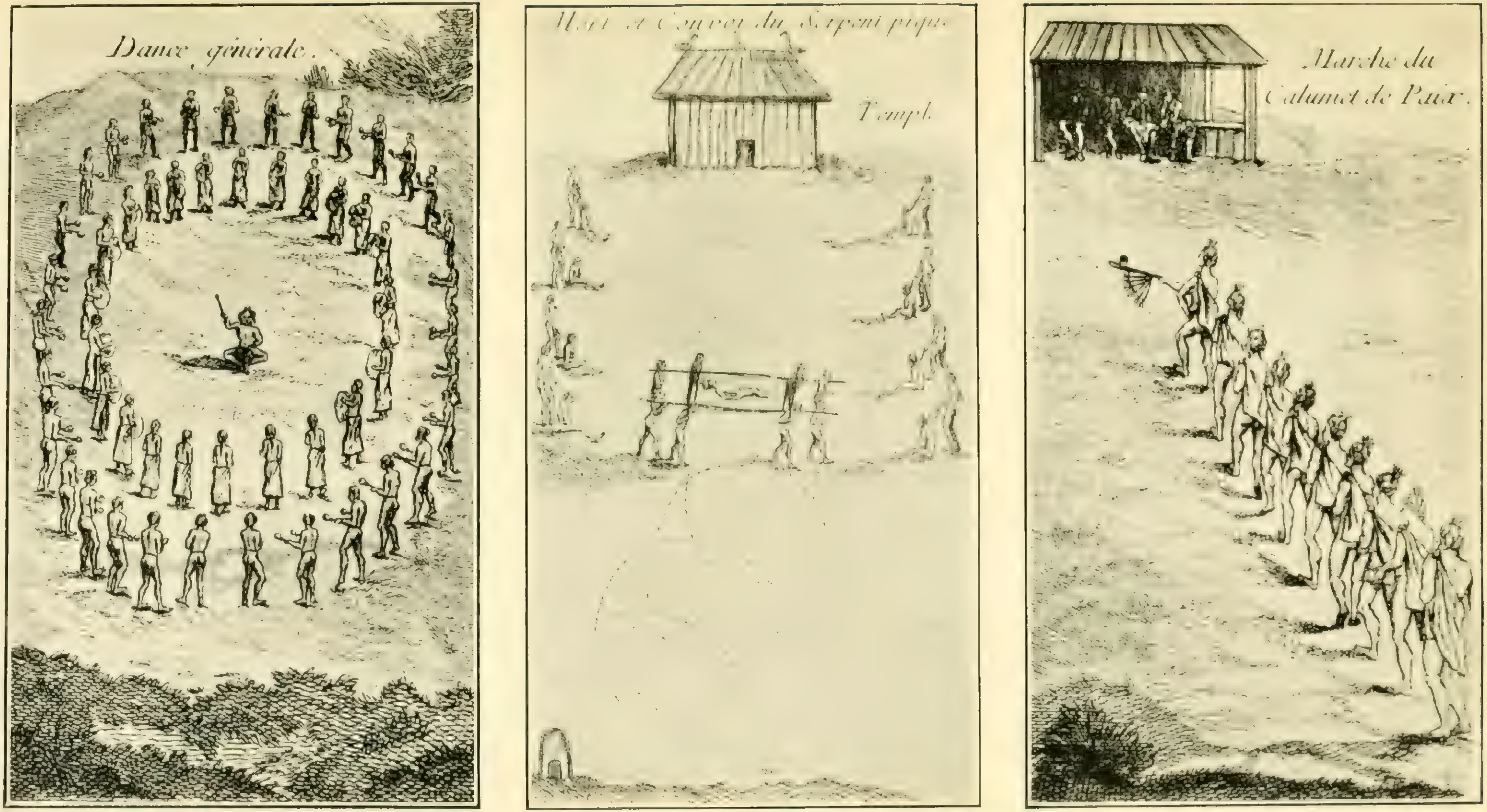
This whole operation is gone through with so much eagerness that one would say they had not eaten for four days. The servants of the great Sun although very numerous have not their food prepared as soon as the others because they do not hasten, in order to give the other women time to prepare theirs. In the midst of all these movements the warriors who are then at leisure amuse themselves by singing war songs to the sound of the pot which serves them as a drum.

When they see that all is cooked, which they know by observing a woman at the door of each cabin, the speaker or chancellor says to the grand master of ceremonies, "*Eillpaill* (see if the provisions are cooked)." They bring it to the great chief in two plates, one of each kind. He rises. They give him one of these dishes. He goes out and presents it to the four quarters of the world, then sends it to the great war chief, saying in a loud voice *Pachcou*, "Eat," and it is then that everyone eats.

The repast lasts a rather long time, because the warriors eat first, then the boys of all ages, except those who are nursing. Finally the women and the children eat, and it is necessary to allow intervals, so that the women may have time to crush more maize and have it cooked, because this grain only is eaten until all the grain in the granary is eaten.

As fast as the warriors finish their repast they go outside and remain standing in front of their cabins. As soon as there are enough of them they form two responsive choirs along the two sides of the open space and sing songs of war. This concert lasts only half an hour and is ended the instant that the great war chief goes to strike a blow on the post. This signal which stops the singers opens the scene for speeches. The great chief begins immediately. He relates his exploits and the number of enemies he has killed. He finishes his speech in a raised tone of voice, which those who are acquainted with the deeds he has mentioned answer with a great *hou* in order to certify to its truth. All the warriors in turn, according to the degree of estimation in which they are held, do the same thing as their chief, and finally the young men have permission to go and strike the post and say, not what they have done, for they have never been to war, but what they propose to do. It is a kind of training for them by which their parents and their friends take care to prepare them. For as it is an honor to them to speak well in public it is a disgrace to acquit themselves poorly. The warriors applaud them by a *hou*, which, as has been seen, is of common usage, or witness to their small satisfaction by lowering the head and keeping silence. The desire of meriting public approbation in the present and of acquiring in the future the same glory that warriors enjoy excites in the youths a lively emulation.

However, night comes. Then the open space is surrounded with more than 200 torches made of dried canes, which they take care to renew. They are of the size of a small child and bound in five places. In the great light which they shed they dance ordinarily until day. The dances are always the same, and he who has seen one has seen all. Here is how they are disposed (pl. 4, *a*). In the middle of a vacant space, proportioned to the number of those who are going to dance, a man seats himself on the earth with a pot in which there is a little water, and which is covered with a deer skin stretched extremely tight. He holds this pot in one hand and beats time with the other. Around him the women arrange themselves in a circle at some distance from each other and having in their hands very thin disks of feathers which they turn while dancing from left to right. The men inclose the women with another circle, which they form at some distance from them. They never hold each other by the hand, but leave between a space sometimes as wide as 6 feet. Each one has his *chichicois* (rattle) with which he beats time. The *chichicois* is a gourd


Danse générale.
Mort et Convoi du Serpent piqué
Temple
Marche du Calumet de Paix.

a The "common dance" of the Natchez

b Mortuary rites over the Tattooed-serpent. The illustration errs in representing eight bearers of the litter on which his body lay instead of six as given in the text

c The ceremony of the calumet when peace was concluded between the Chitimacha Indians and the French, 1718

NATCHEZ AND CHITIMACHA CUSTOMS

(From Du Pratz, II, 376; III, 55; I, 105)

pierced at the tv nds through which a stick is passed, of which the longest end serves as a ha e, and in which some little stones or dry beans have been placed. As th omen turn from left to right the men turn from right to left and all keep ti with an accuracy which must be considered surprising. The intervals whicl they leave between make it convenient to leave the dance when they are tired and reenter it without causing any trouble. The circles contract and enlarge according to necessity, always keeping time, and the dancers being able to rest and be replaced by others (for in great families all do not danc the same time) their dances ordinarily last all night. It may be understo without difficulty that in this manner they might be able to dance foreve the actors being able to retire without interrupting it and reenter in the same way when they have recovered their strength. I ought to say besides that in this feast there is never any disorder or quarrel, not only on account of the presence of the great Sun and the good custom they have of living in peace, but also because they eat only the sacred grain and drink nothing but water.

Day having come, no one appears in the open space until the great Sun comes out of his house toward 9 o'clock in the morning. He walks some moments alone with the great war chief, and has the drum, or the pot which serves in place of it, beaten against the post. Immediately the warriors hasten to come out of their cabins, and form two troops which are distinguished by the color of the plumes with which their heads are adorned. The one has white feathers and takes the side of the great Sun; the other has red feathers and is for the great war chief. Then begins the game of the *pelotte* [ball], a little ball of deerskin of the size of the fist filled with Spanish beard.

The two chiefs throw this ball back and forth for some time from one to the other. The two bands are extremely attentive to all their movements, for at the moment when one least thinks of it the great Sun throws it in the very thick of the warriors who are then mingled and confounded together. This ball must never fall or be carried. It would be snatched forcibly from the one who should seize it and no one would help him. The interdiction is express on this point. As this ball game has two goals, to reach the cabin of the great Sun and that of the great war chief, it is necessary that it be pressed and urged by blows given with the palm of the hand to one of these two cabins. It is a real pleasure to see this ball spring sometimes to one side of the open space, sometimes to the other, sometimes remaining in the middle, then appearing decided to touch one of the goals, and at the last moment be repelled by a hostile hand into its first uncertainty. The movement of the warriors and the innocent passion in which they enter it for the honor of the game is not unaccompanied by noise. Fear, disquietude, and vexation have their different cries. That of joy rises above all others. Ordinarily the game lasts two hours, and the warriors sweat great drops. Finally, the ball touching one of the cabins, the amusement is at an end. The band which belonged to this cabin having thus won, receives from the chief of the opposite side a considerable present and the right as a mark of victory to wear distinguishing plumes until the following year or until the next time they play ball. Following this game the warriors dance the war dance to the sound of the pot. After this dance they go to bathe, an exercise of which they are very fond, especially when they are a little heated or fatigued.

The rest of the day is passed like the preceding, and the feast lasts as long as there is corn to eat, for they do not bring any back to the village, and even when there is no more to distribute, all the cabins are visited to know how much remains to each family. Where a too large quantity is found a maize tassel is suspended at the door, and those who do not have enough are informed by it of the place where they may find some. Thus all is shared equally and at the same time consumed.

Report being made to the great Sun he has the pot beaten and gives orders to return to the village. The warriors are disposed in relays to bring back their sovran in the same way that they brought him out, and when he arrives he sends them out to hunt, as much for himself as for them. Thus is terminated the great Feast of Grain.[a]

While agreeing in outlines, Dumont's description differs in several important details. From the current French name for the granary in which the sacred corn was kept he calls it "the feast of the tun of importance" (*la fête de la tonne de valeur*), and describes it thus:

The feast of the tun of importance was ordinarily celebrated in July. This so-called tun was nothing else than a round cabin, large and high, resembling quite closely a tower, where every year at the beginning of harvest each savage was obliged to bring the first of that which he gathered, whether in grain or in fruits. Many guardians were appointed to see that no one carried away any of that which was brought into this cabin, and they themselves were expressly prohibited from touching it, a regulation which was religiously observed. Finally, the year following they assembled some time before the harvest and celebrated a general feast for the entire nation, in order to eat in common what each had brought separately into this cabin. Here are what the ceremonies were and what passed one year when the French commandant of the Natchez post was present at these pastimes with many of the officers of his garrison.

Eight days before it began the savages cut all the grass on the trail over which their great chief, who was then the Tattooed-serpent,[b] would have to pass; that is to say, for the space of about a league and a half, the distance between the great village and this tun. At the same time they prepared many cabins of branches around a beautiful open space which they had prepared beside the tun, and at the end of this open space they raised another cabin more ornate than all the others, destined to serve as the palace of their chief. However, all the women of the four Natchez villages—that is of the grand village, of the village of the Apple, of Jensenac, and of the Gris[c]—had repaired to the same place where during these eight days they were solely occupied in grinding maize in order to make hominy, grain *grolé*, etc., and in preparing all the other things which were necessary for their diversion.

The day of this feast having arrived the savages stretched a beautiful bison skin, daubed and painted in different colors, on a kind of litter, covered with a fine cloth in the manner of a cradle, and on this litter they laid their great chief who on that day was dressed in the French manner but without shoes. This ceremony was made to the noise of many guns which the savages discharged from time to time. Afterward all being ranged in a column of a width of four or five men they raised the cradle in which was their chief upon their heads and passing him from hand to hand from the great village to the place where the tun was, they made him cover this entire route in the air much more quickly than our Frenchmen could do it, although they were very well mounted, since he was more than a quarter of an hour before them at this rustic camp where he had himself held in the air until after they arrived. If by mischance in this route the litter had fallen to the earth it would have cost his subjects more than a hundred heads.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist de La Louisiane, II, 363–381.

[b] An error. He was brother of the great chief.

[c] It seems strange that the name of the Flour village should be omitted.

As soon as the French commandant appeared with his troop the great chief descended from his litter to the noise of all his musketry and was received by his women at the door of the cabin, the floor of which was covered with very clean mats. Being seated there with his legs crossed according to their custom, surrounded by his women seated on their knees, his Honored men, and the French, he took the calumet which was presented to him, smoked two or three mouthfuls, and then had the pipe given to the French, in order that they might smoke with him, but because, instead of expressing himself by a sign, he gave this order in a loud voice, all the savages who were present replied to it by howling nine times, as is their custom. After this ceremony there were served before him more than 350 dishes of all shapes and of all kinds, of wood, of earth, round, oval, filled with all kinds of viands, having tasted of which he destributed them to his women and his entire following, after which he had the rest delivered to all of his people scattered on the grass in sections; that is to say, the women with the women, the girls with the girls, the boys with the boys, and the men in the same way with the men, but distinguished according to their rank. I mean the warriors with the warriors and the Stinkards with those of their kind. For him he had had prepared a table in his cabin with benches all around it, where he seated himself with the French commander and his officers, whom he treated in the French manner as best he could. It is true that they had brought with them wine and brandy.

They had reached the end of the repast when the great chief, having begged the Frenchmen to wait an instant, repaired to the door of his cabin where, at a signal which he made, all the savages assembled around him at once. Then he reproached them violently, asking them if they were not ashamed to know that the French, who were their friends, were among them without their having thought of preparing anything with which to receive them, and whether they thought that they were accustomed, like themselves, to live on gruel and hominy. His harangue ended by his giving them an order to provide for them. At this speech of their chief the savages replied in their ordinary manner by howling nine times, after which, having detached themselves by troops, they were seen to return at the end of about two hours in single file, bringing to the feet of the great chief, some smoke-dried pieces of bison, other quarters of bear or of deer freshly killed, squirrels, etc. In an instant the floor of the cabin was covered to the depth of more than 1½ feet with meat and game of all kinds. The great chief appeared satisfied with their exactness in executing his orders, and to indicate his satisfaction he showed them a large ball full of sawdust, and presented them at the same time with a gun and an ell of *Limbourg*, which were to be the reward of the one who was victor at that game. Immediately all the savages ranged themselves in two troops of about 800 men each, and the great chief, having thrown the ball into one of the two parties, the game began. It is that which is called *la soule* in Brittany, where for a very long time this amusement has been very common among the country people, without anyone being able to say that the savages have taken this usage from the Bretons, nor that the latter have introduced it among them from America. Whatever be its origin it is certain that the savages take much pleasure and exercise themselves very much at this game, which consists among them, when the ball is thrown, of keeping it from remaining in the hands of any of the players, but in making it always fly about without permitting it to fall to the earth. For that purpose when it is in the air each of the two parties is seen to advance and close together from the same side so tightly together that a pin would have difficulty in passing between them, and when it is ready to fall all immediately raise their arms to receive it, trying at the same time to prevent their comrades from holding it, and by this means keeping this ball in the air without cessation, sending it from one to another, from hand to hand, and from one party to another, until at last one more fortunate or more skillful retains it and gains the prize, something which at times does not happen for more than three hours.

[Here Dumont inserts a description of the chunkey game, given elsewhere.]

In the midst of these amusements the day passes, and toward sunset they return to the table and sup with the same ceremonies with which they had eaten in the morning. However, the shadows having succeeded the light, night offers the spectacle of a new fête, which is surpassed in nothing by that of the day. In order to celebrate it, they begin by illuminating the entire open space with bundles of canes, each of the size of one's arm, and more than 25 feet long. These bundles of canes are planted on posts of a suitable size, scattered over the open space and planted in the earth at distances of about 8 feet apart, and when they are lighted they give out as much luster as a hundred wax torches together. On the right, opposite the cabin of the chief, the women and girls of the savages, together with the old men, are seated in a circle having in the middle the master musician beating on his pot with his stick, while the entire assembly answers in cadence with these words, often repeated, "*honathea, honathea*," which these savages utter from the depths of their breasts, striking roughly on their stomachs, so that they form among them a kind of echo, which allows nothing to be heard in all that concert but the last syllable *thea*. While they sing, some hold feathers in their hands and make them move in cadence, others shake their *chichicoüas* or calabashes, also in cadence, and all these parts together form a harmony very melodious to savage ears.

Opposite this circle of male and female musicians is raised a round or square post 6 or 7 feet high, on which is placed crosswise the famous calumet of ceremony. All the warriors—men and boys—come in turn one after the other to strike on this post, and they always come there on the run, as if they had started from a distance, and bearing in the hand a gun or a war club. Arrived at the post, the warrior makes a cry, striking his mouth many times with his hand. At this signal the music ceases, there is a profound silence in the entire assembly, and the one who has just struck the post, taking up the word, begins his speech, which consists in an abbreviated recital of all his exploits. He says, for example, "*Ichcla*, here I am; I have taken so many scalps; I have passed three days and three nights without eating in order to triumph over my enemy," etc. At each pose which the orator takes and at each fine action which he recounts those present applaud by a *hom, hom*, which means in their language that it is good, and when he has finished he retires, after having thrown at the foot of the post the presents which he has brought, such as guns, shirts, knives, mirrors, war clubs, packets of beads or of vermilion, etc. In a word, all is good and well received.

In the feast which I have just described the Frenchmen were themselves admitted to come and strike the post, and, provided they brought their present, had they said in French to the savages all the injurious things possible, as some among them did who on addressing themselves to them said to them, "Is it not true that you are all rogues?" etc., the entire assembly nevertheless replied to them *atchiocma* ("yes, it is good.") The strangers who come into a village to present the calumet there never leave without this ceremony of the post, and to them belong all the presents which are brought there. The next day even they are seen with the famous calumet and the pot, which they beat while dancing, to go throughout the entire village from cabin to cabin where still more new presents are made them.

In order to finish the description which I have begun of the feast of the tun of importance, I will add that while some sing and others strike the post the young savages are often seen to separate themselves with the young girls, of which there are quite pretty ones, and go into the neighboring prairies and walk about by the light of the stars, some covered with deerskins, others in coverings of *Limbourg*. Our Frenchmen themselves have sometimes played their part also in these nocturnal promenades. There in the darkness of the night on the fresh grass tête-à-têtes and secret conferences are held with which none is displeased. On separating, the young man gives his goddess a little vermilion, a bead necklace, a copper or iron bracelet, or some other similar trifle, and she is satisfied beyond all expression.

The feast of the tun of importance lasts not only one day, but for as many as the provisions collected in the tun suffice for keeping the ceremony and the assemblage. In all the savage nations similar feasts are held, either at the approach of the harvest or when their people come back conquerors over their enemies. In all these feasts there is little variation, but the ceremony of the calumet and that of the post are of all the most common, and are celebrated everywhere as I have described them.[a]

The dances, which constitute such an important part of each feast, are also described by Pénicaut in the following terms:

Their dances are as follows (pl. 4, *a*): The women dance with the men and the boys with the girls. These dances are always by 20 or 30 together—as many boys as girls. A married man is not permitted to dance with the girls nor boys to dance with the women. After they have lighted a great torch, which is ordinarily the dry trunk of an old pine, which is burnt in order to light the grand square of the village, and another opposite the cabin of the great chief, the dance master at the head of a hundred men and women, to the sound of a little drum and the voices of the spectators, begins the dance at sunset, and each one dances in his turn until midnight. After this the men retire to their homes with their wives and leave the place to the boys and girls, who dance from midnight until broad daylight. They give themselves to this pleasure many times, each one in turn. Their dance is almost like the new *cotillon de France*, with this difference: That when a youth has danced in that manner with the girl at his side or in front of him, he is permitted to lead her to the end of the village, into one of the groves on the prairie, where he dances another cotillion with her *à la Mississipienne*, when they return to the village square to dance in their turn as before. They continue their dances thus until broad daylight, so that in the morning the boys especially are like disinterred bodies, as much through loss of sleep as through being fatigued with dancing with the girls.[b]

In another place he says:

It is ordinarily the great chief who orders the dance feasts, which last eight or ten days in succession, more or less, in all the villages of his dominion. These feasts are ordinarily undertaken when the great chief has need of some provisions, such as flour, beans, and other such things, which they place at the door of his cabin in a heap the last day of the feast.[c]

The power of the great chief was so extensive that he no doubt occasionally ordered special feasts, but it is probable that most of these referred to by Pénicaut were the regular monthly festivals recorded by Du Pratz.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 195–208.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 447.

[c] Ibid., 449.

Gravier, Charlevoix, and Le Petit all speak of the harvest feast, though briefly.

> The first harvest is made in these parts in the month of June; and the second, which is more abundant, is not made till the end of November.[a] Besides offering their first fruits in the temple in this village, the woman chief had the corn gathered in for the temple, and no one dare refuse what her emissaries chose to take. This harvest is made for the chief and the woman chief, and to furnish food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs; but all take part in the feast made to them for six days with the ordinary howls, cries, and ceremonies, which they do not wish to explain to the missionaries, to whom for all answer they say: *Nou-kou*, that is to say, 'I do not know why it is done.' All depends on the commission of the chiefs, who have too great an interest, in passing, for spirits among their people to embrace Christian humility very soon.[b]

> * * * The harvest among the Natchez is in common. The great chief sets the day for it and calls the village together. Toward the end of July[c] he appoints another day for the beginning of a festival which lasts three days, which are spent in sports and feasting.
>
> Each private person contributes something of his hunting, his fishing, and his other provisions, which consist in maize, beans, and melons. The great chief and the woman chief preside at the feast, sitting in a cabin raised above the ground and covered with boughs; they are carried to it in a litter, and the great chief holds in his hand a kind of scepter adorned with feathers of various colors. All the nobles are round him in a respectful posture. The last day the great chief makes a speech to the assembly. He exhorts everybody to be exact in the performance of duties, especially to have a great veneration for the spirits which reside in the temple, and to be careful in instructing their children. If anyone has distinguished himself by some action of note, he makes his eulogium. [This is followed by a misapplied description of the destruction of the Taënsa temple by lightning.][d]

> Each year the people assemble to plant one vast field with Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons, and then again they collect in the same way to gather the harvest. A large cabin situated on a beautiful prairie is set apart to hold the fruits of this harvest. Once in the summer, toward the end of July, the people gather by order of the great chief to be present at a grand feast which he gives them. This festival lasts for three days and three nights, and each one contributes what he can to furnish it; some bring game, others fish, etc. They have almost constant dances, while the great chief and his sister are in an elevated lodge covered with boughs, from whence they can see the joy of their subjects. The princes, the princesses, and those who by their office are of distinguished rank, are arranged very near the chief, to whom they show their respect and submission by an infinite variety of ceremonies.
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> The great chief and his sister make their entrance in the place of the assembly on a litter borne by eight of their greatest men; the chief holds in his hand a great scepter ornamented with painted plumes, and all the people dance and sing about him in testimony of the public joy. The last day of this feast he causes all his subjects to approach and makes them a long harangue, in which he exhorts them to fulfill all their duties to religion. He recommends them, above all things, to have a great veneration for the spirits who reside in the

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[a] See p. 213.

[b] Journal of Father Gravier in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 142, 1861; Jes. Rel., LXV, 145.

[c] See p. 213.

[d] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 165–166, 1851.

temple and carefully to instruct their children. If anyone has distinguished himself by some act of zeal, he is then publicly praised. [This is also followed by the description of the destruction of the Taënsa temple.][a]

It is evident from these narratives that two harvest feasts were held, one just after the so-called harvest of the "little corn," in July (Dumont, Charlevoix, Le Petit), and a second after that of the "great corn," in September (Du Pratz), or November (Gravier), or else that one feast was held, sometimes at one time, and sometimes at the other. The earlier date, however, corresponds to the period of the Creek *Poskita*, and was probably the more common. The Charlevoix-Le Petit manuscript harmonizes other accounts in regard to the manner in which provisions were secured for the feast. Du Pratz states that the grain was gathered from a special field sowed and cared for by the warriors, while Dumont implies that it was brought in by the natives from their separate fields. It would seem from this account, however, that both sources of supply were resorted to, and that not only grain but all kinds of provisions were then eaten.

WAR

From Charlevoix:

When a war chief wants to levy a party of soldiers, he plants, in a place marked out for that purpose, two trees adorned with feathers, arrows, and war clubs, all painted red, as well as the trees, which are also pricked on that side which is toward the place whither they intend to carry the war. Those who would enlist present themselves to the chief, well dressed, their faces smeared with various colors, and declare to him the desire they have to learn the art of war under his orders; that they are disposed to endure all the fatigues of war, and ready to die, if needful, for their country [!].

When the chief has the number of soldiers that the expedition requires, which he intends to make, he causes a drink to be prepared at his cabin, which is called the medicine of war. This is a vomit, made with a root boiled in water. They give to each man two pots of it, which they must drink all at once, and which they throw up again almost as soon as they have drunk it, with most violent retchings. Afterward they labor in making the necessary preparations; and till the day set for their departure, the warriors meet every evening and morning in an open place, where after much dancing, and telling their great feats of war, everyone sings his song of death. These people are not less superstitious about their dreams than the savages of Canada; there needs only a bad omen to cause them to return when they are on a march.

The warriors march with a great deal of order, and take great precautions to encamp and to rally. They often send out scouts, but they never set sentinels at night. They put out all the fires, they recommend themselves to the spirits, and they sleep in security, after the chief has exhorted all not to snore too loud, and to keep always their arms near them and in good condition. Their idols are exposed on a long pole leaning toward the enemy, and all the warriors, before they lie down, pass one after another, with their war clubs in their hands, before these pretended deities; then they turn toward the enemies' country, and make great threatenings, which the wind often carries another way.

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 136–139.

It does not appear that the Natchez exercise on their prisoners, during the march, the cruelties which are used in Canada. When these wretches are arrived at the great village they make them sing and dance several days together before the temple, after which they are delivered to the relations of those who have been killed during the campaign. They, on receiving them, burst into tears, then, after having wiped their eyes with the scalps which the warriors have brought home, they join together to reward those who have made them the present of their captives, whose fate is always to be burnt.

The warriors change their names as often as they perform new exploits. They receive them from the ancient war chief, and these names have always some relation to the action by which they have merited this distinction. Those who for the first time have made a prisoner, or taken off a scalp, must, for a month, abstain from seeing their wives and from eating flesh. They imagine that if they should fail in this the souls of those whom they have killed or burnt would effect their death, or that the first wound they should receive would be mortal; or at least that they should never after gain any advantage over their enemies. If the great chief, called the Sun, commands his subjects in person, they take great care that he should not expose himself too much; less perhaps through zeal for his preservation than because the other war chiefs and the heads of the party would be put to death for their want of care in guarding him.[a]

From Le Petit:

When this nation sends out a detachment for war, the chief of the party erects two kinds of poles painted red from the top to the bottom, ornamented with red plumes, and arrows and tomahawks, also painted red. These poles are pointed to the side to which they are to carry the war. Those who wish to join the party, after having ornamented and daubed themselves with different colors, come to harangue the war chief. This harangue, which one makes after the other, and which lasts nearly half an hour, consists of a thousand protestations of service, by which they assure him that they ask nothing more than to die with him, that they are charmed to learn from so able a warrior the art of taking scalps, and that they fear neither the hunger nor fatigue to which they are going to be exposed.

When a sufficient number of braves have presented themselves to the war chief, he causes to be made at his house a beverage which they call the "war medicine." This is an emetic, which they make from a root they boil in large kettles full of water. The warriors, sometimes to the number of 300, having seated themselves about the kettle, they serve each one with two pots of it. The ceremony is to swallow them with a single effort, and then to throw them up immediately by the mouth, with efforts so violent that they can be heard at a great distance.

After this ceremony the war chief appoints the day of departure, that each one may prepare provisions necessary for the campaign. During this time the warriors repair evening and morning to the place before the temple, where, after having danced and related in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery was conspicuous, they chant their deathsongs.

To see the extreme joy which they show at their departure, we should say that they had already signalized their valor by some great victory, but a very small thing alone is necessary to disconcert their plans. They are so superstitious with respect to dreams that a single one of evil augury can arrest the execution of their enterprise and oblige them to return when they are on the march. We see parties who, after having gone through with all the ceremonies I have mentioned, immediately break off from their expedition because they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner; in an instant their ardor for glory is changed into a perfect panic.

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 166–168, 1851.

When on the warpath, they march in single file; four or five men who are the best walkers lead the way and keep in advance of the army a quarter of a league, to observe everything and give immediate notice. They encamp every evening an hour before sunset and lie down about a large fire, each one with his arms near him. Before they encamp, they take the precaution to send out 20 warriors to the distance of half a league around the camp, for the purpose of avoiding all surprise. They never post sentinels during the night, but as soon as they have supped they extinguish all the fires. At night the war chief exhorts them not to give themselves up to a profound sleep and to keep their arms always in a state of readiness. He appoints a place where they shall rally in case they are attacked during the night and put to flight.

As the war chiefs always carry with them their idols, or what they call their spirits, well secured in some skins, at night they suspend them from a small pole painted red, which they erect in a slanting position, so that it may be bent on the side of the enemy. The warriors, before they go to sleep, with war club in hand, pass one after the other in a dance before these pretended spirits, at the same time uttering the fiercest threats toward the side on which are their enemies.

When the war party is considerable as it enters the enemy's country, they march in five or six columns. They have many spies who go out on scouting expeditions. If they perceive that their march is known, they ordinarily adopt the resolution of retracing their steps, leaving a small troop of from 10 to 20 men who detach themselves and endeavor to surprise some hunters at a distance from the villages; on their return they chant their songs with reference to the scalps they have taken. If they have taken any prisoners, they force them to sing and dance for some days before the temple, after which they present them to the relatives of those who have been killed. These relatives are dissolved in tears during this ceremony and, drying their eyes with the scalps which have been taken, they contribute among themselves to recompense the warriors who have taken these captives, whose lot is to be burned.

The Natchez, like all the other nations of Louisiana, distinguish by particular names those who have killed a greater or less number of the enemy. The old war chiefs distribute these names according to the merit of the warrors. To deserve the title of a great man slayer it is necessary to have taken 10 slaves or to have carried off 20 scalps. When a person understands their language, the name itself of a warrior enables him to learn all his exploits. Those who, for the first time, have taken a scalp or made a captive, do not sleep on their return with their wives and do not eat any meat; they ought not to partake of anything but fish and thickened milk. This abstinence lasts for six months. If they fail to observe it they imagine that the soul of him whom they have killed will cause them to die through sorcery, that they will never again obtain any advantage over their enemies, and that the slightest wounds they may receive will prove fatal.

They take extreme care that the great chief shall not in any way expose his life when he goes to war. If carried away by his valor he should happen to be killed, the chiefs of the party and the other principal warriors would be put to death on their return, but executions of this kind are almost without example, on account of the precautions they take to preserve him from this evil.[a]

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 142–151.

From Dumont:

The savages are very vindictive, and there are none who do not undertake to revenge the death of those of their relations who have been killed in war. But they never undertake it by bravery; it is always by treachery that they attack. If they think they have anything to fear they take good care not to risk it. They have devices more cunning than those of the fox to assure the success of their vengeance, and an admirable patience in watching the occasion to accomplish it. In order to obtain the scalp of an enemy they wait eight consecutive days on his route, living during that time only on a single ear of ground corn.

It is this spirit of vengeance so natural to these savage nations which perpetuates among them these frequent wars which desolate and destroy them, but it ought not to be imagined that they make these, as with us, in great bands with much noise and expense. Their armies are only simple parties, and their baggage as well as their munitions are never so considerable that they are unable to carry them themselves. When these savages have resolved to go to war they leave their village 20 or 30 together more or less, provided with provisions, axes, guns, and war clubs, and commanded by a war chief whom they obey. With this outfit they cross the immense forests with which this entire country is covered, and although they do not find there any broken trails, they nevertheless do not march haphazard, but by consulting the sun always which serves them as a conductor and guide, and directing their route by this luminary to the east, west, north, or south, according to the position of the village which they are going to attack. As soon as they have arrived there they approach as closely as possible and camp in the thickest part of the woods where they take the precaution to make no fire and never to shoot for fear of being discovered. However, they separate during the night to scout singly and to examine on what cabin they ought to fall. Are they agreed on that which they desire to attack? They ordinarily choose for the purpose daybreak, enter the cabin, kill all those whom they find asleep there, pillage the house and retire. But they do not do it until after they have left marks of the inroad they have made in this place. These are small wooden clubs on which they incise with the point of the knife either the figure which is peculiar to their village, a sun, for example, for the Natchez, a crawfish for the Houmas, an alligator for the Bayagoulas, etc., or perhaps that which the chief of their party wears on his stomach. These marks are like coats-of-arms to them. They throw many of them about here and there in the place where they have struck some blow, and it is these that they call incised sticks (*bois gravés*).

However, it does not always happen that they are able to make these attacks on a cabin, either because the hostile village is inclosed in palings or palisades, or because they do not believe themselves strong enough to attack it. Then, established in the depth of the wood, they separate to go hunting, not beasts, but men, or perhaps they wait until some one from the hostile village passes, and when they see him within striking distance they throw themselves upon him, kill him with blows of their axes, and carry away his scalp. If many pass together, they make use of their guns to kill them, and, after having taken their scalps in the same manner, they throw the incised sticks about and retire, taking with them the prisoners they have made, if there are any, in order to burn them in their village. If, after having waited a long time, none passes, so that they are obliged to retire without doing anything, either because the season is past or because their provisions begin to fail them, they are unable then to throw the incised sticks about, since they have not done any execution, but in order to make it known that they have come with that intention they carve on the trees, in the place where they have camped, the same marks I have spoken of above. Then having cut the top off of a small tree and having split it in two, they form of them two half circles, planting each of these two pieces in the earth by an extremity, after which they blacken one of the half circles and redden the other. These marks inform the hostile village that a party from such and such a nation has come to attack them, that it has failed to strike its blow, but that it will return. Then this village dispatches a party in its turn to make reprisals on those who threatened it, or perhaps if it does not think itself the stronger, it sends the calumet to them, in order to learn the cause of this war and obtain peace.

It sometimes happens that two hostile parties en route with the reciprocal intention of attacking each other discover each other. Then they do not take pains to march against each other and come to blows. On the contrary, they go away, and in order to prevent mistakes which might occasion an action between them, as soon as night has come, while some sleep, others watch, shooting their guns from time to time, loaded only with powder, in order to let it be known that they are on their guard. In a word, the object of these savages is less to kill many men among the enemy than to bring away marks which, on their return into their nation, may be certain proofs of their bravery—that is to say, to take some scalps. From this it arises that when they are attacked in a fort they shut themselves in there and defend themselves well, but never make sorties against the enemy.[a]

From Du Pratz:

All the attire of a warrior consists in the ear pendants, which I have just described,[b] in a belt ornamented with rattles—and bells when they can get them from the French—so that when they walk they resemble rather mules than men. But when they have neither bells nor rattles, they fasten to these belts a dozen dry colocynths in which they put a dozen little stones. In order that the costume be complete, the warrior must have in his hands a war club. If it is made by the French, this will be a little ax, the edge of which is ordinarily 3 inches long. This ax is light, and is placed in the belt when one is loaded or traveling. The war clubs which the natives make themselves are of hard wood and have the shape of a cutlass blade, 2½ inches broad and 1½ feet long. They have an edge and a back. Toward the end of the back is a ball 3 inches in diameter, which is part of the same piece.

When one nation wishes to declare war against another, according to rule a council of war is held. This council is composed of the oldest and best warriors. At the door of the dwelling in which the council of war meets is planted a pole at the end of which is the calumet of war. It is to be supposed that this nation has been insulted and that some hostile acts have been committed against it or [enemies have] disturbed it in its hunting ground by coming there, as they say, to steal their game, for there is always some pretext sufficient for declaring war. This pretext, true or false, is presented by the war chief, who omits nothing to excite his nation. He is so much the more interested, as these chiefs are not nearly as much respected during peace as during war.

After his presentation the old warriors discuss the question in the presence of the great chief or sovereign of this nation. This great chief, as well as the great war chief, is only a witness, for the opinion of the old men always prevails over those of the two chiefs, who subscribe willingly to it on account of the respect and the great consideration which they have for the experience and wisdom of these venerable persons.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 182–187. The last statement must be modified somewhat in the light of their behavior in the last Natchez war.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 200–201 (misnumbered 190–191).

If it is determined to learn the reasons the others may have had for entering upon hostilities, some ancient warrior is named who has sufficient intelligence to supply the place of a speaker [*porte-parole*] (or chancellor) to harangue those among whom they send him to carry the calumet and make the embassy. A suitable number of good warriors is also named in order to be in a condition to repulse any insult which those whom they are going to see might give, so that an embassy of this kind is rather a party composed of brave people firmly resolved to avenge the nation if satisfaction is not given them. They part with this determination without carrying any present, which would have given them the air of suppliants. They carry only the peace calumet, in order to let it be seen that they come only as friends, but they do not carry any presents to let it be understood that they come not at all to buy peace.

It is unusual to see war begin through hostilities of this kind, because other nations would regard as mad those who should conduct it in this manner, above all if it was against a nation of some consideration, and in this case the latter would be assured of finding many allies who would aid it in exacting a vengeance proportioned to the insult which it had received.

The embassy of which I have just spoken, and which goes to come to an understanding with another people, is always well received. The foreign band is regaled in the best manner, those arriving are kept as long as possible, and although they have brought no presents enough of them are given to it to recompense them for the wrong which has been inflicted and to satisfy the band of ambassadors.

If, on the contrary, a neighboring nation has begun hostilities, it is ordinarily determined in the council to put themselves on the defensive. For this purpose the most distant are warned to leave their cabins and join the bulk of the nation in order to be in a position to succor each other. In this time of fear some young warriors are sent out every morning as scouts, on whose hearts they count less than on their legs and voices.

During this interval they collect stakes to form a fort and take the precaution to send to their neighbors for assistance, and above all to their friends or brothers. They give this name to a nation of the same origin.[a]

These invitations are ordinarily accompanied with the peace calumet, which is composed of a fan of white eagle feathers,[b] the extremities of which are black and ornamented at the ends with a tuft, dyed a beautiful red, like the little tassel which surmounts it, the whole having the shape of a quarter of a circle, and it is attached to a pipestem a foot and a half long ornamented with skin from the neck of a kind of duck,[c] the plumage of which is very beautiful. At the end of this stem is a pipe which we call calumet, which in this position is the symbol of peace. * * *

When these things are all done a general council of war is held, at which all the war chiefs are present, having with them the old warriors and their great chief at their head in the presence of the sovereign. The war calumet having been planted and all those who have been called to the council having repaired thither, the great war chief makes a speech in which he endeavors to represent the reasons which they all have for exacting vengeance for the insults which have been made them. He exhorts the war chiefs who are under him to make speeches in their turn to all the warriors that they go with them to raise scalps, and to engage the young men to accompany them in order to obtain glory, and to let their nation see that they anticipate the age of real warriors, and that they will soon become such by their glorious exploits.

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[a] Probably of the same mythic rather than the same actual origin.

[b] Eagle feathers consequently brought very high prices among all these Indians.

[c] The wood duck. The skin so used was taken from its neck (cf. Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 115).

This council being over and the determination for war being taken, all the warriors go to hunt and bring back game to the house of the great war chief in order to make the war feast, which must last three days, as well as the war dance. But before describing this feast and the dances which must follow it, it is necessary to give a description of the calumet of war. It is of the same material and of the same shape as the peace calumet with the exception of the color of the feathers, which are those of an aquatic bird called the flamingo (*flamant*). The head of this bird is bald as if the scalp had been carried away. Its feathers are grayish white, which, being dyed red, are not of a very deep red. The tufts and tassels which surmount them are black. The pipe of the calumet is covered with the skin from the neck of a buzzard which is as black as a blackbird and as large as a turkey. That is the calumet and the symbol of war.

The natives distinguish their warriors into three classes, namely, the true warriors, who have always appeared to have courage. The ordinary warriors are the second class. The third is formed of the apprentice warriors. They also divide our warriors into two classes, the true warriors and the young warriors. The first are the settlers, the greater part of whom were in the service on arriving, and as they know the stratagems of the natives they foresee them and do not fear them. On the other hand, they give the name of young warriors to the soldiers of the regular troops, because ordinarily old soldiers are not sent to Louisiana, and these young soldiers are ignorant of the stratagems which the natives employ in time of war.

The feast being prepared, all the warriors repair thither. Let us see what their arms and disposition are. They are daubed (or painted) over part of their bodies in different colors from head to feet. For their entire clothing they have only a belt through which passes the breechcloth and where hang the bells, the rattles, and the colocynths. It is also to this belt that the war club is fastened. They have in the left hand a buckler, the bow in the right hand, and the arrows in a quiver which is a skin sack. The buckler is made of two round pieces of bison leather bound together, of a diameter of a foot and a half. This buckler is almost confined to those of the north. One does not see it among those of the south.

The war feast takes place in a plain, the grass of which has been cut over a sufficiently large space. Each one repairs thither armed and with the outfit I have just described. The war calumet is planted in the middle of the assembly at the end of a pole from 7 to 8 feet tall. The dishes are ranged in a circle of 12 to 15 feet in diameter. There is thus enough space left between them when the warriors are very numerous. This diameter is sometimes 20 feet. We are going to see what is the arrangement of the dishes, which are not made of clay, but of hollowed wood.

In the midst is the largest dish of all in which is a great dog roasted whole. This dish is at the foot of the calumet. The other dishes are arranged by threes, although circularly. In one is coarse meal cooked in fat broth, in another is boiled deer meat, and in the third roasted deer. Between every three dishes is a space of 2 feet to give passageway to go and take some of the dog, which is the dish with which the war feast is begun. The meal serves as bread. It is coarse because warriors ought not to be delicate. They eat the dog also to indicate the care with which a warrior ought to follow his war chief. They eat of the deer only to be swifter. It also happens often that they have more recourse to their legs in order to save themselves than to their arms to defend themselves. They do not eat any bison meat for fear of becoming heavy, nor of any fish for fear of becoming weak, for which they have good reason, since otherwise they have so little courage.

Before beginning the feast, all the warriors being assembled, the oldest out of condition for following the others to war on account of his great age, takes the war calumet in his hand, and in the dress of a warrior, makes the others this speech: "My comrades," he says to them, "Oh, that I were young enough and strong enough to accompany you to this war and to do against our enemies now as I did against a nation from which I have taken three scalps, against another nation from which I have taken five, and four from such another. And how many blows of the war club have I made against our enemies in order not to be taken? I made so many efforts that I gave time for the other warriors to succor me, to set me at liberty and take me away with them, for I much prefer to die fighting than to allow myself to be taken and die in the frame (*cadre*).

"So, my comrades, leave with great courage, always have strong hearts, walk on the toes, keep the eyes open, never shut your ears, have no fear of the cold, do not hesitate to throw yourselves into the water in order to escape if it is necessary, and in that case conceal your retreat well. Especially never fear the arrows of the enemy and let it be seen that you are men and true warriors. Finally, if you find the occasion for it, use all your arrows on the enemies and afterward strike, kill, until your war clubs are drunk with the blood of the enemies."

This speech being finished, the old warrior fills the pipe of the calumet with tobacco. He gives it to the great war chief to smoke and to all the other warriors according to their rank. The youths who have never yet been to war also come to smoke as if to enroll themselves in this militia. The old warrior smokes last and replaces the calumet on the pole.

After this ceremony the war chief goes to take a piece of dog meat. The others after him do the same thing, place themselves outside the circle of plates, and eat while walking incessantly to signify that a good warrior ought to be continually in motion and on his guard.

When the meal is begun one of the young people goes behind a thicket two or three hundred paces off with his arms and utters the death cry. At once all the warriors take their arms and run in the direction from which the cry has been heard. When they are near the place the young warrior comes out and makes the death cry anew, to which all the warriors reply by the same cry.

They then come back to take up their meat which they had thrown on the grass. The young man or another does the same thing twice more. After that they bring the war drink. It is made of a large quantity of leaves of the Apalachine (*Ilex cassine*) boiled in enough water to be cooked in spite of their hardness. It is by pressing these strongly that this intoxicating drink is extracted. Then the meal is finished and they go to the post behind which is planted the pole of the calumet.

All the warriors assemble in a group 50 paces from this post, which they make resemble a man as much as they are able, especially in the size of the head. They paint it red, and the warriors go in turn to strike this post. To this end the one who goes there takes his war club and runs with all his might, making the death cry when he arrives there. He gives it a blow with the war club. There he relates his military deeds with emphasis and insults the post, which represents the enemy. At the end of his speech he takes great care to pronounce the last syllable with all the strength of his chest, to which the other warriors reply by a great *hou* drawn from the bottom of the stomach.

Among all that these warriors relate one after the other before this post, there are many who, heated by the war drink, say more than they have done, but they mutually pardon this boasting complacently.

As soon as all the warriors have struck the post they dance the war dance, their arms in their hands. They stop and return to it without interrupting it. The warriors go through all these ceremonies alone. The rest of the nation does not come near. It awaits, on the contrary, in sadness. This repast and this dance continue for three successive days, after which they set out for the war. The women during this time, and even a little before, prepare provisions for their husbands. The old men busy themselves painting the war clubs red and in incising the bark on which is the hieroglyphic sign of the attacking nation, which also records the number of the warriors. There is on it, besides, the sign of the great war chief and of the one who commands them.

Their manner of making war is to attack by surprise. Thus, when they approach the villages where they go to declare war they march only at night, and raise after them the grasses which they have trodden down in order not to be discovered. Part of the troop watches while the others sleep in the thick part of the wood, the least frequented. Some vigorous warriors choose a fine night to go scouting and to find some separate cabin in order to strike their blow with less *éclat* and more safety. If they find one, they inform their band after having assured themselves that there is some one there, either by having seen some one go out or come in or from having heard them when sleeping.

Then the entire troop advances with little noise and places itself in front of the cabin. They enter it at daybreak and with the assistance of the fire which burns there all night. The warriors who attack knock down the men as fast as they awake and endeavor to carry one away living. They pull off the scalps of the dead, take the women and the children, who do not dare to cry for fear of being killed, tie them all, and retire with as much rapidity as secrecy. Near this cabin they leave the hieroglyphic tablet leaning against a tree, and in front of this tablet they plant two red arrows in the form of a St. Andrew's cross. They then pass back through the wood with great rapidity and make many turns to conceal their route.

If they are able to carry away any of the enemies of their nation they are received honorably. If these are women or children they are enslaved. They serve in this capacity after their hair has been cut extremely short. But if it is a man that they have made prisoner the joy is general and their glory is at its height. On arriving near their nation they make the war cry three times repeated, and in this case, however wearied the warriors may be, they go at once to hunt for the three poles which are necessary for the construction of the fatal instrument on which they are going to make the enemy they have taken die. I mean the frame (*cadre*) on which they cruelly immolate the unfortunate victim of their vengeance (pl. 3, *b*).

Of these three poles which are about 10 feet long two are set in the earth. They are straight and a good pace apart from each other. They assure themselves that they are firmly placed. The third is cut in halves in order to cross the two that are already planted. The first is 2 feet above the earth and the other 5 feet above the first. These poles thus adjusted and bound together as strongly as possible and as is necessary form, indeed, a frame (*cadre*), and it is from that fact that the French have taken the name of this gallows machine. The natives tie the victim to the foot of this frame, and when he is there he sings the death song until his scalp is taken. After the warriors have thus tied him they are permitted to go to eat. The victim, if he so desires, may then take his last meal. The old warriors guard him. Each one can look at him, but he is not allowed to speak to him, still less to insult him.

When the warriors have finished their meal they come to the place where the frame is planted to which the victim is tied. They make him advance a little and turn his entire body around in order that the people may see him. The one who has taken him gives a blow of his wooden war club below the back part of his head, making the death cry. Having thus stunned him he cuts the skin around his hair, puts his knees on his forehead, takes his hair in both hands, pulls it from the skull, and makes the death cry while removing the scalp in the best manner he is able without tearing it.

After the scalp has been taken from the victim, they tie a cord to each of his wrists, throw the ends of the cords over the upper crosspiece, which many take and draw in order to pull him up while others lift him, placing his feet on the crosspiece below and tying him to the corners of the square. They do the same to his hands at the upper corners of the square in such a manner that the victim in this position has his body free and entirely bare, and the four limbs form a St. Andrew's cross.

From the time that they begin to take the scalp from the victim the young people go in search of dry canes, crush them, and make packages or bundles of the entire length of the canes which they bind in many places. They bring other dry canes, also, which have been neither crushed nor bound which the warriors make use of against the victim.

The one who took him is the first one to take a single crushed cane, light it, and burn the place he may choose. But he devotes himself especially to burn the arm with which he [the prisoner] had best defended himself. Another comes and burns another place. These, with their pipes filled with dried and burning tobacco, burn him about the foot. Those heat a nail red hot, with which they pierce his foot. All, in fact, one after the other, revenge themselves as best they are able on this victim, who, so long as strength remains to him, employs it in singing the death song, which, when closely examined, is found to consist of grievous cries, tears, and groans. Usage decides and governs everything.

Some have been seen to suffer and sing continually during three days and three nights without anyone giving them a glass of water to quench their thirst, and it is not permitted to anyone to give it to them, even should they ask for it, which they never do, without doubt, because they know that the hearts of their enemies are inflexible. In fact, it must be admitted that if the natives are good friends during peace, they are in war irreconcilable enemies.

It sometimes happens that a young woman who may have lost her husband in war, seeing the victim when he arrives entirely naked and without means of concealing his defects, if he has any, demands him for her husband, and he is granted to her on the spot.

It also happens that when he suffers too long a pitying woman lights a cane torch, and when it is burning well makes him die in an instant by putting this torch to the most sensitive place, and the tragic scene is in this way ended.

The declaration of war of which I have spoken is only the prelude to that which the tablet announces, which is left near the village which they have attacked. Here is how this tablet is made: At the very top of the tablet on the right side is the hieroglyphic sign which designates the nation declaring war; then a naked man, easy to recognize, with a war club in his hand; then an arrow placed as if about to pierce a woman who flees, her hair disheveled and floating in the air. Immediately before this woman is the proper sign of the nation on which war is declared. All this is on the same line, and the truth is painted on this part of the tablet.[a] What is below is not so certain, besides it does not count for much. This line begins with the figure of a month which is soon to come. The days which follow are the I marks, and the moon is indicated by a face without rays. A man is to be seen, before whom are many arrows, which appear to be going to strike a woman who is fleeing. All this announces that when such a moon shall be so many days old they will come in great numbers to attack such a nation.

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[a] I. e., it is evident what this means.

The allied nations do the same thing on their side, but it is unusual for the nation which has presented the insults or begun the hostilities to find allies even among people that it treats as brothers.

I shall say nothing of their sieges of places or of their pitched battles. They are unacquainted with such things. All the damage which they do to each other is confined to surprise and to skirmishing. It is in this that their skill and courage consists. Flight is not at all disgraceful to them; valor is in their legs, and to kill a man asleep or lying down is as glorious to them as to fight well and win a signal victory.

When a nation is too weak to sustain the war, it endeavors to build a fort in order to protect itself (pl. 3, *b*). I can not describe these forts better than by comparing them to a barrel hoop from which the withes have been cut. This circle is relaxed and the outside end is at some distance from the inside end, so that to enter the circle without passing over it it is necessary to make a turn. It is by this opening that one enters the fort, the inner side of which is protected by a half tower and the outer side in the same way. Besides, if they are in great fear, this opening or passage is filled with brambles and thorns.

This circle is of a size proportioned to the number of warriors and the remainder of the nation which retires there when the enemy are advancing. There are, however, some cabins outside where, in moments of tranquillity, are done the things most needful to life, such as cooking meat and corn. These cabins also relieve the fort, which is always very contracted when the entire nation is obliged to retire there.

The wall of these forts is composed of great posts, which are made of the trunks of trees a span in circumference, buried 5 to 6 feet in the earth and extending 10 above it, and pointed above. The lines of contact of these posts, however round, are covered inside with other posts a foot in diameter. This wall is provided outside with half towers 40 paces apart. They make them doubtless to prevent scaling. The lower ends of the posts are supported inside by a banquette 3 feet wide by as much in height, which is itself supported by stakes bound together with green branches in order to retain the earth which is in this banquette.

The best instructed of these people, as were the Natchez by our soldiers, make about 5 feet above this banquette a kind of penthouse (*auvent*) with fragments of trees in order to cover themselves from grenades. They also have loopholes which have only one opening outside and two within which correspond to the one. These loopholes are immediately above the banquette.

In the middle of the fort is placed a tree, the branches of which are cut to within 8 or 9 inches of the trunk to serve as a ladder. This tree serves them as a watchtower, where a young man on guard can discover the enemy at a distance. Around this ladder are some cabins to protect the women and children from falling arrows. The gate of these forts is always on the side toward the water. If they can be prevented from going to get it, one may be assured that they will be reduced in a few days. * * *

It must be observed here that it sometimes happens that in going to attack others they lose some of their warriors. Then they take off the scalps from those of their own people who have been killed, as promptly as possible, in order not to leave this occasion for glorying and at the same time mark of their defeat with their enemies. Besides, when they return home, in whatever way things have turned out, the great war chief pays to the family for those whom he does not bring back, a circumstance which renders the chiefs more careful in leading their warriors.[a]

TREATIES OF PEACE

From Charlevoix:

Treaties of peace and alliances are made with great pomp, and the great chief on these occasions always supports his dignity like a true sovereign. As soon as he is informed of the day of the arrival of the ambassadors, he gives his orders to the masters of the ceremonies for the preparations for their reception, and names those who are by turns to maintain these envoys; for it is at the cost of his subjects that he defrays the expenses of the embassage. The day of the entry of the ambassadors every one has his place assigned him according to his rank; and when the ambassadors are come within 500 paces of the great chief, they stop and sing the song of peace (pl. 4, *c*).

Commonly the embassy is composed of 30 men and 6 women. Six of [those with] the best voices march at the head of this train and sing aloud, the rest follow, and the *chichicoué*[b] serves to regulate the time. When the great chief makes signs to the ambassadors to approach, they renew their march; those who carry the calumet dance as they sing, and turn themselves on every side, with many motions, and make a great many grimaces and contortions. They renew the same tricks round about the great chief when they are come near him; then they rub him with their calumet from head to foot, and afterward go and rejoin their company.

Then they fill a calumet with tobacco, and holding fire in one hand they advance all together toward the great chief, and present him the calumet lighted. They smoke with him, and blow toward the sky the first whiff of their tobacco, the second toward the earth, and the third round about the horizon. When they have done this, they present their calumets to the relations of the great chief and the subaltern chiefs. Then they go and rub with their hands the stomach of the great chief, after which they rub themselves all over the body; and lastly, they lay their calumets on forks over against the great chief, and the orator of the embassy begins his speech, which lasts an hour.

When he has finished, they make signs to the ambassadors, who till now are standing, to sit down on benches placed for them near the great chief, who answers their discourse, and speaks also a whole hour. Then a master of the ceremonies lights a great peace calumet, and makes the ambassadors smoke in it, who swallow the first mouthful. Then the great chief inquires after their health, and all those who are present at the audience pay them the same compliment; then they conduct them to the cabin that is appointed for them, and where they give them a great feast. The evening of the same day the great chief makes them a visit; but when they know he is ready to do them this honor, they go to seek him, and carry him on their shoulders to their lodging, and make him sit on a great skin. One of them places himself behind him, leans his hands on his shoulders, and shakes him a pretty long time, while the rest, sitting round on the earth, sing of their great actions in the wars.

These visits are renewed every morning and evening; but in the last the ceremonial varies. The ambassadors set up a post in the midst of their cabin, and sit all round it. The warriors who accompany the great chief, or, as they call him, the Sun, dressed in their finest robes, dance, and one by one strike the post, and relate their bravest feats of arms; after which they make presents to the ambassadors. The next day they are permitted for the first time to walk about the village, and every night they make entertainments for them, which consist of nothing more than dances. When they take their departure the master of ceremonies supplies them with all the provisions they may want for their journey, and this is always at the expense of private persons.[a]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 413–437.

[b] Gourd rattle.

From Le Petit:

When any foreign nation comes to treat of peace with the Natchez savages they send their couriers to give notice of the day and hour when they shall make their entrance. The great chief orders the masters of ceremony to prepare all things for this grand occasion. They begin by naming those who during each day should support the strangers, for the expense never falls upon the chief, but always on his subjects. Then they clear the roads, they sweep the cabins, they arrange the seats in a large hall,[b] which is on the mound of the great chief by the side of his cabin. His throne, which is on an elevation, is painted and ornamented, and the bottom is furnished with beautiful mats.

On the day that the ambassadors are to make their entrance, all the nation assembles. The masters of ceremony place the princes, the chiefs of the villages, and the old chiefs of quality near the great chief on particular seats. When the ambassadors arrive, and are within 500 steps of the great chief, they stop and chant the song of peace. The ambassage ordinarily consists of 30 men and 6 women. Six of those who have the best figures and the finest voices march in front; they are followed by the others who chant in like manner, regulating the cadence with the *sicicouet*. The six women are the last.

When the chief has directed them to approach they advance, those who have the calumets chant and dance with much agility, now turning around each other, and now presenting themselves in front, but always with violent movements and extraordinary contortions. When they have entered the circle they dance about the chair on which the chief is seated, they rub him with their calumets from his feet even to his head, and after that go back to find those who belong to their suite. Then they fill one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding the fire in one hand, they advance all together before the chief and smoke it; they direct the first puff of smoke toward the heavens, the second toward the earth, and the others around the horizon, after which they without ceremony present the pipe to the princes and to the other chiefs.

The ceremony having been finished, the ambassadors, as a token of alliance, rub their hands on the stomach of the chief, and rub themselves over the whole body, they then place their calumets before the chief on small forks, while the person among the ambassadors who is particularly charged with the orders of his nation, delivers a harangue which lasts for an entire hour. When he has finished they make a sign to the strangers to be seated on the benches arranged near the great chief, who responds to them by a discourse of equal length. Then the master of ceremonies lights the great calumet of peace, and makes the strangers smoke, who swallow the tobacco smoke. The great chief inquires of them whether they arrived safely—that is, whether they are well—and those who are around them go one after the other to discharge the same office of politeness, after which they conduct them to the cabin which has been prepared for them, and where they are feasted.

That same evening at sunset the ambassadors, with the calumet in their hands, go with singing to find the great chief, and having raised him on their shoulders, they transport him to the quarter in which their cabin is situated.

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 169–170, 1851.

[b] Not mentioned elsewhere.

They spread on the ground a large skin, on which they cause him to sit. One of them places himself behind him, and, putting his hands on the chief's shoulders, he agitates all his body, while the others, seated in a circle on the ground, chant the history of their distinguished deeds. After this ceremony, which is repeated night and morning for four days, the great chief returns to his cabin. When he pays his last visit to the ambassadors these place a stake at his feet about which they seat themselves. The warriors of the nation having arranged themselves in all their finery, dance around, striking the stake, and in turn recounting their great exploits. Then follows the giving of presents to the ambassadors, which consist of kettles, hatchets, guns, powder, balls, etc.

The day following this last ceremony it is permitted to the ambassadors to walk through the whole village, which before they were not able to do. Then every evening they give them spectacles—that is to say, the men and women in their most beautiful dresses assemble at the public place and dance until the night is far advanced. When they are ready to return home the masters of the ceremonies furnish them with the provisions necessary for the journey.[a]

Du Pratz's description of the calumet has been given in speaking of war customs.[b] Of the peace-making ceremonies themselves he says:

When the natives are tired of making war, or rather when they are unable, on account of their small number, to resist their enemies, they address themselves to a neutral nation friendly to those with whom they desire to make peace. They go with the calumet to this nation through countries which are not frequented. They bring with them some slaves which they have taken during this war. They give these slaves to this people with presents in order to purchase peace by means of these messengers, to whom it is accorded, because ordinarily these mediators take the part of the suppliants, bring them to their own homes and adopt them as I have said before, in order to make only one nation under a single name.[c] If, on the contrary, the enemies accept the peace which is proposed to them through the neutral nation, the suppliants go to carry the peace calumet and presents [to them]. In this manner peace is concluded.[d]

From Dumont:

* * * There are few persons who have not heard of the famous calumet of peace. It was formerly the symbol of friendship among the savages, and with this passport one might travel in safety among all these barbarous nations. But I would not advise one to trust it now. The sad experience which our French people have had with it, as I will tell presently, proves that the savages often abuse this sign of peace to execute the blackest and most barbarous designs. However, because this calumet is yet very celebrated among them, I am going to give a description of it, as well as of the ceremonies which accompany it.

The calumet is a wooden tube pierced throughout its entire length, which is of about 4 feet, painted ordinarily in different colors, and ornamented at intervals with porcupine quills usually dyed red or yellow. From the middle of this tube hangs a bunch of white and red feathers arranged in a tuft, at the end of which are fastened the hairs of a horse killed in war, painted in the same way with vermilion. One of the ends of this tube is provided with a pipe, made sometimes in one fashion, sometimes in another, ordinarily of a red stone which looks like coral; sometimes, however, of a black stone closely resembling marble.[a] Such is the famous calumet, and here are the ceremonies with which it is accompanied when one gives it.

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 156–163.

[b] See p. 128.

[c] "When a nation is enfeebled by war it retires to another which desires to adopt it. Then if one pursues the nation that has retired to the other it is to declare war on that that has adopted the first."—Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 402.

[d] Ibid., II, 436–437; see also p. 128.

Let us suppose that a party of 15 to 20 savages leaves its village to go to present the calumet to the chief of some other nation, with the intention of asking from him the continuation of his friendship, or of obtaining assistance against their enemies, or for some other reason, whatever it may be. This party having arrived near the village where it has planned to go, immediately deputes a courier to go to the chief in order to declare to him the intention they have of coming to present the calumet to him, and to ask of him permission to enter his village. The visit is ordinarily accepted, and the deputy returns immediately to inform his troop of it, which, after his report, prepares for the ceremony which is to be gone through with next day. Meanwhile all the women of the village are busy crushing maize and making other preparations necessary for the reception of these strangers. The latter on their side prepare themselves suitably. Some daub their faces with red. Others have one side of the face red and the other black. Some are covered only with a shirt open at the neck, without stockings or drawers. Many are absolutely naked, having for their entire clothing only the breechcloth. All have their heads ornamented with feathers of different colors. They even wear them in their ears, which are pierced, with rattles hanging from their belts, sometimes even bells, and tails of horses hanging behind them. They dress themselves magnificently according to themselves, and according to us like veritable masqueraders.

The next day at earliest dawn this entire troop begins to march, having at its head the most skillful among them, who bears the calumet, and as soon as they approach the village all begin to sing and dance. One of them carries in his left hand an earthen pot covered with a dressed deer skin stretched tightly over this pot, around which it is fastened with a cord; and, with a single drumstick, which he holds in his right hand, he beats time on this pot, which serves him as a drum. All answer him with cries which they utter in cadence. Some bear *chichicoüas* [rattles] or empty calabashes, in which are some beads or little stones to make a noise, and move them at the same time in cadence. However, the one who bears the calumet makes it spring about, sometimes low down, sometimes in the air, making a thousand different contortions with his legs and his entire body, and advancing continually toward the cabin of the chief whom they wish to honor. He is followed by those who bear the presents. Arrived finally at the cabin they find this chief seated with his legs crossed, surrounded by all his officers—that is to say, warriors and Honored men. The one who bears the calumet having filled the pipe with tobacco presents the tube end of the pipe to the mouth of the chief, holding a lighted coal to the tobacco. The chief lights the pipe and draws two or three mouthfuls, after which the calumet passes to all the spectators from hand to hand, or rather from mouth to mouth. During this time the presents which it is desired to offer are placed before the chief. These are ordinarily dressed bison and deer skins, bear's oil, sometimes one or two slaves. Finally the calumet comes back to the one who had presented it, who smokes last, after which there is a great silence. Then the bearer of the calumet harangues the

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[a] The same author says that the skins of certain small snakes "not larger than a writing-pen," and "speckled with yellow, white, and red," were used to cover these calumets.—DUMONT, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 110–111.

> chief and explains to him the reasons for their arrival. The latter grants or refuses what is asked of him, according as he judges it expedient, but whatever be his reply the presents are always well received and the calumet, such as I have described it, remains as a pledge with the chief. Only the pipe is taken away, which serves for other similar ceremonies. Then nothing else is thought of but to treat the strangers well, who are immediately served from different dishes prepared expressly for them by the savage women of the village. The rest of this ceremony differs in nothing from another which the Natchez formerly celebrated, * * * which our French people have called "the tun of importance" (*tonne de valeur*).[a]

None of these narratives mentions the temple as having played any part in the ceremonies of peace making, but that it did so is shown in De Montigny's description of the ceremonies when peace was concluded between the Natchez and the Taënsa. A short time after the Natchez had promised they would conclude peace with the Taënsa their deputies arrived.

> A magnificent reception was accorded them, after which they were conducted to the door of the temple where the chiefs of the nation were assembled. There the accustomed ceremonies were gone through with. Then the presents of the Natchez deputies were brought into the temple. This offering consisted of six muskrat blankets very well worked. And the peace was concluded. In order to close the ceremony the old man who had the care of the temple ascended a slight elevation and addressed his words sometimes to the spirit, sometimes to those present, exhorting the two nations to forget the past and live in an inviolate peace.[b]

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

Ceremonies attending the obsequies of a Sun were so numerous, so striking, and so sanguinary, that nearly all of our authorities have confined their descriptions to them, leaving us much in the dark regarding the manner of disposing of the bodies of common people. The only statements which seem to be intended as of general application are the following:

> Mourning among these savages consists in cutting off their hair, and in not painting their faces, and in absenting themselves from public assemblies; but I do not know how long it lasts. I know not, either, whether they celebrate the grand festival of the dead, which I have before described. It seems as if in this nation, where everybody is in some sort the slave of those who command, all the honors of the dead are for those who do so, especially for the great chief and the woman chief.[c]

> When one of these savages dies his relatives come to mourn his death during an entire day. Then they array him in his most beautiful dresses, they paint his face and his hair and ornament him with plumes, after which they carry him to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions. For the space of a month his relatives come at the dawn of day and at the beginning of the night to weep for half an hour at his

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 190–195. See also pp. 118–121.

[b] Gosselin, on the authority of De Montigny, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 44–45.

[c] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 168, 1851.

> grave. Each one names his degree of relationship. If he were the father of a family the wife cries, "My dear husband, ah! how I regret you!" The children cry, "My dear father!" The others, "My uncle!" "My cousin!" etc. The nearest relatives continue this ceremony for three months; they cut off their hair in sign of grief; they abstain from painting the body, and are never found at any assembly for festivity.[a]
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> All the people of the universe have always had great respect for the dead, and history even teaches us of deeds which prove that certain nations have pushed their superstitions in this particular to the point of extravagance. Those of my readers who regard the natives of Louisiana as savages perhaps can not imagine that they are capable of erecting other tombs to the dead than the stomachs of the nearest relations.
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> Of all the people of which I have hitherto spoken, however, there is not one which does not pay much religious attention to the dead All, indeed, have their particular manner on these occasions, but all either bury them or place them in tombs and carefully carry food to them for some time, a custom which they have without doubt preserved from their original country—I mean the Orient. Besides, one ought not to be astonished that they take care of the dead, since they have temples which are signs that they have a kind of religion, and all the peoples who have a little religion have never failed to render the last duties to the dead, and everywhere those who did not do it have been regarded as bad relatives, and those to whom sepulcher was not given were esteemed unhappy and in fact were punished by this dishonor.[b]

The following descriptions of the mortuary ceremonies over the bodies of Suns have been recorded. The first was given to Gravier by the French youth whom Iberville left in 1700 to learn the Natchez language, and the second details the obsequies of a grand chieftainess of which the author Pénicaut claims to have been a witness in 1704. The accounts from Charlevoix and Le Petit also record the funeral rites of a female Sun, and although they were written later, seem to refer to the same funeral. The two last describe the rites observed at the death of the Tattooed-serpent,[c] great war chief of the Natchez and brother of the great Sun. Through some strange error, strange in a man who must have met the Tattooed-serpent personally, Dumont describes him as the great Sun and his brother as the head war chief. Du Pratz is supported in this, however, by the Memoir of De Richebourg.[d] Nevertheless, the mistake has been copied by many subsequent writers.

> * * * The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville left there to learn the language told me that on the death of the last chief they put to death two women, three men, and three children. They strangled them with a bowstring, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, these wretched victims deeming themselves greatly honored to accompany their chief by a violent death. There were only seven for the great chief who died some months before.[e] His

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 157.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 20–21.

[c] The French form of his name, *Serpent Piqué*, is usually mistranslated Stung Serpent.

[d] See p. 199.

[e] This would seem to have been the chief referred to in De Montigny's letter of August 25, 1699, for whom he then says 30 persons were put to death.—Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess. I, 49.

wife, better advised than the others, did not wish to follow him, and began to weep when they wished to oblige her to accompany her husband. Mr. de Montigni, who has left this country to go to Siam,[a] being informed of what they were accustomed to do, made them promise not to put anyone to death. As a pledge of their word they gave him a little female slave, whom they had resolved to put to death but for his prohibition; but to keep their cursed custom without its being perceived, the woman chief, whom they call Ouachil Tamail, Sun woman (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great chief), persuaded him to retire to a distant village so as not to have his head split with the noise they would make in a ceremony where all were to take part. Mr. de Montigni, not suspecting anything, believed her and withdrew, but in his absence they put to death those whom they believed to be necessary to go to cook and wait on the chief in the other world.[b]

It happened in our time that the grand chieftainess Noble[c] being dead, we saw the burial ceremony, which is indeed the most horrible tragedy that one can witness. It made myself and all my comrades tremble with horror. She was a chieftainess Noble in her own right. Her husband, who was not at all noble, was immediately strangled by the first boy she had had by him, to accompany his wife into the great village, where they believe that they go. After such a fine beginning they put outside of the cabin of the great chief all that was there. As is customary they made a kind of triumphal car in the cabin, where they placed the dead woman and her strangled husband. A moment later, they brought 12 little dead infants, who had been strangled, and whom they placed around the dead woman. It was their fathers and mothers who brought them there, by order of the eldest of the dead chieftainess's children, and who then, as grand chief, commands to have die to honor the funeral rites of his mother as many persons as he wishes. They had 14 scaffolds prepared in the public square, which they ornamented with branches of trees and with cloth covered with pictures. On each scaffold a man placed himself who was going to accompany the defunct to the other world. They stood on these scaffolds surrounded by their nearest relatives; they are sometimes warned more than ten years before their death. It is an honor for their relatives. Ordinarily they have offered to die during the life of the defunct, for the good will which they bear him, and they themselves have tied the cord with which they are strangled. They are dressed in their finest clothing, with a large shell in the right hand, and the nearest relative—for example, if it is the father of a family who dies, his eldest son—walks behind him bearing the cord under his arm and a war club in his right hand. He makes a frightful cry which they call the death cry. Then all these unfortunate victims every quarter of an hour descend from their scaffolds and unite in the middle of the square, where they dance together before the temple and before the house of the dead female chief, when they remount their scaffolds to resume their places. They are very much respected that day, and each one has five servants. Their faces are all reddened with vermilion. For my part I have thought that it was in order not to let the fear that they might have of their approaching death be apparent.

At the end of four days they begin the ceremony of "the march of the bodies." The fathers and the mothers who had brought their dead children took them and held them in their hands; the oldest of these children did not appear to be more than three years old. They placed them to right and left of the entrance to the cabin of the dead female chief. The 14 victims destined to be strangled repaired there in the same order; the chiefs and the relatives of the dead woman appeared there all in mourning—that is to say, with their hair cut. They then made such frightful cries that we thought the devils were come out of the hells to come and howl in this place. The unfortunate persons destined to death danced and the relatives of the dead woman sang. When the march of this fine convoy was begun by two and two, the dead woman was brought out of her cabin on the shoulders of four savages as on a stretcher. As soon as she had been taken out, they set fire to the cabin (it is the usual custom with the Nobles). The fathers, who carried their dead children in their hands, marched in front, four paces distant from each other, and after marching 10 steps they let them fall to the ground. Those who bore the dead woman passed over and went around these children three times. The fathers then gathered them up and reassumed their places in the ranks, and at every 10 paces they recommenced this frightful ceremony, until they reached the temple, so that these children were in pieces when this fine convoy arrived. While they interred the female Noble in the temple the victims were stripped before the door, and, after they had been made to sit on the ground, a savage seated himself on the knees of each of them while another behind held his arms. They then passed a cord around his neck and put the skin of a deer over his head; they made each of these poor unfortunates swallow three pills of tobacco, and gave him a draught of water to drink, in order that the pills should dissolve in his stomach, which made him lose consciousness; then the relatives of the deceased ranged themselves at their sides, to right and left, and each, as he sang, drew an end of a cord, which was passed around the neck with a running knot, until they were dead, after which they buried them.

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[a] He went to China.

[b] Gravier in Jes. Rel., LXV, 140–143.

[c] I. e., the great female Sun.

If a chief dies and still has his nurse, she must die with him.

This nation still follows this execrable custom, in spite of all that has been done to turn them from it. Our missionaries have never been able to succeed in that; all that they were able to do was to succeed sometimes in baptizing these poor little infants before their fathers strangled them. Besides, this nation is too much infatuated with its religion, which flatters the evil inclinations of their corrupt nature, for anyone ever to have made any progress in conversion and to have established Christianity there.[a]

When the great chief or the woman chief dies all their *allouez*, or guards, are obliged to follow them into the other world; but they are not the only persons who have this honor, for so it is reckoned among them, and is greatly sought after. The death of a chief sometimes costs the lives of more than a hundred persons,[b] and I have been assured that very few principal persons of the Natchez die without being escorted to the country of souls by some of their relations, their friends, or their servants. It appears by the various relations which I have seen of these horrible ceremonies that they differ greatly. I shall here describe the obsequies of a woman chief as I had it from a traveler,[c] who was a witness of them, and on whose sincerity I have good reason to depend.

The husband of this woman not being noble, that is to say of the family of the great chief, his eldest son strangled him, according to custom. Then they cleared the cabin of all it contained and they erected in it a kind of triumphal car, in which the body of the deceased woman and that of her husband were placed. A moment after they ranged round these carcasses 12 little children which their parents had strangled, by order of the eldest daughter of the woman chief, who succeeded to the dignity of her mother. This being done, they erected in the public place 14 scaffolds, adorned with branches of trees and cloths on which they had painted various figures. These scaffolds were designed for as many persons who were to accompany the woman chief into the other world. Their relations were all around them, and esteemed as a great honor for their families the permission that they had obtained to sacrifice themselves in this manner. They apply sometimes ten years beforehand to obtain this favor, and the persons that have obtained it must themselves make the cords with which they are to be strangled.

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[a] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 452–455.

[b] Probably greatly exaggerated.

[c] It is not improbable that this was Pénicaut, as the description agrees very closely with his.

They appear on their scaffolds dressed in their richest attire, holding in the right hand a great shell. The nearest relation [of each] is on his right hand, having under his left arm the cord which is to serve for the execution and in his right hand a war club. From time to time his nearest relation makes the cry of death, and at this cry the 14 victims descend from their scaffolds and go and dance all together in the middle of the open place that is before the temple, and before the cabin of the woman chief.

That day and the following ones they show them great respect; they have each five servants, and their faces are painted red. Some add that during the eight days that precede their death they wear a red ribbon around one of their legs, and that during this time everybody strives who shall be the first to feast them. However this may be, on the occasion I am speaking of the fathers and mothers who had strangled their children took them up in their hands and ranged themselves on both sides of the cabin; the 14 persons who were also destined to die placed themselves in the same position, and were followed by the relations and friends of the deceased, all in mourning—that is to say, having their hair cut off. They all made the air resound with such frightful cries that one would have said that all the devils in hell were come to howl in the place. This was followed by the dances of those who were to die and by the songs of the relations of the woman chief.

At last they began the procession. The fathers and mothers, who carried the dead children, appeared first, marching two and two, and came immediately before the bier on which was the body of the woman chief, which four men carried on their shoulders. All the others came after in the same order as the first. At every ten paces the fathers and mothers let their children fall upon the ground; those who carried the bier walked upon them, then turned quite round them, so that when the procession arrived at the temple these little bodies were all in pieces.

While they buried the body of the woman chief in the temple, they undressed the 14 persons who were to die. They made them sit on the ground before the door, each having two savages by him, one of whom sat on his knees and the other held his arms behind. Then they put a cord about his neck and covered his head with a roebuck's skin. They made him swallow three pills of tobacco and drink a glass of water, and the relations of the woman chief drew the two ends of the cord, singing till he was strangled, after which they threw all the carcasses into the same pit, which they covered with earth.

When the great chief dies, if his nurse is living, she must die also. The French, not being able to hinder this barbarity, have often obtained leave to baptize the young children that were to be strangled, and who in consequence did not accompany those in whose honor they were to be sacrificed into their pretended paradise.[a]

To give an idea of this bloody ceremony, it is necessary to know that as soon as an heir presumptive has been born to the great chief, each family that has an infant at the breast is obliged to pay him homage. From all these infants they choose a certain number whom they desire for the service of the young prince, and as soon as they are of a competent age they furnish them with employments suited to their talents. Some pass their lives in hunting, or in fishing, to furnish supplies for the table; others are employed in agriculture, while others serve to fill up his retinue. If he happens to die, all these servants sacrifice themselves, with joy, to follow their dear master. They first put on all their finery and repair to the place opposite the temple, where all the people are assembled. After having danced and sung a sufficiently long time, they pass around their neck a cord of buffalo hair with a running knot, and immediately the ministers appointed for executions of this kind come forward to strangle them, recommending them to go to rejoin their master and render him in the other world services even more honorable than those which had occupied them in this.

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 163–165, 1851.

The principal servants of the great chief having been strangled in this way, they strip the flesh off their bones, particularly those of their arms and thighs, and leave them to dry for two months, in a kind of tomb, after which they take them out to be shut up in the baskets which are placed in the temple by the side of the bones of their master. As for the other servants, their relatives carry them home with them and bury them with their arms and clothes.

The same ceremony is observed in like manner on the death of the brothers and sisters of the great chief. The wives are always strangled to follow the latter, except when they have infants at the breast, in which case they continue to live. And we often see many who endeavor to find nurses, or who themselves strangle their infants, so that they shall not lose the right of sacrificing themselves in the public square, according to the ordinary ceremonies, and as the law prescribes.[a]

These tombs [referring to "raised tombs" seen near Louisiana temples] are raised about 3 feet above the earth. They rest on four feet, which are forked sticks planted deep enough in the earth and well secured to support the tomb, which, supported and thus borne on these forks, is 8 feet long by a foot and a half wide. They place the body with the head at one end in order that a space remain at the end where the feet are. Above the body they make an arbor of branches curved into a vault. They place straight pieces of wood at the head and at the feet, then they plaster these pieces of wood in order to inclose the body during a space of time sufficient to consume the flesh and dry up the bones. After this time they withdraw them to put them in a basket or coffer of cane covered with the same material and carry them into the temple with the others.

As the body is not as long as the tomb, there remains a space of about a foot which is covered by the end of the vault but is not closed. It is there that they put the provisions which they bring to the dead for some time. In spite of their zeal to render the last duties to the dead, they are unable to satisfy themselves regarding those who are killed in war. They supply the deficiency after their manner, with sighs, tears, and cries, as soon as they learn the news and often for more time than if they had died in the nation, where the custom is to weep for three days.

There is no nation of Louisiana which knows the custom of burning bodies used among the Greeks and Romans, nor the custom of the Egyptians, which preserved them perpetually, but they solemnize them, as I have just said, sometimes with pomp, sometimes without great ceremonies, which they take great care to conceal from strangers, and one only sees them when he is a friend of the sovereign and can be warned and be present, or when it is necessary that they do it with so much *éclat* that it is difficult to conceal them; and they have an inclination to do such things, which I am going to relate to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, and on account of the part which I had and the loss which the entire French post, which was near by, has suffered, a loss in fact so considerable that I doubt whether this post has yet risen again at the present time. This is the death of the Tattooed-serpent, my particular friend and the friend of all the French. He was great war chief of the Natchez Nation and brother of the great Sun, who allowed him an absolute authority over the entire nation. * * *

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 130–133.

We entered his [the great Sun's] house, where he said aloud, *Ouitiguitlatagoup*, he is quite dead. Then he seated himself and bent over, resting his head on his hands. The instant he said that his brother was dead his wife, who was present, uttered loud cries. This was a signal of sadness for the entire nation, which was awaiting the outcome of this malady, which could not fail to be fatal to them as soon as the Tattooed-serpent should be dead. Then one heard groans and lamentations on all sides. The most doleful cries were made to resound under the neighboring trees. Almost immediately two consecutive discharges of guns were heard to warn all the villages, which replied a few moments afterwards.

I will spare the reader many scenes which would only sadden him, and I will report of the funeral honors which were rendered to the Tattooed-serpent only those which are extraordinary and of which Europeans have no knowledge.

A short time after these discharges the speaker (*porte-parole*) entered and began to weep. The great Sun raised his head and looked at his favorite wife, to whom he made a sign that we did not understand, until she had thrown a vessel of water on the fire, which was entirely extinguished by it. Then the speaker, or chancellor, of the great chief howled in salutation to his sovereign and went out. As soon as he was outside of the cabin he uttered a fearful cry, which was instantly repeated by all the people of the villages.

The fire extinguished in our presence and the redoubled cries of the entire nation made me fear, with reason, for the great Sun and even for ourselves, for who could guess the consequences of the despair in which we saw all plunged?

The great Sun being always bent over and his eyes closed, I approached a common Sun and asked him what the extinguished fire and the doleful cries signified. He replied that it was the signal to extinguish all the fires, and that it made all the Natchez tremble with reason, because the extinction of the fires was not done on account of the death of the Tattooed-serpent.

I understood by these words that the sovereign wished to die. * * *

He (the Tattooed-serpent) was on his bed of state, dressed in his finest clothing, his face painted with vermilion, moccasined as if to go on a journey, and wearing his crown of white feathers mingled with red. His arms had been tied to his bed. These consisted of a double-barreled gun, a pistol, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, and a war club. Around the bed were all the calumets of peace which he had received during his life, and near by had been planted a large pole, peeled and painted red, from which hung a chain of reddened cane splints, composed of 46 links or rings, to indicate the number of enemies he had killed. I do not at all pretend in reporting this fact to guarantee the number of the exploits of this man.

All his people were around him. Food was served to him at his accustomed hours, as if he had been living, and his retainer [or head servant—*loué*], seeing that he did not touch it, said to him: "You no longer wish, then, to take what we present you? Are these things no more to your taste? Why is it, then, that you rebuff us and our services do not please you any more? Ah! you do not speak as usual. Without doubt you are dead. Yes; it is done. You are going to the country of the spirits, and you are leaving us forever."

Then he uttered the death cry, which was repeated by all those in the cabin. They replied in the village, and from voice to voice the same cry passed in an instant into the other villages of the nation, who all together made the air reverberate with their doleful cries.

The company in the cabin was composed of the favorite wife of the defunct, of a second wife, whom he kept in another village, to visit when his favorite wife was pregnant, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant (*loué*), his pipe bearer, and some old women, all of whom were going to be strangled at his burial.

To the number of the victims there joined herself a Noble woman, whom the friendship that she had for the Tattooed-serpent led to join him in the country of the spirits. The French called her La Glorieuse, because of her majestic bearing and her proud air and because she was intimate only with distinguished Frenchmen. I regretted her so much the more that, possessing a deep knowledge of simples, she had saved the lives of many of our sick, and I myself had drawn good lessons from her. These things filling us with sadness, the favorite wife, who perceived it, rose from her place, came to us with a smiling air, and spoke to us in these terms: "French chiefs and nobles, I see that you regret my husband's death very much. It is true that his death is very grievous, as well for the French as for our nation, because he carried both in his heart. His ears were always full of the words of the French chiefs. He has always traveled by the same road as the French, and he loved them more than himself. But what does it matter? He is in the country of the spirits, and in two days I will go to join him and will tell him that I have seen your hearts shake at the sight of his dead body. Do not grieve. We will be friends for a much longer time in the country of the spirits than in this, because one does not die there again. It is always fine weather, one is never hungry, because nothing is wanting to live better than in this country. Men do not make war there any more, because they make only one nation. I am going and leave my children without any father or mother. When you see them, Frenchmen, remember that you have loved the father and that you ought not to repulse the children of the one who has always been the true friend of the French." After this speech she went back to her place. * * *

[After the Frenchmen had prevailed upon the great Sun not to kill himself,] the fire of the great Sun being relighted, the signal was given to relight all the others.

* * * A few moments afterwards the young Sun came to tell me that orders had been given (as he had promised, although feignedly) to have only those die who were in the cabin of the deceased, because they were his food; that besides there would be put to death a bad woman, if she had not already been killed, and an infant which had already been strangled by its father and mother, a forfeit which purchased their lives at the death of the great Sun, ennobled them, and raised them from the grade of Stinkards.[a]

A few moments later the grand master of ceremonies appeared at the door of the dead man's house with the ornaments which were proper to his rank and which I have described. He uttered two words and the people in the cabin came out. These persons were the favorite wife and his other wife, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant, his pipe bearer, and some old women. Each of these victims was accompanied by eight male relations, who were going to put him to death. One bore the war club raised as if to strike, and often he seemed to do so, another carried the mat on which to seat him, a third carried the cord for strangling him, another the skin, the fifth a dish in which were five or six balls of pounded tobacco to make him swallow in order to stupefy him. Another bore a little earthen bottle holding about a pint, in order to make him drink some mouthfuls of water in order to swallow the pellets more easily. Two others followed to aid in drawing the cord at each side.

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[a] According to the marriage laws it would seem that the wife might have belonged to some grade of the nobility already, but evidently Stinkards were permitted to marry each other.

A very small number of men suffices to strangle a person, but since this action withdraws them from the rank of Stinkards, puts them in the class of Honored men, and thus exempts them from dying with the Suns, many more would present themselves if the number were not fixed to eight persons only. All these persons whom I have just described walk in this order, two by two, after their relations. The victims have their hair daubed with red and in the hand the shell of a river mussel which is about 7 inches long by 3 or 4 broad. By that they are distinguished from their followers, who on those days have red feathers in their hair. The day of the death they have their hands reddened, as being prepared to give death.

Arrived in the open space the mats of the foremost are placed nearest the temple, the favorite to the right and the other wife to the left of the road, the others afterward according to their rank, 6 or 7 feet apart on the two sides of the road, the breadth of which between them is at least 30 feet. The persons who are going to die are made to sit down on their mats, then all together make the death cry behind them. The relatives dance the death dance and the victims on their mats dance in time also without leaving their places. After this dance the entire group returns to the cabin in the same order. This is a rehearsal of the tragedy which is going to be played the day of the funeral procession. It is done twice a day.

Everything was tranquil enough that day on the part of the great chief, who went to the temple after he had been shown the head of the bad woman. He ordered that her body be eaten by beasts without being buried, to carry the head to his brother, and then to throw it into the cypress swamp 2 leagues from his body.

The same day at sunrise, while we were engaged in restraining the great chief, a man named Ette-actal[a] had been brought, escorted by 30 warriors. We all knew him because he had lived with M. de Bienville, commandant-general, with whom he had taken refuge. He had married a female Sun who had died, and according to the laws of his nation he ought to die with her. But this law not being to his taste, as soon as he had seen her in the agony [of death] he fled secretly toward the landing, took some provisions, descended night and day in a little dugout and went to place himself under the protection of Monsieur, the commandant of the capital, and offered himself to him as his hunter and one of his slaves. His service was accepted. The Natchez even promised his master that he had nothing to fear because, the ceremony being completed and he not having been found in that time, he was no longer a lawful prize. This native, thus reassured, went from time to time to see his relatives and friends, and nothing had ever been said to him. But this last time, the great Sun having learned from the French that M. de Bienville had been recalled to France, considered that the letters of reprieve of Ette-actal were abrogated by the absence of his protector. Thus he judged it suitable to make him pay his debt to the Tattooed-serpent in the capacity of a relation of his wife, and it was for this reason that they brought him.

When this man saw himself in the cabin of the great chief of war, in the number of the victims who were going to be sacrificed to his manes, he was moved with the liveliest grief to see himself taken this time without hope of safety and began to weep very bitterly. The favorite wife having perceived this, said to him: "Are you not a warrior?" "Yes," said he, "I am one." "Nevertheless you weep," she replied, "your life is then dear to you? If it is so, then it is not good that you come with us. Go away with the women."

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[a] My Natchez informant interpreted this as "Skin-eater."—J. R. S.

He replied, "Certainly life is dear to me. I have no children. It is well that I travel some time longer on the earth until the death of the great Sun and die with him." "Go away, I tell you," said she, "it is not good that you come with us and that your heart remain behind you on the earth. Once more, take yourself away from here, and let me see you no more."

Ette-actal had brought a little sack in which were the small utensils necessary for the ceremony, but without disturbing himself about them he left all, and, satisfied to have still time to himself before the death of the great Sun, he took to flight at the last word of the favorite and disappeared like a flash. But in the afternoon three old women were brought, two of whom were his relations, who, being extremely aged and wearied of life, offered themselves to pay his debt. Although these two women were so old that for many years they had totally lost the use of their limbs, their hair was no grayer than is commonly that of women of 50 in France. They appeared, besides, to bear themselves well.

The generosity of these two women purchased the life of the warrior, Ette-actal, and acquired for him the rank of Honored man. His condition having become much better and his life being thus assured, he became insolent, and profiting by the instructions which he had received from the French, he made use of it to deceive his countrymen.[a]

The third old woman that they had brought had not been able to use her legs for at least fifteen years, without, however, experiencing any other difficulty in any part of the body. Her face was calm and her hair entirely white, a thing which I had never seen among the natives, and in spite of her great age, which surpassed a century, her skin was not too much wrinkled. All of these three old women were dispatched to the evening rehearsal, one to the door of the Tattooed-serpent and the two others to the square. * * *

The day of the funeral procession having arrived, we went to the house of the great Sun. The favorite wife, who knew that we were there, came with her company to bid us adieu. She had the Suns of both sexes and their children called, to whom she then addressed these words:

"It is very grievous that your father is dead. As for me, I am going with him to the country of the spirits, and he waits only for us in order to set out. It is also well since he is dead that I am no longer able to walk on the earth. For you who are young it is good that you walk a long time without design [i. e., without duplicity] and with a straight heart. I leave you grain and my coffers, the keys [?] of which I here give you. Do not speak any evil of the French. Walk with them. Walk there as your father and I have walked, without design. Speak of them as he and I have spoken. Do nothing contrary to the friendship of the French. Never lie to them. They will give you food and the other things of which you have need, and if they give you nothing, return without murmuring. They were friends of your father, so love them all and never refuse to see them even when they will not receive you well.

"And you French chiefs," she added, turning toward us, "always be friends of the Natchez; trade with them, do not be too stingy with your goods, and do not repel what they bring you, but treat them with gentleness." Then having observed that one of our party was affected to tears by the spectacle, she said to him: "Do not weep. I know that my husband and I were great friends of the

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[a] This man is again referred to at length by Bossu, his authority evidently being Du Pratz.

French, because we also loved you much, although I have never eaten with them, because I am a woman. But I am able to eat with them now, because I am going to the country of the spirits. Let them, then, bring us food to eat, so that I may eat with the French chiefs."

Immediately some dishes were brought, we seated ourselves, and we took the meal with her. She then rose, and followed by her company, she returned to the cabin of her husband with a firmness altogether surprising.

I have reported these speeches and the bearing of this favorite, who could be only of the common people, being the wife of a Sun, in order to show the skill with which she preserved the friendship of the French for her children, how much intelligence this nation has, and that it is not at all that which one ordinarily understands by the word savage, which the majority of people bestow on it very unsuitably.

I have said elsewhere that the temple, the house of the great chief, and that of the Tattooed-serpent were on the square; that that of the great Sun was built on a mound of earth carried to a height of about 8 feet. It was on this mound that we placed ourselves at the side of the dwelling of the great Sun, who had shut himself in in order to see nothing. His wife, who was also there, was able to hear us, but we had no fear that she would reveal what we might say against such a cruel custom. This law did not please her enough for her to find fault with those who spoke ill of it. As for the great Sun, he was on the other side and was not able to hear our remarks. From this place, without disturbing the ceremony, we were able to see everything, even into the interior of the temple, the door of which faced us.

At the appointed hour the master of ceremonies arrived, adorned with red feathers in a half crown on his head. He had his red baton, in the shape of a cross, at the end of which hung a cluster of black feathers. He had all the upper portion of his body reddened, with the exception of his arms, in order to let it be seen that he did not dip his hands in the blood. His belt, which girded him above his hips, was ornamented with feathers, of which one row was black and the following was red, and afterward alternately as far as the knees. His legs were of their natural color.

He entered the house of the great Sun in this dress to ask him, without doubt, for permission to start the funeral procession. We were not able to hear what reply was made to him, because this sovereign ordinarily spoke in a very low although serious tone. But we heard very distinctly the salutation which the master of ceremonies afterward made him, who went out instantly to proclaim the departure of the funeral procession. * * *

As soon as the master of ceremonies went to the door of the deceased he saluted him, without entering, with a great *hou*. Then he made the death cry, to which the people on the square replied in the same manner. The entire nation did the same thing and the echoes repeated it from afar. The body of the strangled infant was near the door by which the body of the dead man was to be brought out. Its father and its mother were behind it, leaning against the wall, their feet on some Spanish moss, esteeming themselves unworthy to walk on the earth until the body of the deceased had passed over it. As soon as the body appeared they laid their infant down, then raised it when it was outside, in order to expose it at each circle which it made until it had reached the temple.

The Tattooed-serpent, having come out of his cabin in his state bed, as I have pictured it, was placed on a litter with two poles, which four men carried. Another pole was placed underneath toward the middle and crosswise, which two other men held, in order to sustain the body. These six men who carried it were guardians of the temple.

The grand master of ceremonies walked first, after him the oldest of the war chiefs, who bore the pole from which hung the cane links. He held this pole in one hand and in the other a war calumet, a mark of the dignity of the deceased. Then came the body, after which marched the procession of those who were going to die at his burial. Together they circled the house from which they had come out three times. At the third turn they took the road to the temple, and then the relatives of the victims placed themselves in the order which I have described for the rehearsal, but they walked very slowly, because they were going straight to the temple, while the body circled about as it advanced in a manner of which I am not able to give a better idea than by the mark indicated on the cut (pl. 4, *b*).[a] At each circuit made by the body the man of whom I have spoken threw his child in front of it in order that the body should pass over. He took it up again by one foot to do the same at the other circuits.

Finally the body reached the temple, and the victims put themselves in their places as determined in the rehearsals. The mats were stretched out. They seated themselves there. The death cry was uttered. The pellets of tobacco were given to them and a little water to drink after each one. After they had all been taken [each victim's] head was covered with a skin on which the cord was placed around the neck, two men held it in order that it should not be dragged away [to one side] by the stronger party, and the cord, which had a running knot, was held at each end by three men, who drew with all their strength from the two opposite sides. They are so skillful in this operation that it is impossible to describe it as promptly as it is done.

The body of the Tattooed-serpent was placed in a great trench to the right of the temple in the interior. His two wives were buried in the same trench. La Glorieuse was buried in front of the temple to the right and the chancellor on the left. The others were carried into the temples of their own villages in order to be interred there. After this ceremony the cabin of the deceased was burned, according to custom.[b]

Dumont's account:

These [funeral] ceremonies are different according to the difference between nations, as will be seen by what I am going to relate. I will begin with what was practiced on that occasion [i. e., a death] among the Natchez as having been one of the most considerable savage nations of Louisiana, and in order to give a more exact description I will make use of the relation which a Frenchman has communicated to me, who in 1725 was a witness of the ceremonies which were observed among them on the death of the Tattooed-serpent, their great chief. This savage, called in the language of the country Olabalkebiche, was the son of a white woman or woman chief and brother of the great chief of war[c] of the Natchez. He was very fond of the French, as will be seen in the course of these memoirs, and warned them many times of the evil design of his nation. Here are the exact words of the account which I have promised:

Friday, the 1st day of June, 1725, at 5 o'clock in the evening, returning from the settlement of White Earth I passed through the great village where the Tattooed-serpent was sick, and I asked how he was, of one named Chaumont, a soldier of the fort, who was guarding him. He told me that he was very ill and that his legs were very cold. I offered him part of a half bottle of brandy which I had brought from White Earth. He accepted it, and we went together to the house of Yakstalchil,[a] second war chief of the Flour village, who lived in the great village near the temple. After having drunk, as night approached I passed to the house of the great chief of war,[b] who, seeing me with a bottle in my hand, asked me if there was brandy in it. I said "no," and that I had drunk it with Yakstalchil and the Frenchman who guarded his brother. He said to me in his language, "Eat and sleep on my bed." At the same time he presented me some ollogale,[c] a kind of grain prepared like millet, which the savages stir up with a little water on the fire, after which they pound it and have it cooked. It is eaten steeped in water, and it is very good. In offering me this dish the great chief said to me, "I have nothing but that. Since my brother is sick my people do not go hunting. As for me I eat nothing." I ate a little, for it is very rude to refuse them. It is a great mark of contempt among them. After I had eaten he said to me again, indicating to me his bed, "Lie down there. For my part I am going to see my brother." While I was asleep the great chief reentered and shook me by the arm, saying to me, "It is done. He is dead." I asked him, "Who?" He did not answer at all and went to crouch in a corner of the cabin, holding his head in his two hands like a man afflicted with the deepest grief. At the same time his wife began to weep. Immediately I heard two discharges of four or five guns, shot off with some interval between, and I guessed that this must be to inform the other Natchez villages of the death of the great chief. It was also the signal for a concert of frightful cries and howls, which at once made themselves heard. For my part I did not consider it at all expedient to rise and returned to sleep.

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[a] The original faces in Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 55. This cut is at variance with the text in representing eight bearers instead of six.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 23–57.

[c] An error. He was the great war chief and his brother the great Sun. The misunderstanding seems to have arisen from the fact that the great Sun allowed him almost unlimited power, though he was inferior to himself in dignity.

The next day, Saturday, the 2d of the month, I went down to the foot of the great chief's mound. I asked the whereabouts of the Frenchman who had guarded the Tattooed-serpent. They told me that they did not know anything about him. At the same time I saw a juggler with the chief of the grain,[d] who sang and prostrated themselves toward the rising sun opposite the cabin of the deceased. The latter was in his cabin, where he had been painted and where his hair had been dressed. He was clothed and provided with shoes. All of the things which had belonged to him, coffers, mats, beds, vessels, etc., had been thrown out of his cabin pellmell. I also saw his wife, who did not weep at all and only had her hair disheveled, contrary to custom. Nor did her children weep, but all the people in the village were dissolved in tears, and wept in a manner to make one laugh. However, the nearest relatives of the dead man were occupied, some in removing the bark from a great pole, about 20 feet long and a foot in circumference, and in painting it red; others in putting that which belonged to the defunct into a chest. No one thought of preparing to eat. In the entire village there was not even enough fire to light one's pipe.

After having been a witness of this spectacle I returned to White Earth to bring the news to the Sieur Brontin, director of this grant. I found there the war chief of the Tioux, who, having learned of the death of the Tattooed-serpent, said to me in the Mobilian language: "If it is true, as you say, that the Tattooed-serpent is dead, his brother, the great war chief, will kill himself, for they have promised each other that if the great chief of war died first his brother would not weep, but would kill himself with a knife, and if, on the contrary, the Tattooed-serpent died first the great chief of war would not weep, but break his head with a gunshot. So it is good, Frenchman, that you speak to your chiefs, for if he kills himself his women will die, with a great number of warriors, and that would be a great misfortune."[a] These words made M. Brontin determine to return to the fort in order to confer with M. de Vilainville, the commander, and M. Dumanoir, director of the grant of St. Catherine. For my part, after having dined with M. Brontin I returned to the great village, where I found some Frenchmen who told me that they were very much disturbed regarding me at the settlement; that M. de Vilainville had gone out just now from the great village, and that he had spoken to the great war chief that he might not make so many people die. After that I entered the cabin of the dead man, where I saw him laid on a cane bed covered with mats. He had on moccasins and was dressed. In front of him were planted four large canes, to which were fastened all the calumets which had been presented to him, and between these canes were the dishes which had been served to him after he had died. I also saw there his wife, dressed in her most beautiful clothing, with many other women and a man. They said to me, "Those are the ones who are going to die with him." A moment later La Glorieuse[b] entered, also dressed up, and placed herself in the ranks of the others. This Glorieuse was descended from the women chiefs and was, besides, a very skillful surgeon, especially in venereal diseases. Many of our Frenchmen had been restored to life by her. The wife of the Tattooed-serpent, seeing me looking at all this apparel and perceiving that the spectacle pained me, said to me, "I am going in three nights. It is very grievous[c] that the Tattooed-serpent is dead. He was like a Frenchman. But what would you have?" La Glorieuse also said to me: "I am going with them. Is it not good? What do you say?" My heart was so oppressed that it was impossible for me to reply.

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[a] *Chil=cīl*, big.

[b] Really that of the great Sun.

[c] Apparently the same as *widlogouill;* see p. 76.

[d] It is this one who takes care to have the sowing and the harvesting done.—[DUMONT.]

In the midst of all this the wife of the head servant (*loué*) of the deceased arrived, the very one whom I had seen, as I have said, with the women. This head servant is one of the Honored men who lights the pipe of the great chief and follows him everywhere. He is present at the councils, where he records the votes. It is he also who speaks for the great chief. His wife, seeing him with the others, said to him: "What are you doing there?" "Do not you know," replied he, "that my chief is dead? It is well that I go with him." "That is very well," answered the woman. "You know also that you have never repulsed me; that we have always walked together along the same road; that we have always eaten together. Thus I do not wish to go with your chief, but I wish to go with you." Her husband wished to speak to her to deter her from dying, but she would not listen and went out to prepare herself.

Almost at the same time came one called Taotal,[d] escorted by thirty warriors, who led him. This savage had formerly married a woman chief, and according to the law of the country he ought to have died with her, but he had fled to M. de Bienville and by his flight had escaped death. Afterward he had obtained his pardon, but at this time some Frenchmen told me that he must die because he was one of the principal warriors of the deceased; that he had already fled that morning with a view to escape death, and that the great chief of war had had him pursued in order to bring him back. In fact, as soon as he arrived, he was placed in the ranks of the other unfortunate victims of superstition. This man wept bitterly, so much so that the wife of the Tattooed-serpent, seeing him in this condition, said to him, "Why do you weep? Are you not a warrior?" "Doubtless I am," he replied. "Life is then dear to you," answered this woman, "and you are ungrateful regarding it (*tu en es ingrat*)?" "Evidently," he answered, "my life is dear to me. I am yet young. It is well that I stay still on the earth without making any engagement (*sans dessein*)." "Go, then," said she to him; "it is not well that you die with us by force. Go away." This unhappy man answered nothing, which led the woman to say to him a second time, "Go." Then he disappeared like a flash, leaving behind him a little sack filled with vermilion and red earth.

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[a] *Cela est beaucoup de valeur.*

[b] See p. 145.

[c] *C'est beaucoup de valeur.*

[d] The same as the Ette-actal referred to on p. 146.

At the same moment, having desired to light my pipe at a fire which was in the cabin, a woman of the savages prevented me, saying to me: "This fire is precious. It is fire from the temple. Come! take of that which is outside." Saying these words, she took my pipe and went outside of the cabin to light it. I then noticed that this head servant of whom I have spoken gave something to the dead to smoke, and that on presenting it to him he said to him, "Why do you smoke no more with us? Is it that our tobacco is rotted?" However, the men and women who were going to die each took a calumet in the left hand and the shell of a great river mussel in the right, with a feather inside bound with red wool in six places. The wife of the dead man had besides this in the same shell a little brush of the size of the finger made of a grass closely resembling the maiden-hair. So provided they went out to dance.

The Tattooed-serpent had married another woman, by whom he had had no children. This one was not yet ready when the others went out to dance, a fact which led the great chief of war, the old chief, and the Sun of the Flour village to take her by herself into a cabin near that of the dead man, where without doubt they persuaded her to die. In fact, as soon as she had come out, she went to get ready and returned at once to place herself in the ranks of the others. Then they set out to repair to the open place. Arrived within sight of the temple they uttered the death cry [a] and stopped an instant, after which they continued their march in this order. The two wives of the dead marched first, followed by La Glorieuse, the head servant, the first warrior of the dead man, the mother of La Mizenne,[b] the nurse of the deceased, the wife of the head servant, and two other old women. Between them marched those who were going to utter the death cry over each of them.[c] When they had arrived on the open space they separated into two bands, led by the two wives of the dead man, and began to dance. They were followed by all their relations, some among whom carried a jar and a mat for each person, male or female, who was going to die. After this dance the principal guardian of the temple came out and told them what he had learned from the Spirit. Immediately all howled three times, made a rapid whirl, passed the right hand over the head, and returned in company opposite the cabin of the dead, where recommenced the same dances and the same ceremonies. Afterward the principal wife of the Tattooed-serpent had her children called, with the chiefs of the nation, and spoke to them in these terms: "Your father is dead. It is very grievous. As for me I am going with him. He has gone to the country of the spirits. I am no longer able to walk on the earth. For your part it is good that you so walk without guile. I leave you 25 baskets of grain. Speak no ill of the Frenchman. Walk with him. Walk as your father has walked, and as I have always walked. Speak as he and as I have always spoken. Do no harm to the Frenchman. When you are hungry, go to see the Frenchman. He will give you something to eat. He will give you tobacco. He will give you brandy, for he was a great comrade of your father's. If he gives you none return home. There is your father. There is your mother," said she, pointing to the chiefs. "They will never let you die of hunger. And you, Frenchmen," added she, addressing all those who were present, "be always good and companionable to the red men. Trade with them. Do not disdain their goods." "Bring me strong tobacco in three nights," said she to me, "in order that I may remember you." Having uttered this speech she reentered and I asked the old chief of the Flour village what day they were going to die. "To-day," said he to me, "they will eat nothing. To-morrow they will eat much. The day after to-morrow they will eat bread. The next day they will eat nothing, but they will smoke, and when the sun is in the south they will go to the country of the spirits where they will eat much." After this reply I returned to the settlement, where I was told that they had been very anxious regarding me; that Chaumont had returned the preceding night, all out of breath; that he had reported that they had shot at him; that the same thing had been confirmed by another soldier of the fort named Montauban, who having wished to go that night to the Flour village had passed through the great village, where some savages having perceived him had said to him: "Go away, Frenchman. The Tattooed-serpent is dead. It is not good here for you;" that he had returned to the fort to give warning to M. de Villainville, who had at once gone across to the great village with a detachment partly to see if he could find me, and that I was very imprudent to have remained there under such circumstances. But it was not difficult for me to make them see that all this account was founded only on a panic terror, which made MM. Dumanoir, Brontin, and Le Page take the determination to go next day to the great village with Louis Sorel, who would serve them as interpreter, to try to save the lives of the two wives of the dead man and to prevent, if it were possible, so many people from perishing.

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[a] A kind of long howling which increases as it proceeds.—[DUMONT.]

[b] This Mizenne was a Noble woman of the Apple village, who had been given as hostage to the French until the savages had delivered to them the heads of some quarrelsome persons which they had promised. As she should have died then, her mother offered herself in her place.—[DUMONT.]

[c] Those that perform this office are always the nearest relations.—[DUMONT.]

Sunday, the 3d of June, these gentlemen having left for the great village, two young girls of the savages presented themselves at the settlement with 10 chickens, asking in exchange a blue petticoat (*jupe*) to give to their mother, who was going to die. They were told that 10 chickens were not enough for that; that 15 were necessary; that, besides, M. Dumanoir, on leaving, had shut up the petticoats in his chamber, and when he should return they would be given one. They promised to bring the 5 other birds in five days, and remained at the settlement until 11 o'clock, when two young savages passing, and perceiving them, said to them: "Why do you remain quietly here, you others? Your mother is dead." At the same instant they began to weep and fled. Toward midday Louis Sorel returned and told us that already one woman was strangled, news which made me return to the great village after dinner. I found there some of our French people, of whom I asked if it was true that a woman was already dead. They told me that the evening before, after the second dance, one of the two old women who were going to die, on reentering the cabin, had said: "What! is that the Tattooed-serpent, that rare man? He is a Stinkard chief. I do not want to die for him, the more because seven months ago I killed the son of the great chief by means of a medicine I gave him." In fact, she had already taken up again the road to her cabin, when the great war chief, having heard this news, sent for her head, and when it was brought to him he trampled upon it and had the body thrown outside as food for the buzzards, saying, "That is the treatment which ought to be given to dogs." Her head was then brought to the cabin of the dead man, wrapped in the skin of a deer.[a]

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[a] This was evidently the "bad woman" Du Pratz refers to; see p. 145.

I repaired to the great chief of war, of whom I asked whether many people would die. He answered, "If the French had not spoken the road from my brother's cabin to the temple would have been strewn with the dead. Only the old women will die. I have already sent back more than 30 young people who wished to die. After all, is not my brother precious? Is he a Stinkard? And what will the chief of the spirits say if he sees him come entirely alone? He will say this is not a chief, and he will drive him from before his face. Besides, his two wives have always walked and eaten with him. They must go with him, and when 20 guns and 20 coverings of *Limbourg* shall be given they will not seek to avoid death."

After this reply I left him, and I found the wife of the Tattooed-serpent, who said to all the Frenchmen, "Come and eat with me. I have never eaten with the French. Now, that I am going, let us eat together." And as she saw some with tears in their eyes, she said to them, "Do not weep any. I know that you are my friends, but it is well that I go." After that I was a witness of three dances which were gone through with in the same order as those of the preceding day. There was only this difference, that in these the ones who were going to utter the death cry carried a war club in the hand, entirely reddened, and under the left arm a bundle of linden cords also painted of the same color, and that this time they began with the death dance, which was followed by the war dance, then by the general dance on the square and before the cabin of the deceased. Afterward each one went to repeat the same dances before his cabin.

In the middle of the third dance there was seen to arrive from the Flour village, which was also a village of the Natchez, two women borne on the shoulders of two warriors, and followed by their families and their mats. They went at once to dance alone before the temple. Afterward they were received to dance with the others, after which they seated themselves on their mats. However, the guardian of the temple, having lighted a cane torch at the sacred fire, gave it to one of their relations, after which the two warriors took the two women again on their shoulders and, followed by their families, entered the cabin of the dead man and broke a mat which had been placed over the door. One of the two was strangled on this same mat. The other was carried outside on the mat she had brought, where she seated herself with her legs crossed. There she was made to swallow three little pills of tobacco of about an inch in diameter, with some swallows of water, which she drank at intervals. As soon as it was seen that she was going to vomit, her head was covered with a deerskin, and passing a cord around her neck over this skin they began to draw on it with force from each side. However, one of her relations applied a knee to her stomach strongly from in front, while another grasped her in the same way from behind, so that she was stifled rather than strangled. During all that time her family sang. As soon as it was thought that she was dead the one who was to utter the death cry went around her three times, uttered the cry the same number of times, placed his war club six times over the head of the dead woman without touching it, and made the same cry again. Then her body was carried into the cabin of the deceased. I was told that these two women were near relations of this same Taotal, of whom I have spoken above, and that they were come to offer themselves thus to death in order to repair his honor and to make him a Noble. I do not know how it was. I know only that he was one of those who did the strangling; that he appeared to draw with very great pleasure, and that since that day I have not seen him in the village.

Monday the 4th at 8 o'clock in the morning we heard some death cries and many shots, which made M. de St. Hilaire think that something new had happened at the village. I told him that without doubt some other unfortunate victim had come to offer himself to death. At the same moment we saw a savage running with all his might, who from as far off as he saw us cried to us: "Frenchmen, come quickly. The great war chief wishes to kill himself," which made MM. St. Hilaire, Duclos, and I determine to run to the great village to try and prevent this misfortune.

As we approached it we met M. Brontin on horseback, who asked us if M. Dumanoir was coming. We answered that we did not know, and that he was not at the settlement, upon which he told us that we had done ill not to bring arms, and that he was not too sure that those rascals would not want to take the Frenchmen at one sweep. He added: "They came to search for me, like you, and for the same reason, and as I arrived St. Cosme[a] came before me and told me he did not dare to wrest the gun from the hands of the great chief of war, and that the chief of the Apple and many other chiefs were with him. Upon that I entered his cabin and saw at once that he had been drinking. The chiefs held his gun by the butt and he by the end. Immediately I had one of my people cut the cord by which his powder horn was hung, which I had them hide. Then I took away the flint and priming from his gun and had it flashed in the pan. That is the condition in which I left him, to go and inform you." During this recital we continued on our way and we arrived at the village, where we found the great chief of war his eyes wandering, who held one end of his gun and on seeing us cried, "What do these Frenchmen wish? Why do they come here? Am I not chief, then? Am I a Stinkard?" No one answered him. A moment later he descended from his mound and approached the cabin of his brother, where he had his people called, and I saw that after he had spoken to them they rubbed him with their hands and also rubbed themselves. It was not possible to hear a word of what he said to them because he never allowed anyone to approach him. Then he abandoned his gun and said: "I am treated like a dog. My powder is taken away from me. My gun is flashed. Is not my gun then mine? Am I not the chief? My brandy is taken from me, and I have none. All is precious to them. Why should I walk on the earth undisturbed? Does my brother walk?" I had it said to him, "O chief, listen to me. The merchandise is not dear to the Frenchman. You alone are dear to him. Do not you see our hearts bleed for the death of your brother? Do you wish them also to weep for yours? If the Frenchman was not one of your friends his heart would laugh to see the savages kill themselves. Are your eyes closed that you do not see that your brother has now been a long time in the country of the spirits, and those whom you wish to send after him, will they recognize him any more?" "Be silent," said the great chief to the one who spoke in my name, "you are still too young to know that. The spirit of my brother is yet in his cabin, for I speak to him. I know that the Frenchman lacks rain, that his grain and his tobacco are perishing. It is very grievous. Therefore I will fast five days more. Then I will bathe myself, and the rain will fall, but I fear much that the beams of White Earth will go adrift." M. Brontin had him told, "That is not of importance. I will know what to have done with other things (*je sçaurai bien en faire faire d'autres*)." The great war chief then entered his brother's cabin. He mourned him. He spoke to him and began to howl frightfully. The old chief of the Flour village also wept. A short time afterward MM. de Villainville and Dumanoir reached the village with a detachment and had the great chief of war addressed still more to turn him from his purpose, upon which he replied: "You say that it is not good that I die, and you ask at the same time that the wives of my brother do not die. If you wish that they walk [live] it is necessary that I go." They said to him, "Very well, do as you wish, but it is necessary that you eat with us." At the same time he had four chickens killed which were fricasseed. After having dreamed a little longer he said, "It is not accomplished. Since the French chiefs have spoken I will not die. I will eat, and when my brother goes to the temple I will go to see the Frenchmen as he did." After that he went to the temple where I followed him. Having entered he took a bundle of little roots bound with red wool, untied them, took one out, and tied up the rest, again mumbling some words between his teeth. Afterward he went out of the temple and gave this little root, with great ceremony, to the old chief of the Flour village, who before taking it passed three times around the great war chief and howled three times at the end of each circuit, after which he received it in his two hands with orders to part it between four young people, who guarded the temple and were strangled in ten months when the bones of the Tattooed-serpent were taken out of the earth. After this ceremony the great war chief washed his hands a long time and had ashes put on the water he had spilled. Then they ate and the dances continued as on the preceding day without anything noteworthy taking place.

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[a] One of the lesser Suns was so named, the name having apparently been adopted into the tribe from that of the second Natchez missionary.

Tuesday, the 5th, I repaired very early to the great village, where, after the first dance, the two wives of the Tattooed-serpent, with La Glorieuse, went to make their adieus to the great chief of war. The favorite wife, I mean the one who had had the children, said to him on approaching, "Chief, now I am going to the country of the spirits. Is it well? What do you say?" "It is well," replied he, "for my part it is well that I walk still upon the earth. After that I will go to seek you. When the Choctaws come here I will buy meat, part of which I will send to you." "My children remain on the earth," she added, "I do not know whether you will drive them from you." "No," said he, "your children shall be mine. Do not trouble about that." After this speech she consoled the wife of the great war chief and the woman chief, who wept bitterly, after which they descended to the foot of the mound where each said adieu to her family. I descended also to see what was going to happen, and I perceived a juggler who was blessing the pills of tobacco which had been prepared. This scene was accompanied by long howlings. At length after three dances each prepared to play the last act of this bloody tragedy.

While these things were taking place there was in the cabin of the dead man a man and a woman who had strangled their infant and had thrown it at the foot of the body. It was one of the men of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who profited by this occasion to have himself received among the number of the Honored men. The two remained standing and in silence, the eyes lowered and having under their feet, as I have said, some handfuls of Spanish beard.

The great war chief seeing that I had descended said, "It is good that the Frenchmen remain on my mound and that they do not go down from it." At the same moment some one came to tell M. Dumanoir that the great chief wished to kill himself and that with this object he had concealed a knife in his breechcloth. But M. Dumanoir having had him spoken to, he found that the news was false. The great war chief said to him, "Since I have given my word I will not die. I do not have two tongues, but if the Frenchmen love my brother it is well that they shoot as well as my people when he passes.[a]

Finally the old Flour chief, who up to that point had always performed the functions of master of ceremonies, cried, "It is good that all retire." At this cry all those who were going to die, each one followed by his family and singing, dispersed themselves about the square, and the body was seen to come out of the cabin preceded by the two wives and borne on a litter by four men. The chests of the dead were carried to the temple without ceremony, with the red baton of which I have spoken, from which hung the canes worked into circles which formed a kind of chain composed of 46 links or rings. I was told that each ring stood for a man or woman killed by the deceased. With regard to the litter, after having made on going out three circuits around the cabin, it was carried ceremoniously toward the temple, ordinary place of sepulcher of the chiefs. When the body passed opposite those to whom the infant that had been strangled belonged they threw it on the litter;[a] took it up afterward and threw it down in the same manner, continuing thus until they had reached the temple. There all those who were going to die ranged themselves in a half circle on their mats before the door in order to be strangled. They were eight, as follows: The two wives of the deceased, his first warrior, La Glorieuse, the head servant and his wife, the mother of La Mizenne, and a maker of war clubs, who were executed together. It seemed as if there was a kind of contest among them to see who would part first; to swallow the six pills of tobacco, present his head for the deer skin, and his neck to the cord, was, so to speak, only the same thing. After their death I noticed that the favorite wife was not at all changed and that the cord had not made any impression on her neck. This first execution was followed by the ordinary cries, after which five other persons were strangled on the square, as follows: The nurse of the deceased, a doctor of the Apple village, an old woman of the Flour village whose hair was entirely white, and who was so decrepit that during the dances to which she was carried seated on a mat she was hardly able to move her arms in order to keep time, and two other old women. The two wives of the Tattooed-serpent were buried in the temple, and placed with him in the same trench at the right side of the sanctuary. La Glorieuse was also buried on the right side, but outside of the temple, as well as the head servant and his wife, who were placed on the left. With regard to the others, their families carried them back to their villages on stretchers.

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[a] I. e., that they discharge their guns when the body was borne past.

In the evening a man named Picuillon came to take refuge at the settlement, with his wife, for fear that they would put him to death because on one occasion he had served as interpreter to the Tattooed-serpent, but they returned to their village next day on the assurance of two savages that they had nothing to fear, and that they would die only with the Flour chief. Thursday one of the two girls among the savages who, as I have said, had come Sunday to ask for a petticoat at the settlement came to seek refuge there also. She told us that she was the daughter of that woman whose head the great chief of war had had cut off, and that a warrior had come to warn them to save themselves; that her sister had withdrawn to the house of a Frenchman of the fort who had been her husband, and that for her part, if she did not inconvenience us any, she would remain quietly at the settlement with her brother. She was told that she might remain. She remained there until the Sunday following, when, having learned that the great war chief was drinking at the fort, she begged Duclos, the great slave Theresa, and I to accompany her there in order to speak to him. I could not go, but on his return Duclos informed me that he had been able to save her life only by saying that he was her husband.[b]

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[a] There seems to be some slip here, as it is evident from the other narratives that the bodies were thrown under the litter, the procession being allowed to go over them.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 208–239.

RELIGION

Most of the tribes of the lower Mississippi had buildings set apart for purposes of a religious character which may properly be called "temples," and among these that of the Natchez was the most conspicuous and the most famous. One rude picture of this occurs in Du Pratz (pl. 4, *b*), and descriptions of varying degrees of elaborateness have been made by Gravier, Pénicaut, Charlevoix, the Luxembourg Memoir, Dumont, and Du Pratz, and are appended in chronological order.

* * * There are only four cabins in [the village] in which is the temple. It is very spacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies, which it would be prolix to insert here. They begin by a four days' fast with emetics till blood comes. There is no window, no chimney, in this temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can see a little, and then the door, which is very low and narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the keeper keeps the fire up and takes great care not to let it go out. It is in the center of the temple in front of a sort of mausoleum after the Indian fashion. There are three about 8 or 9 feet long, 6 feet broad, and 9 or 10 feet high. They are supported by four large posts covered with cane mats in quite neat columns and surmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with smoke and covered with soot. There is a large mat which serves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or six cane mats on which stands a large basket that it is unlawful to open, as the spirit of each nation of those quarters reposes there, they say, with that of the Natchez. I am provoked at myself for not opening the basket, although I would have offended the old man if I had opened the curtain and touched the basket. There are others in the other two mausoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they say, which they revere as divinities. All that I saw somewhat rare was a piece of rock crystal,[a] which I found in a little basket. I saw a number of little earthen pots, platters, and cups, and little cane baskets, all well made. This is to serve up food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and the temple keeper finds his profit in it.

After examining all that there is in this temple, I saw neither there nor elsewhere the gold, silver, or precious stones, or riches, or 9 fathoms of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation printed in the name of Mr. de Tonti, and which he has disavowed to one [M. d'Iberville], who reproached him with all the falsehoods with which it is stuffed. It is also a fable, what that writer ventures to mention as having been seen by Mr. Tonti in the little closet set in the mud-covered wall, where I neither saw nor tasted the exquisite liquors of which he speaks. These things are all invented by the same writer to set off his account. It is a fact that the chief's wife has some small pearls, which are neither round nor well pierced, but about seven or eight of which are as large as small peas, which were bought for more than their value after a good deal of seeking. There are none of the riches or rarities which they pretended were to be found in the temple and village.[b]

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[a] Supernatural properties were often connected with this substance. Du Pratz once discovered some of it and the Natchez Indians who were with him wished to carry it off, but he prevented them. There is nothing to indicate, however, whether they valued it on their own account or wished to take it away for Du Pratz.

[b] Gravier in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 138–140, and Jes. Rel., LXV, 138–141.

There is in this village a temple very much esteemed among the savages on account of its grandeur. It may be 30 feet high and 20 fathoms[a] square within. It is round on the outside; the walls are perhaps 3 fathoms[a] thick; it is built of walnut (hickory) trees, as thick through as the thigh below, all of the same height. They are bent above in a semicircle, the ends being joined together; then they attach canes, made and shaped like our laths, from half foot to half foot from bottom to top. They wall in and fill up the empty spaces between the laths with heavy earth and cover it with straw; then they set in place still other laths which they bind together like the first at the ends above in a circle to hold in place the straw which is beneath; then they cover all with mats made of canes split into four pieces. These mats are 10 feet long and 6 broad; they are almost like the wattles with which they cover the temple; every year they renew the covering. In this temple they have a fire which is preserved continually; it is the sun which they say this fire represents and which they adore. That is why every morning, at sunrise, they make a fire before the door of the temple, and in the evening at sunset. The wood to preserve the continual fire within the temple must be of oak or walnut (probably hickory), from which the bark has been removed; the logs must not be shorter than 8 feet, cut at the beginning of each moon. There are four temple guards who sleep there each during a quarter and who keep the perpetual fire. If, by any mischance, they should let it go out, their heads would be broken with wooden mallets which always rest in the temple for this excellent purpose. Every new moon presents of bread and meal are made at the temple, which are profitable to its guardians. In this temple are interred the three first families of nobles. There is in the temple the figure of a snake which they call the rattlesnake. Similar are to be seen in the country, which carry a kind of rattle toward the tail, and the bite of which is mortal. They also have in this temple a quantity of little stone figures inclosed in a coffer. They have similarly a necklace of fine pearls, which they received from their ancestors; but they are all spoiled, because they have pierced them by means of a hot fire. Two or three are placed around the necks of the infant nobles when they come into the world; they wear them to the age of 10 and then they are replaced in the temple. At all the audiences of the female chiefs this necklace is placed around their necks until the ceremony is finished. Then they take it back to the temple. It is kept in a coffer as a very precious relic. Evening and morning the grand chief and his wife, who alone have a right to enter the temple, come there to worship their idols, and when they come out they recount to the people who await them before the door a thousand lies—whatever they happen to think of.[b]

The Natchez, besides the general belief in metempsychosis, have had among them from time immemorial a kind of temple, where they preserve a perpetual fire, which a man appointed to the guardianship of the temple takes care to maintain. This temple is dedicated to the sun, from which they pretend that the family of their chief is descended. In it they inclose the bones of these chiefs with great care and with much ceremony.[c]

* * * The temple is very near the great chief's cabin, turned toward the east, and at the end of the square. It is composed of the same materials as the cabins, but its shape is different; it is a long square, about 40 feet by 20 wide, with a common roof, in shape like ours. At the two ends there are what appear to be two weathercocks of wood, which represent very indifferently two eagles.

The door is in the midst of the length of the building, which has no other opening. On each side there are benches of stone. The inside perfectly corresponds to this rustic outside. Three pieces of wood, which touch at the ends and which are placed in a triangle, or rather equally distant from each other, take up almost all the middle of the temple. These pieces are on fire and burn slowly. A savage, whom they call the keeper of the temple, is obliged to tend the fire and prevent its going out. If it is cold he may have his fire apart, but he is not allowed to warm himself at that which burns in honor of the sun. This keeper was also at the feast, at least I saw him not; and his brands made such a smoke that it blinded us.

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[a] The word used here is *toise*, but it would seem that some other standard than fathom was in the writer's mind, as this would make the dimensions much too large.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 451–452.

[c] The Luxembourg Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 143.

As to ornaments, I saw none, nor absolutely anything that could make me know that I was in a temple. I saw only three or four chests placed irregularly, in which there were some dry bones, and upon the ground some wooden heads, a little better wrought than the two eagles on the roof. In short, if I had not found a fire here I should have thought that this temple had been a long time abandoned or that it had been plundered. Those cones wrapped up in skins, which some relations speak of; those bodies of the chiefs ranged in a circle in a round temple, terminating in a kind of dome; that altar, etc.; I saw nothing of all this. If things were thus in times past, they are very much changed since.[a]

Perhaps also, for we ought to condemn nobody, but when there is no way to excuse them; perhaps, I say, that the neighborhood of the French made the Natchez fear that the bodies of their chiefs and everything that was most precious in their temple were in some danger if they did not convey them to another place, and that the little attention they have at present to guard this temple proceeds from its being deprived of what it contained most sacred in the opinion of these people. It is true, notwithstanding that against the wall, over against the door, there was a table, the dimensions of which I did not take the pains to measure, because I did not suspect it to be an altar. I have been assured since that it is 3 feet high, 5 long, and 4 wide.

I have been further informed that they make a little fire on it with the bark of oak, and that it never goes out; which is false, for there was no fire on it, nor any appearance of there ever having been any made. They say also that four old men lie by turns in the temple, to keep in this fire; that he who is on duty must not go out for the eight days of his watch; that they carefully take the burning ashes of the pieces that burn in the midst of the temple, to put upon the altar; that twelve men are kept to furnish the bark; that there are marmosets of wood, and a figure of a rattlesnake likewise of wood, which they set upon the altar, and to which they pay great honors. That when the chief dies, they bury him directly; that when they judge his flesh is consumed, the keeper of the temple takes the bones up, washes them clean, wraps them in whatever they have most valuable, and puts them in great baskets made of canes, which shut very close; that he covers these baskets very neatly with skins of roebucks, and places them before the altar, where they remain till the death of the reigning chief; that then he incloses these bones in the altar itself, to make room for the last dead.

I can say nothing on this last article, only that I saw some bones in one or two chests, but they made not half a human body; that they appeared to be very old, and that they were not on the table which they say is the altar. As to the other article, first, as I was in the temple only by day, I know not what passes in it at night; second, there was no keeper in the temple when I visited it. I very well saw, as I said before, that there were some marmosets or grotesque figures; but I observed no figure of a serpent.

As to what I have seen in some relations—that this temple is hung with tapestry and the floor covered with cane mats; that they put in it whatever they have that is handsomest, and that they bring every year hither the first fruits of their harvest—we must certainly abate a great deal of all this. I never saw anything more slovenly and dirty, nor more in disorder. The billets burnt upon the bare ground; and I saw no mats on it, no more than the walls. M. le Noir, who was with me, only told me that every day they put a new billet on the fire, and that at the beginning of every moon they made a provision for the whole month. But he knew this only by report; for it was the first time he had seen this temple, as well as myself.[a]

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[a] These details probably refer to the Taënsa temple.

The description of the Natchez temple given by Le Petit is really that of the Taënsa temple, though it is impossible to say from what source it was derived, whether from Pénicaut, Tonti, or some other of the former companions of La Salle. From the absence of any reference to the riches of the place, however, it would seem to be from some authentic narrative. Dumont's account is as follows:

The Natchez also had a temple; that is to say, a good-sized cabin, to which it has pleased our Europeans to give this name; but it was never ornamented in the manner described by a certain author who says that this pretended temple was covered with gold. If he has taken for gold the cane mats which covered this cabin, well and good. I will not oppose him at all. But I have difficulty in excusing what he adds, that this temple was surrounded by a palisade of pointed stakes on which these savages planted the heads of their enemies taken or killed in war,[b] since it is a well-known fact that the savages do not amuse themselves in cutting off the head of their enemy, and that they content themselves with taking his scalp. Besides, it is certain that this pretended temple, situated in a corner of the plain to the right in going from the French post to the village of the savages, was not surrounded with any palisade, and that there was no other ornament which distinguished it from ordinary cabins. It is also false that in this temple, as the same writer dares to state, there were 100 or 200 persons appointed as guard of the perpetual fire. I admit that fire was always preserved here without any savage ever being able to explain on what this ceremony was founded. Besides, it is certain that there were in all only four guardians destined to the service of the temple, who relieved each other by turns every eight days (*tour-à-tour tous les huit jours*), and who were charged with the duty of bringing wood to preserve the fire. If by their negligence it became extinguished, it is a fact that not only would it cost them their lives, but also those of their wives and their children. But as only the great chief of the nation as well as some Honored men and the female chief ever entered the temple, as they did not go there every day but only when the fancy seized them, it may be imagined that the guardians were the entire masters of this fire, that if it happened by any chance to be extinguished they were not obliged to boast of it and could relight it at once. It was in this temple that the Natchez interred their chiefs and preserved the bones of their ancestors.[c]

Du Pratz says:

Of all the temples of these people [of Louisiana] that of the Natchez, which it was easy for me to examine, is also that of which I am going to give the most exact description that I can. None of the people of the nation enter this temple except the Suns and those who are attached to the temple service by their employments, whatever they are. Ordinarily, strangers never enter there, but being a particular friend of the sovereign he has allowed me to see it.

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[a] Charlevoix's Journal, in French, Hist. Coll. La., 160–162, 1851.

[b] It was the Taënsa temple that was so surrounded.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 158–160.

This temple, the front of which looks toward the rising sun, is placed on a mound of earth brought thither which rises about 8 feet above the natural level of the ground on the bank of a little river. This mound loses itself in an insensible slope on the side toward the square. On the other sides the slope is more marked and on the side toward the river it is very steep. This temple measures about 30 feet each way. The four angle or corner posts are of the inner part of the cypress, which is incorruptible. These trees in their actual condition appear to have a diameter of a foot and a half. They rise 10 feet out of the earth and extend to the beginning of the roof. The Natchez state that they are as much in the earth as above it, a fact which must make it secure against the winds. The other posts are a foot in diameter and are of the same wood, having the same length in the earth as above it. The wall is a rough mud wall entirely smooth outside and a little sunken between every [two] posts inside in such a way that it is not more than 9 inches thick in the middle.

The interior of this temple is divided into two unequal parts by a little wall which cuts it from the rising to the setting sun. The part into which one enters may be 20 feet wide and the other may be 10, but in this second part it is extremely gloomy, because there is only one opening, which is the door of the temple itself, which is to the north, and because the little communicating door is not capable of lighting the second part.

There is nothing remarkable in the inside of the temple except a table or altar about 4 feet high and 6 long by 2 broad. On this table is a coffer made of cane splints very well worked, in which are the bones of the last great Sun. The eternal fire is in this first part of the temple. In the other and more secluded part nothing can be distinguished except two planks worked by hand on which are many minute carvings (*plusieurs minuties*) which one is unable to make out, owing to the insufficient light.

The roof of this temple is a long vault, the ridge pole of which is not more than 6 feet long, on which are placed representations of three great birds [carved] on flat pieces of wood. They are twice as large as a goose. They have no feet. The neck is not as long as that of a goose, and the head does not resemble it. The wing feathers are large and very distinct. The ground color is white mingled with feathers of a beautiful red color. These birds look toward the east. The roof is very neat outside and in. In fact, the structure and roof appear of a perfect solidity.

Many persons who certainly had intelligence have seen this temple outside and all have said that it was very neatly patterned and very well constructed. Those to whom I have related the manner in which it was built have told me that it was very substantial. But no one has seemed to me concerned to understand how they had been able to bring from a good league where the cypress swamp is and without vehicle trees of such a size, how they could have dug out the earth to such a depth without tools, how finally they had succeeded in planting and dressing these trees without any machine. The reader may perhaps do as I have done. Not being able to do anything else I am forced to guess.

It is in this temple that two men tend the perpetual fire during each quarter of the moon. There are eight guardians for the four quarters, and a superior who is called chief of the guardians of the fire to command them and to see that they do their duty, and to have the wood brought for this fire. This wood must be clear wood. They employ for it only clear white walnut (or hickory) without bark. The logs are 7 to 8 inches in diameter by 8 feet long. They are placed near the temple about the trunk of a tree with a rather short stem. This tree is covered with thorns from the earth to the top. I have given a description of it in the natural history under the name of passion thorn.[a] I have never been able to find out why they have respect for this tree wherever they find it, unless it be on account of the employment to which it is destined. These guardians are interested in preserving the fire, for it costs their lives to let it go out. There is besides, for the service of the temple, a master of ceremonies, who is also the master of the mysteries, since, according to them, he speaks very familiarly to the spirit. In the great ceremonies he wears a crown which has feathers only in front and is thus a half crown. He also has in his hand a red baton ornamented with red or white feathers according to the requirements of the feast. Above all these persons is the great Sun, who is at the same time high priest and sovereign of the nation.[b]

While the main features of this temple are brought out clearly enough in the foregoing descriptions, they are not sufficiently detailed for an accurate reconstruction of the edifice. By piecing together the separate bits of information, however, the following facts may be stated with some degree of confidence. The temple, along with most of the other houses of the grand village, was to the right of the trail from Fort Rosalie. It stood on the west side of the great square which was 250 paces wide by 300 long (Iberville).[c] Directly opposite was the cabin of the great chief, the dimensions of which are given by Iberville as 25 feet wide and 45 feet long, but by Du Pratz as 30 by 30 and 20 feet high. Both of these edifices were raised on mounds of earth, brought from some distance, to a height of 8 or 10 feet above the level of the square. The temple mound fell off gradually on the side toward the square, i. e., the east side, but elsewhere more abruptly, particularly on the south, where St. Catherine's creek ran very near it. Charlevoix gives the dimensions of the temple as 40 feet by 20, Du Pratz about 30 feet each way, and Pénicaut 20 fathoms each way. This last estimate is greatly exaggerated, as is the same author's figure for the thickness of its walls, 3 fathoms, although since the walls of the Taënsa temple were 7 or 8 feet thick, we may judge that this was considerable. Probably the ground plan was not quite square, though Charlevoix may have elongated it too much. Still the proportionate length he gives is not as extreme as the only dimensions given for the Taënsa temple, 30 feet by 12 inside. The door was to the east, toward the square, and on the roof were three birds carved out of wood facing in the same direction. One of these was at each end and one in the middle. Charlevoix mentions but two birds, but Du Pratz says three, writers on the Taënsa temple unanimously speak of three, and it is therefore probable that the Natchez temple possessed the same number. According to Du Pratz, the southern third of the building was cut off by an inside partition which communicated only with the larger space. This is not mentioned by any other writer, but there is little doubt that Du Pratz was correct. In the middle of the building or of the larger room burned, or rather smoldered, the eternal fire, which was fed continually by three logs shoved into it endwise from as many different directions. Directly back of this was a low table or platform, the dimensions of which are given by Charlevoix as 5 feet long, 4 broad, and 3 high, and by Du Pratz as 6 feet long, 2 broad, and 4 high. On this Charlevoix saw nothing, but Du Pratz states that it bore a basket containing the bones of the last great Sun.

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[a] It seems to be the honey locust.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 15–20.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 411.

Up to this point there is considerable agreement among the various writers, but it is evident that the rest of the furniture of the temple was changed from time to time, for the authorities differ considerably regarding it. Charlevoix saw "only three or four chests placed irregularly, in which were some dry bones, and upon the ground some wooden heads, a little better wrought than the two eagles on the roof." Pénicaut states that it contained the figure of a rattlesnake, a quantity of little stone figures inclosed in a coffer, and a necklace of very fine pearls, of which two or three were taken out from time to time to place around the necks of the infant Nobles. Gravier, however, whose account is the earliest, also seems to have seen the most. His description is not as clear as could be desired, but it may be gathered that he found three large baskets or basket-work receptacles supported on as many platforms, and that one of these was supposed to contain the spirit of the Natchez and of each of the neighboring nations, while the two others inclosed the bones of chiefs who had recently died. The bones of those who had died farther back had probably been placed in the ground to make way for these late remains. The presence of two sorts of cane baskets, one for the spirits and another for the bones of departed chiefs, is confirmed analogically by what is said of the Taënsa temple:

> In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are inclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims who had caused themselves to be strangled, to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets, very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jawbones of large fish.[a] In the year 1699 they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass which they guarded as very precious.[b]

Moreover, De Montigny says, speaking of temples in general: "There is almost nothing in these temples; there are, however, some figurines of men and beasts carved quite rudely and many chests of the bones of the most honored who have died."[c]

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[a] It will be remembered that Gravier himself found a piece of crystal in the Natchez temple.

[b] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 122–125.

[c] De Montigny, letter of Aug. 25, 1699, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 40.

In the inner sanctuary Du Pratz could make out nothing except "two planks worked by hand on which are many minute carvings." It is to be suspected, however, that these were only accessories to a more important inhabitant of the inner sanctuary, and that this was no other than the stone statue, referred to by St. Cosme, into which the founder of the rites of the Natchez nation and the progenitor of its royal family had metamorphosed himself. This was without doubt the principal treasure of the temple, and the real object of its existence.[a]

Charlevoix states that all the nations of Louisiana were obliged to rekindle their sacred fires at the temple of the Mobilians,[b] but the position here assigned to them seems strange in view of the distance of that tribe from the Natchez, their comparative insignificance, and Pénicaut's statement that they had no temple.[c] Charlevoix was probably led to his conclusion by the prominent position occupied by them in the De Soto chronicles and still more by the use of their language as a common medium of communication. Du Pratz quotes the Natchez tradition to the effect that anciently they had had two temples,[d] so that if the fire went out in one they could relight it from the other, but he does not indicate where the second was located in his day or, if it no longer existed, what supplied its place. One is tempted to think that the fire would have been brought from the Taënsa temple, the Taënsa being an offshoot of the Natchez, or possibly from that of the Chitimacha, who, according to Du Pratz, were called "brothers" by the Natchez. That we have no direct statement regarding fire being brought from the Taënsa may be partly explained by the fact that their temple was destroyed in the earliest period of European intercourse. However, the positive statement of Father Poisson would seem to be better than any conjecture, however plausible, and he says "they know by tradition that, if it (the fire) happen to be extinguished, they must go to the Tonicas to relight it."[e] The full possible significance of this does not appear until one remembers that the Tunica and their neighbors seem to represent the pre-Muskhogean culture of the Mississippi valley.

Of the respect shown to their temple by the Natchez, Gravier says:

> All the men who pass before the temple lay down what they carry and extend their arms toward the temple with loud howlings, and if they have small children they take them up in their arms and, turning toward the temple, they make them touch the ground three times with the forehead.[f]

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[a] See p. 172.

[b] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 170, 1851.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, v, 427.

[d] See pp. 170–171.

[e] Poisson in Jes. Rel., LXVII, 312–313.

[f] Gravier in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 141, and Jes. Rel., LXV, 143.

He adds that these howlings were of the same kind as those uttered when they passed before the great chief or the woman chief, or when they gave them food or drink or presented them with a pipe to smoke. Regarding the offering to the temple, Charlevoix and Le Petit make the following statements:

> The fathers of families never fail to bring to the temple the first fruits of everything they gather; and they do the same by all the presents that are made to the nation. They expose them at the door of the temple, the keeper of which, after having presented them to the spirits, carries them to the great chief, who distributes them to whom he pleases. The seeds are in like manner offered before the temple with great ceremony, but the offerings which are made there of bread and flour every new moon are for the use of the keepers of the temple.[a]

> The fathers of families do not fail to carry to the temple the first of their fruits, their corn and vegetables. It is the same even with presents which are made to this nation; they are immediately offered at the door of the temple, when the guardian, after having displayed and presented them to the spirits, carries them to the house of the great chief, who makes a distribution of them as he judges best, without any person testifying the least discontent.
>
> They never plant their fields without having first presented the seed in the temple with the accustomed ceremonies. As soon as these people approach the temple, they raise their arms by way of respect and utter three howls, after which they place their hands on the earth and raise themselves again three times with as many reiterated howls. When anyone has merely to pass before the temple, he only pauses to salute it by his downcast eyes and raised arms. If a father or mother see their son fail in the performance of this ceremony, they will punish him immediately with repeated blows of a stick.[b]

De Montigny learned that—

> when strangers made * * * a present of some consequence, they (the recipients) did not take it at once in their hands, but had it carried to the temple. There they thanked the Spirit for it. Turning toward the temple, they uttered certain words, raising their hands to heaven and then placing them on their heads. They completed this ceremony by turning toward the four quarters of the world.
>
> When savages of another nation came to a village, they repaired ordinarily to the temple, in order to make some presents there, which they placed before the door and which were shared afterward by all the members of the tribe.[c]

The temple was a characteristic feature of lower Mississippi culture. Specific references are made to temples among the Natchez, Taënsa, Quinipissa, Mugulasha, Acolapissa, Pascagoula and Biloxi, Houma, Grigra, and Tunica, but the smaller tribes had them also. Charlevoix says, "The greater part of the nations of Louisiana had formerly their temples, as well as the Natchez, and in all these temples there was a perpetual fire,"[d] while Du Pratz enlarges upon the subject thus:

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 166, 1851.

[b] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 138–141.

[c] Gosselin on the authority of De Montigny, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 48.

[d] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 170, 1851.

> All the peoples of Louisiana have temples, which are more or less well cared for according to the ability of the nation, and all, as I have said, put their dead in the earth, or in tombs within the temples or very near them, or in the neighborhood. Many of these nations have only very simple temples, which one would often take for private cabins. However, when one comes to know he distinguishes them by means of two wooden posts at the door made like boundary posts with a human head, which hold the swinging door with a fragment of wood planted in the earth at each end, so that the children may not be able to open the door and go into the temple to play. In this way the door can be raised only above these posts, which are at least 3 feet high, and it requires a strong man to lift it. These are the little nations which have these temples that one would confound with cabins. The latter have in truth posts and a similar door; but the posts are smooth, and these doors open sideways, because there is no fragment of wood at the end. A woman or a child is able to open these doors from the outside or inside, and at night one closes them and fastens them inside to keep the dogs from coming into the cabins. The cabins of the Natchez Suns have, in truth, posts like those of the temples, but their temple was very easy to recognize in accordance with the description I have given of it. Besides, near these little temples some distinctive marks are always to be seen, which are either small elevations of earth or some little dishes which announce that in this place there are bodies interred, or one perceives some raised tombs, if the nation has this custom.[a]

The Mobile, however, in spite of an erroneous impression of Charlevoix, did not have a true temple, and none was found among the Quapaw. To the westward the Chitimacha had sacred houses resembling temples in many ways, but nothing of the kind is recorded among the Atakapa. They may, therefore, be said to have been confined to tribes on or near the Mississippi from the Yazoo to the Gulf and as far east as Pascagoula river.

For an understanding of the position of the temple in Natchez religious life we are almost entirely dependent on the narrative of Le Page du Pratz. His information was obtained from the chief of the guardians of the temple and the great Sun, those undoubtedly best fitted to inform him, and there is no reason to believe that he has willfully misrepresented their statements. At the same time Europeans in general knew too little of Indian modes of thought, and Du Pratz himself was bound to be the victim of too many preconceptions for us to hope that the account we have received from him is an exact one. However, by tempering his narrative with what our present information teaches us to expect from Indian sources, we can probably reconstruct a fairly satisfactory outline of Natchez beliefs.

The only lengthy attempts to treat of these are by Du Pratz. Before his own work was written he furnished a shorter statement to Dumont, which is as follows:

> They agree that there is a supreme being, author of all things, whom they name *Coyocop-Chill*. The word *Coyocop* signifies in general a spirit, but that of *Chill* can not be well rendered in our language. To enable it to be understood I will make use of a comparison. Fire, for example, is called *oüa* by the sav-

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 21–23.

ages, and the sun *Oüa-Chill;* that is to say, fire *par excellence*, the most excellent of all fires, or, if one wishes, the supreme fire. Also in this sense *Coyocop-Chill* would signify the spirit *par excellence*, the supreme spirit. They say that this great spirit has created all things by his goodness alone, even the angels which they call *Coyocop-Thecou*, that is ministering spirits. According to them these ministering spirits have been created in order to be always present before the supreme spirit. It is through them that all nature has been formed by the order and the will of the supreme spirit except man who alone has been formed by this same spirit from a little earth and water kneaded together. They add that when he had made, formed, completed, and rounded him and found him good, he placed him on the earth and breathed upon him, that immediately this little figure put itself in motion, had life, and began to grow. I asked them how the woman had been formed. They replied that they did not know anything about that, but that apparently she had been formed in the same manner. I said no and explained to them the manner in which it was done. They appeared very well satisfied with that enlightenment.[a]

Following is Du Pratz's more elaborate narrative contained in his own work:

I wished to know first of the guardian of the temple what he and his fellow countrymen thought of God. In the common [i. e., Mobilian] language *coustiné* signifies 'spirit,' *tchito*, 'great,' and as all the natives, whatever language they speak, employ the words Great Spirit to express the word God, I asked him in the Natchez language what he thought of the Great Spirit, *Coyocop-cliguip*, because in their language, which I knew passably, *coyocop* signifies 'spirit,' and *cliguip* signifies 'great.' I was mistaken, however, for just as in French the word *grand* does not always signify the height or the length, but the qualities revealed, as when one says *un grand roi, un grand général*, in the same way the word *cliguip* has the two significations; and in spite of that I had not yet attained by this word to the idea they have of God. The guardian of the temple then told me that they did not call him so but *Coyocop-chill*. To give an accurate idea of what this word *chill* signifies I will make use of an example. The Natchez call common fire *oüa*, they call the sun *oüa-chill*, the very great fire, the supreme fire. Thus in giving to God the name *Coyocop-chill* they mean the spirit infinitely great, the spirit *par excellence*, and the spirit according to their way of thinking, as far above other spirits as the sun by means of his heat exceeds the fiery element. I think myself obliged to give this explanation and to adduce this example in order to develop the idea which they have of God through the name which they give him.

He then told me that God was so powerful that all things were nothing before him, that he had made all that we see, and that we are able to see; that he was so good that he was not able to do harm to anyone even if he wished it; that he thought that God had made all things by his will; that nevertheless the little spirits who were servants of God might, indeed, at his order have made in the universe the beautiful works which we admire, but that God himself had formed man with his own hands.

He added that they called these little spirits *Coyocop-téchou*, which signifies free servant,[b] but also one as submissive and respectful as a slave; that the spirits were always present before God, ready to execute his wishes with extreme diligence; that the air was filled with other spirits of which some were worse than others; that they had a chief yet worse than themselves, but that God had found him so bad that he had tied him forever, so that these other spirits of the air no longer did as much harm, especially when one prayed to them to do nothing, for it is a religious custom among these people to fast and to invoke the spirits of the air in order to have rain or fair weather according to their needs. I have seen the great Sun fast for nine consecutive days, eating only grains of corn without meat or fish, drinking water only, and not approaching women all that time. What he did then was to please some Frenchmen who complained that it had not rained for a long time. These people, who had little wisdom, did not notice that in spite of the lack of rain the productions of the earth would not suffer because the dew is so abundant in summer that it conveniently supplies this defect.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 161–163.

[b] *Dico'n* is the Natchez word for "servant" at the present day.—J. R. S.

The guardian of the temple having stated that God had formed man with his own hands, I asked him if he knew how that was done. He replied that according to their ancient word God had kneaded clay like that of which they made pottery; that he had made of it a little man, and that after having examined it and found it well formed he had breathed on his work; that as soon as this little man had received life he had thought, acted, walked, and had found himself a grown man very well shaped. As he did not speak to me of the woman I asked him how he thought she had been made. He told me that apparently she had been made in the same manner as the man; that their ancient word did not say anything about it, and it only taught them that the man had been formed first—the stronger and the more courageous because he was going to be the chief and the stay of the woman who was made to be his companion.

I did not fail on this subject, any more than on that of the aerial spirits and the prayers which they addressed to them, to rectify his ideas and to direct them to the truth which our religion teaches and that the sacred books have transmitted to us. He heard me with great attention and promised to teach all I had said to the old men of his nation, who would certainly not forget it, adding that we were fortunate to be able to retain such beautiful things by means of the "speaking stuff." It is thus they name papers that have been written on and books.

After this preliminary [talk] I went straight at my object, and I wished to know of him who had taught them to build a temple, whence had come the eternal fire which they preserved with so much care, and the institution of their feasts. No one, said I, knows it among us, and I beg you to inform me. He replied in these terms:

"Ought you to be astonished that the French warriors are ignorant of these things? They are young; see only young women with whom they amuse themselves; and what can they teach them except what they themselves have learned from their mothers? And what do their mothers know? Nothing at all. The old men who keep the ancient word (it must be remembered that this is the tradition) never speak before the women. Even among the men they choose to teach it to those whom they recognize as having the most intelligence." The guardian of the temple by this word intelligence meant memory. In their simplicity these people are unable, like ourselves, to distinguish the one from the other, not at all doubting that one can have intelligence even though he lacks memory. I knew their way of thinking, so I did not interrupt, and he continued in this manner:

"The duty which I have obliges me to know all that you ask of me. I am going then to relate it to you. Listen to me. A very great number of years ago there appeared among us a man and his wife who had descended from the Sun. It is not that we thought that he was the son of the Sun or that the Sun had a wife by whom he begot children, but when both of them were seen they were still so brilliant that it was not difficult to believe that they had come from the Sun. This man told us that having seen from above that we did not govern ourselves well, that we did not have a master, that each one of us believed that he had sufficient intelligence to govern others while he was not able to guide himself, he had taken the determination to descend in order to teach us how to live better.

"He then told us that in order to be in a condition to govern others it was necessary to know how to guide one's self, and that in order to live in peace among ourselves and please the Supreme Spirit it was necessary to observe these points: To kill no one except in defense of one's own life, never to know another woman than one's own, to take nothing that belongs to another, never to lie or become drunk, and not to be avaricious, but to give freely and with joy that which one has, and to share food generously with those who lack it.

"This man impressed us by these words because he said them with authority, and he obtained the respect of the old men themselves, although he did not spare them more than the others. The old men assembled then and resolved among themselves that since this man had so much intelligence to teach them what it was good to do he must be recognized as sovereign, so much the more as in governing them himself he could make them remember better than any other what he had taught them. So they went in the early morning to the cabin where they had had him sleep with his wife and proposed to him to be our sovereign. He refused at first, saying that he would not be obeyed and the disobedient would not fail to die. But finally he accepted the offer that was made him on the following conditions:

"That we would go to inhabit another country better than that where we were, and which he would show us; that we would live in future as he had taught us the evening before; that we would promise to recognize no other sovereign besides himself and those who should descend from him and his wife; that nobility should be perpetuated through the women, which he explained to us in this way: If I have, said he to us, male and female children, they will not be able to marry each other, being brothers and sisters, to which he added that the boy should take from among the people a girl that pleased him; that this man should be sovereign; that his sons should not be even princes, but only Nobles; that the children of the daughter, on the other hand, should be princes and princesses; that the eldest of the males should be sovereign and the eldest girl the princess who should give birth to the sovereign; that the descendants of the sovereign and the princes should descend in caste and not those of the girl, although this princess daughter or another princess had married a man of the people; that thus the princes and princesses should not ally themseves together, nor yet own cousins and the issues of own cousins; and that finally, in the absence of a sister of the sovereign, his nearest female relative should be the mother of his successor. Pursuing his speech, he then said to us that in order not to forget the good words which he had brought to us a temple should be built into which only princes and princesses (male and female Suns) should have a right to enter to speak to the Spirit; that in this temple should be preserved eternally a fire which he would make descend from the Sun, whence he had come; that the wood with which it was fed should be a pure wood without bark; that eight wise men should be chosen in the nation to guard it and tend it day and night; that they should have a chief who should watch over the manner in which they performed their duty; and that the one who failed in it should be put to death. He then wished that at the other extremity of the country which we should inhabit (and our nation was then much more extensive than it is now) a second temple should be built, where in like manner fire should be kept which had been taken from the first, so that if it came to be extinguished in the one they could seek the other, in order to relight it, and he informed us that if this misfortune ever happened death would extend itself over our nation until the fire was relighted.

"They promised him to observe and perform all these things, and then he consented to be our sovereign, but he did not wish to be called by any other name than *Thé*, which signifies 'thee.'[a] However, after his death his descendants were called Suns, because they came out originally from the Sun and because *Thé* was so brilliant that one could scarcely look at him. Then he had the temples built, established the guardians of the temple, 8 for each, and for each temple a chief of the guardians, and in presence of the entire nation he made descend the fire of the Sun on the walnut (hickory) wood which he had prepared, and when it was lighted some of it was carried with much attention and respect into the other temple, which was at the farther extremity of our country. He lived a very long time, and saw the children of his children. Finally he instituted the feasts which you see."

Such was the statement of the guardian of the temple, by which one may learn that the docility with which the Natchez nation submitted to the wise laws of this extraordinary man who appeared suddenly in the midst of them witnesses to a good depth of character. In fact, they are gentle, humane, truthful, and very charitable. More than one Frenchman has experienced this last quality among them.

He did not speak to me of any sacrifices, libations, or offerings, because they make none. Their entire cult consists in maintaining the eternal fire, and it is that for which the great Sun watches with particular attention over the chief of the guardians of the temple. The one who ruled in my time, and whom I knew particularly, went every day into his temple to see whether the fire continued. His vigilance had been excited by the fear which had been impressed upon him by a terrible hurricane which passed over this district and had lasted for two days. Since this country, as I have already said, is very beautiful and the air there is generally pure and serene, this extraordinary event had appeared to him to announce something sinister, and the firm persuasion which the people have that the extinction of the sacred fire infallibly involves the death of a great number of men had made him apprehend lest this second accident, uniting itself to the first, the entire nation would perish. The history of the Natchez confirmed him in this fear through the example of a misfortune from which they had not yet been able to recover. It was this that the great Sun related to me one day when he had come to see me, in the following terms:

"Our nation," said he to me, "was formerly very numerous and very powerful. It extended for more than twelve days' journey from east to west and more than fifteen from south to north. It then counted 500 Suns, and you can judge by that what was the number of the Nobles, the Honored men, and the common people. You know that there are always two guardians in the temple to care for the sacred fire. But once in the past it happened that one of these two men went out for some purpose, and while he was away his companion fell asleep and let the fire go out. When he awoke, seeing the fire extinguished, fright seized him. But as his companion had not yet come back he determined to conceal his fault, because he was easily able to do it, in order to escape the death which he had merited. He called then to the first passer and begged him to bring him fire with which to light his calumet (his pipe), a thing which this person did willingly, well knowing that it is not permitted to touch the eternal fire except to tend it, and that no other use could be made of it.

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[a] The usual pronominal prefix meaning "I" or "me" is *ta*. No other form approaches this.

"Thus this fire was relighted with profane fire. Immediately sickness took hold of the Suns. In a few days they were seen to die in rapid succession, and it was necessary to send after them into the world of spirits many people to serve them. This mortality lasted four years, without anyone being able to guess what had occasioned it. Nine great Suns who succeeded each other died in this interval, and a multitude of people with them. Finally, at the end of this time the guardian himself fell ill. This bad man, feeling that he was not able to live a long time, had word sent to the great Sun at once that he had something to communicate to him of such great importance that if he died without revealing it all the Natchez would die. The great Sun went to see him as quickly as possible. As soon as the sick man perceived him his whole body trembled and he appeared unable to speak. However, he spoke these words, although with difficulty:

"'I am going to die, so it makes no difference to me whether the sickness or a man kills me. I know that I am a bad man for having for so long a time concealed, in order to preserve my life, what I am going to tell you. I am the cause of the death of my nation, therefore I merit death, but let me not be eaten by the dogs.'

"The great Sun understood by these words that this man was guilty of some great crime, and that it was necessary to reassure him in order to draw from him his secret, which appeared to be of the last importance. He therefore told him that whatever he had done he might be assured that he would not be put to death and that he would be buried, that what he had promised him was as true as it was true that the Sun, their father, lighted them every day, and that he should hasten to speak before death prevented him. On this promise the bad guardian confessed all that he had done, which I have related to you.

"Immediately the great Sun assembled the old men and by their advice it was resolved to go that very day to wrest fire from the other temple. That was executed and the Suns ceased dying." This expression, "to wrest fire," appearing extraordinarily to me, I asked the great Sun what it signified. He replied that it was necessary that the fire be carried away by violence and that blood be shed over it, unless on the way lightning was seen to fall on a tree and set fire to it, that then they might spare themselves the trouble of going farther and take this fire, but that that of the Sun was always preferable.[a]

In the narrative of the temple guardian as recorded by Du Pratz, the Culture hero is said to have died after seeing his children's children. Fortunately a little more regarding the fate of this founder of the Natchez state is preserved by St. Cosme, which supplements Du Pratz's narrative in some important particulars. He says:

> The chiefs were regarded as spirits descended from a kind of idol which they have in their temple and for which they have a great respect. It is a stone statue inclosed in a wooden box. They say that this is not properly the great spirit, but one of his relatives which he formerly sent into this place to be the master of the earth; that this chief became so terrible that he made men die merely by his look; that in order to prevent it he had a cabin made for himself into which he entered and had himself changed into a stone statue for fear that his flesh would be corrupted in the earth.[b]

The thought at once presents itself that Du Pratz's informant broke off his narrative at this point because he did not wish to make known the secret of the sacred stone, the palladium of the nation, and the real occasion for the existence of the temple. How St. Cosme discovered this fact he does not say, but at the time he wrote the letter containing this information he had been more than five years among the Natchez, and in a tribe of 3,000 souls it would be difficult to keep such a secret. At the same time Du Pratz appears to have lived near them for a longer period without having come upon it. At any rate the main fact was most unexpectedly confirmed to the present writer on his visit to the Natchez remnant near Braggs, Okla. During his stay there he employed as interpreter a Cherokee whose grandfather had belonged to the people under consideration, and one day, when we were talking about them, the interpreter stated that his father used to say the Natchez were the only Indians who worshiped an idol, which in their case was a stone. In matters of this kind it is always possible to be mistaken, yet the question naturally presents itself whether the sacred stone of the Natchez may not have been carried from its ancient abode in the Natchez temple, and have accompanied the declining remnant during all their vicissitudes, and whether finally it may not still be in existence. It would also be interesting to know whether this stone was artificially worked into a human or animal form as St. Cosme's words seem to imply or whether it was a natural bowlder; also whether it was an ordinary stone or a meteorite.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 326–341.

[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 39–40.

Of the multitudinous beliefs and myths that must have existed regarding the various animals, plants, and natural objects, practically nothing remains that may be distinctly recognized as Natchez. According to Pénicaut and certain informants of Charlevoix, one of the furnishings of the great temple was the figure of a rattlesnake, and independently of these statements it is highly probable that this reptile was considered to be possessed of great supernatural power. This is confirmed somewhat by the terror one of these creatures inspired in the Natchez neighbors of Du Pratz. One of them who had a cabin close to his and had discovered that a rattlesnake had taken up its residence near by, moved to the village, declaring that "if this animal once felt the heat it would devour some one of his household."[a]

The honey locust ("passion thorn") was considered of much power or consequence by the Natchez, and under a tree of this kind standing near the great temple the firewood for the eternal fire was always laid.[b]

"Green flies," says Du Pratz, "appear only every two years, and the natives have the superstition of considering that they presage a good harvest."[c]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 189–194.

[b] Ibid., II, 47; see also pp. 162–163.

[c] Ibid., 146–147.

One time Du Pratz called attention to the fact that a dead kingfisher when suspended from the ceiling by a thread, faced up into the wind as in life, whereupon the natives who accompanied him said "that its soul must still govern its body."[a] Portents were undoubtedly as confidently looked for as by other of the lower races, since they could not be persuaded that a particularly gorgeous sunset did not menace the red men with some misfortune, "because," said they, "the sky appeared red and as if angry."[b]

When a tree in the neighborhood of the Natchez houses in the Cherokee nation was struck by lightning the writer was informed that the Indians would insist on burning every chip of wood belonging to it.

It seems clear from these statements that, as in the case of other American tribes, the Natchez believed the universe to be filled with spirits in human forms, and that there were differences in power among these, the most powerful of all being a sky deity resident in or connected with the Sun. The Sun clan or caste was considered to be descended from him, and hence had a divine right to the unusual honors and regard lavished upon it, while, as head of the Sun people, the great chief was the representative of the deity on earth and was to be treated accordingly. This view is supported by Charlevoix and Le Petit in the following words:

> Every morning as soon as the Sun appears, the great chief comes to the door of his cabin, turns himself to the east, and howls three times, bowing down to the earth. Then they bring him a calumet, which serves only for this purpose. He smokes, and blows the smoke of his tobacco toward the Sun; then he does the same thing toward the other three parts of the world. He acknowledges no superior but the Sun, from which he pretends to derive his origin. He exercises an unlimited power over his subjects, can dispose of their goods and lives, and for whatever labors he requires of them they can not demand any recompense."[c]

> The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they can not conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together they raise a mound of artificial soil on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterwards raising his hand above his head and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course.[d]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 118.

[b] Ibid., III, 225.

[c] Charlevoix in French Hist. Coll. La., 163, 1851.

[d] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 126–127.

It will be noted, furthermore, that the names applied to the servants of the great Sun and the subordinate spirits of the supreme deity were identical. In other words, the Natchez state was a theocracy. The supreme being resided in the Sun; the son or near relative of the supreme being, having come to earth, taught men religious customs, and established their system of government, had retired into or taken the form of a stone, which continued to dwell with them in the innermost sanctuary of their temple; and his descendants ruled in his place, acted as mediators between him and the supreme deity on the one hand and the common people on the other, and were reverenced either as gods or demigods. This stone image represented a higher development of the idea contained in the sacred stone of the Kiowa, the pipe of the Arapaho, the arrows of the Cheyenne, and perhaps the "ark" of the Mandan. The sacred fire, while not the holiest object in the temple, was next in consequence, owing to its supposedly solar origin, and necessarily strengthened communications between the deity and his chosen people. It was natural, therefore, that the distinctive badge of the Natchez among the Indian tribes of that region should be the Sun, just as that of the Chakchioumas was the crawfish and that of the Bayogoulas the alligator, each of which was probably the tribal totem or the tribal medicine.[a] Could we but bring back the Natchez nation as it once existed in its integrity, we should probably find their entire national life, its arts, industries, and the doings of daily life, as well as its religious rites and social organization, woven through and through with solar ideas.

The mention of a supreme deity at once raises the oft-mooted question in what sense this deity was regarded by the Indians themselves as supreme. There can be no doubt, in view of the theocratic nature of Natchez society, that for them the sky deity was vastly more powerful than all others, but we are also told of numbers of lower deities called servants of the Sun, therefore he was not the sole deity. His position was evidently thought of as similar to that of the great Sun in the absence of the other Suns. Other deities, as we are in fact informed, were addressed in prayer and were supposed to answer such prayers, no doubt without consulting their master at all. In case, however, the master interested himself actively in any cause his dictate would certainly have been considered final, overriding the wills of all his inferiors. Besides, the absolute character of the supreme god of the Natchez, so far as they were concerned, need not have included a belief on their part that he was supreme in the affairs of other nations. With the broad tolerance usual among primitive peoples generally in this respect they allowed other tribes whatever deity or deities were proper to them, not attempting to extend the sway of their own in any other way than might happen incidentally through successes in war.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 184–185.

The existence of a distinctly evil spirit is so rare in American religions that we may be sure Du Pratz's statements regarding it were founded on some misunderstood myth, some story of a conflict between the sky god and an earth or mountain spirit. Among certain tribes a spirit lying under the earth and believed to support it has been identified with the devil by partly missionized Indians, and something of the kind may have taken place here.[a]

The ethical principles inculcated by this hero are entirely credible if we assume their application to extend no farther than the Natchez. Two of these ethical principles are also noted by Dumont in the following words:

> * * * They have by way of principle not to take the wife of another and not to kill those who do not harm them. Here is within these two articles the summary and the epitome of their morality.[b]

In spite of Du Pratz's denial of the existence of sacrifices and offerings, it is quite evident that the gifts to the temple and to the Suns were of the same nature. So, also, was the following custom mentioned by Dumont:

> When a savage comes into a house, if bread is presented to him he accepts it, but before eating he never fails to break off four little pieces, which he throws toward the four quarters of the world. When he is asked why he does it and what this ceremony signifies, he does not know it and has no reply to make except that it is their custom.[c]

The stories of the Bible have been responsible for the rescue of considerable mythological material among all tribes, and to them we undoubtedly owe our knowledge of the existence of flood legends among the tribes of Louisiana. De la Vente writes of them: "They have with many other savages these traditions that the grand chief formerly inundated the whole earth by means of a general deluge."[d] And Du Pratz says:

> * * * I asked him [the chief of the guardians of the temple] if they had any knowledge of the deluge. He replied that the ancient word taught all the red men that almost all men were destroyed by waters except a very small number, who had saved themselves on a very high mountain; that he knew nothing more regarding this subject except that these few people had repeopled the earth. As the other nations had told me the same thing, I was assured that all the nations thought the same regarding this event.[e]

It is curious that in his own work Du Pratz tells us less than he was able to impart to Dumont five years earlier. The account which he then furnished was as follows:

> I then asked them if they had heard the deluge spoken of. They told me, "Yes;" but it must be admitted that what they related to me appeared to have

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[a] For additional information on the subject of good and bad spirits, see p. 334.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 166.

[c] Ibid., 158.

[d] De la Vente in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 40.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 27.

less truth than fable. They said that a great rain fell on the earth so abundantly and during such a long time that it was completely covered except a very high mountain where some men saved themselves; that all fire being extinguished on the earth a little bird named *Coüy-oüy*, which is entirely red (it is that which is called in Louisiana the cardinal bird), brought it from heaven. I understood by that that they had forgotten almost all the history of the deluge, etc.[a]

In order to bring about certain results or accomplish certain undertakings the Natchez often fasted. Such a fast has been referred to already as undertaken by the great Sun to bring on rain, and further information is given by Du Pratz:

> * * * I believe I have said that these people think in general that besides the Great Spirit and the evil spirit there are little spirits which govern the air and the seasons. When they think they have need of rain or of heat to ripen the grains they address themselves to an old man, or a man well advanced in years, who has always appeared to them to live wisely, and they pray him to invoke the aerial spirits in order to obtain what they want. This man, who never refuses his countrymen, sets himself to fast for nine successive days.[b]
>
> This old man who fasts makes his wife withdraw, and during twenty-four hours she sees him only after sunset in order to bring him a dish of coarse meal cooked in water without salt. He eats only at this time and this single dish and drinks nothing but water. As soon as he has taken this refreshment his wife carries away the dish and retires and he does not see her until the next day at the same hour. This is all I am able to tell of their fasts, which appeared to me very rigorous and as a recompense for which they would never accept anything. To excuse themselves they say that the spirits would be angry.[c]

The existence of various "superstitions" is also recognized by Dumont, and these were said to vary according to the nations and countries, but the only case he cites is among the Quapaw.[d]

"It has been noticed," says Dumont—

> That the Natchez, for example, had fast days in which they daubed the face black and ate only after the sun had set; besides, it was first necessary that their faces be washed. If during these fast days they entered some French house where bread was given them, although they were very fond of it, they refused it, and it was not possible to get them to eat it.[e]

Fasts, it is to be noted, were not undertaken by a special class of diviners or shamans, but by ordinary individuals. A set of men corresponding to the shamans or medicine men of other American tribes was recognized, as noted in the section on medicine, and though Du Pratz declares that their functions were confined to doctoring the sick it seems unlikely that the supernatural features of their office, elsewhere so prominent, should have been entirely wanting, and, in fact, Charlevoix and Le Petit show that they did exist. Yet it is possible that the theocratic organization of the Natchez had gone so far as to suppress them in large measure. It is, perhaps, in confirmation of this view that the only supernatural feat specifically recorded by Dumont was by a shaman among the Yazoo. On this aspect of the shamanistic profession he speaks very naïvely as follows:

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 163–164.

[b] In a footnote this writer says: "It must be remembered that the Natchez are here principally referred to."

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 13–14.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 166–168.

[e] Ibid., 158.

> Besides the medical talent which makes these *alexis* famous among these peoples they have also among them, as I have said, the function of jugglers, that is to say, sorcerers and diviners, and when any pressing need arises, whether individual or public, such as an extraordinary drought, recourse is had to these impostors who, in whatever way they manage, rarely fail to give satisfaction concerning that which is asked of them. I will report on this subject an event of which I was a witness which proves the skill of these charlatans.
>
> The summer of 1723 was so dry that people hardly remembered having seen the like of it in that country. The tobacco and the other plants which had been sowed languished on the earth for lack of water, and if the weather should not change nothing was foreseen but a very bad harvest and almost certain want. There was then at the grant of the late M. le Blanc at the Yazoos a chaplain named l'Abbé Juif, who had served in this same capacity in the armies of His Majesty. In this public calamity this pious ecclesiastic ordered a general fast with orisons for forty hours in the chapel of the grant, and he started processions to bend the anger of God and obtain from His mercy the assistance of which there was need. Heaven was inexorable to their prayers. Despairing of assistance from that quarter, the one who commanded this post had the chief of the jugglers of the Yazoo Nation come, of whom he asked if he would be able to bring water. The savage promised it to him for next day, and I can certify that it rained not only that day, but even the day following. I leave to another to examine by what art the juggler was able to succeed in keeping his word, but the fact is certain. After all it seems to me that one might be able to explain it very naturally, and that for that it would not be necessary to have recourse to the diabolic art.[a]

The Luxembourg Memoir gives an account of the manner in which a shaman obtained his peculiar powers, which, although general, includes the Natchez. He says:

> They have among them doctors, who, like the ancient Egyptians, do not separate medicine from magic. In order to attain to these sublime functions a savage shuts himself into his cabin alone for nine days without eating, with water only; everyone is forbidden to disturb him. There holding in his hand a kind of gourd filled with shells, with which he makes a continual noise, he invokes the Spirit, prays Him to speak to him and to receive him as a doctor and magician, and that with cries, howls, contortions, and terrible shakings of the body, until he gets himself out of breath and foams in a frightful manner. This training being completed at the end of nine days, he comes out of his cabin triumphant and boasts of having been in conversation with the Spirit and of having received from Him the gift of healing maladies, driving away storms, and changing the weather. From that time they are recognized as doctors and are very much respected; people have recourse to them in sickness and to obtain

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 173–175.

favorable weather; but it is always necessary to carry presents. It sometimes happens that having received them, if the sick person is not cured or the weather does not change, the doctor is killed as an impostor; a fact which causes the most skillful among them only to receive presents when they see an appearance of cure or of change in the weather.[a]

Charlevoix says:

> The jugglers or doctors of the Natchez pretty much resemble those of Canada, and treat their patients much after the same manner. They are well paid when the patient recovers; but if he happens to die it often costs them their lives. There is in this nation another set of jugglers, who run no less risk than these doctors. They are certain lazy old fellows, who, to maintain their families without being obliged to work, undertake to procure rain or fine weather, according as they are wanted. About the springtime they make a collection to buy of these pretended magicians a favorable season for the fruits of the earth. If it is rain they require they fill the mouth with water and with a reed, the end of which is pierced with several holes, like a funnel, they blow into the air, toward the side where they perceive some clouds, while holding their *chichicoué*[b] in one hand, and their manitou[c] in the other, they play upon one, and hold the other up in the air, inviting, by frightful cries, the clouds to water the fields of those who have set them to work.
>
> If the business is to obtain fine weather, they mount on the roofs of their cabins, make signs to the clouds to pass away, and if the clouds pass away and are dispersed they dance and sing around about their idols; then they swallow the smoke of tobacco and present their calumets to the sky. All the time these operations last they observe a strict fast and do nothing but dance and sing. If they obtain what they have promised they are well rewarded; if they do not succeed they are put to death without mercy. But they are not the same who undertake to procure rain and fine weather; the genius of one person can not, as they say, give both.[d]

This nation, like the others, has its medicine men; these are generally old men, who without study or any science undertake to cure all complaints. They do not attempt this by simples, or by drugs; all their art consists in different juggleries; that is to say, that they dance and sing night and day about the sick man and smoke without ceasing, swallowing the smoke of the tobacco. These jugglers eat scarcely anything during all the time that they are engaged in the cure of the sick, but their chants and their dances are accompanied by contortions so violent that, although they are entirely naked and should naturally suffer from cold, yet they are always foaming at the mouth. They have a little basket in which they keep what they call their spirits; that is to say, small roots of different kinds, heads of owls, small parcels of the hair of fallow deer, some teeth of animals, some small stones or pebbles, and other similar trifles.

It appears that to restore health to the sick, they invoke without ceasing that which they have in their basket. Some of them have there a certain root which by its smell can put serpents to sleep and render them senseless. After having rubbed their hands and body with this root, they take hold of these reptiles without fearing their bite, which is mortal. Sometimes they cut, with a flint, the part affected with the malady, and then suck out all the blood they can draw from it, and in returning it immediately into a dish, they at the same time spit out a little piece of wood, or straw, or leather, which they have concealed under the tongue. Drawing to it the attention of the relatives of the sick man, "There," say they, "is the cause of the sickness." These medicine men are always paid in advance. If the sick man recovers their gain is very considerable, but if he should die they are sure to have their heads cut off by the relatives or friends of the deceased. This never fails to take place, and even the relatives of the medicine man find nothing at all of which to complain, and do not testify any concern.

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[a] Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 141–142.

[b] Rattle.

[c] Probably medicine; see succeeding account.

[d] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 168, 1851.

There is the same rule with some other jugglers who undertake to procure rain or fair weather. These are commonly indolent old men, who, wishing to avoid the labor which is required in hunting, fishing, and the cultivation of the fields, exercise this dangerous trade to gain a support for their families. Toward spring the nation taxes itself to purchase from these jugglers favorable weather for the fruits of the earth. If the harvest prove abundant, they gain a handsome reward, but if it is unfortunate, they take it from them and cut off their heads. Thus those who engage in this profession risk everything to gain everything. In other respects their life is very idle; they have no other inconvenience than that of fasting and dancing with pipes in their mouths, full of water and pierced like a watering pot, which they blow into the air on the side where the clouds are thickest. In one hand they hold the *sicicouet*, which is a kind of rattle, and in the other their spirits, which they stretch out toward the clouds, uttering frightful cries to invite them to burst upon their fields.

If it is pleasant weather for which they ask, they do not use these pipes, but they mount on the roofs of their cabins, and with their arms make signs to the clouds, blowing with all their strength, that they shall not stop over their lands, but pass beyond. When the clouds are dissipated according to their wish, they dance and sing about their spirits, which they place reverently on a kind of pillow; they redouble their fasts, and when the cloud has passed, they swallow the smoke of tobacco, and hold up their pipes to the sky.

Although no favor is ever shown to these charlatans, when they do not obtain what they ask, yet the profit they receive is so great, when by chance they succeed, that we see a great number of these savages who do not at all fear to run the risks. It is to be observed that he who undertakes to furnish rain never engages to procure pleasant weather. There is another kind of charlatan to whom this privilege belongs, and when you ask them the reason, they answer boldly that their spirits can give but the one or the other.[a]

According to De la Vente, a similar reverence was afterward yielded to Christian missionaries, whom, he says, they regarded as "oracles."[b]

Besides incidental references in various places in the material preceding,[c] we find the following statements regarding belief in a future existence:

* * * They believe in the immortality of the soul, and when they leave this world they go, they say, to live in another, there to be recompensed or punished. The rewards to which they look forward, consist principally in feasting,

and their chastisement in the privation of every pleasure. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observers of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance, that their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances, and women; in short, they will revel in all imaginable pleasures. On the contrary, the violators of their laws will be cast upon lands unfruitful and entirely covered with water, where they will not have any kind of corn, but will be exposed entirely naked to the sharp bites of the mosquitoes, that all nations will make war upon them, that they will never eat meat, and have no nourishment but the flesh of crocodiles (alligators), spoiled fish, and shellfish.[a]

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 150–157.

[b] De la Vente in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 40.

[c] See p. 94, and various places in the section on Funeral Ceremonies.

However, these savage peoples almost all agree that after this life they will go into a much better and more abounding country than this, that there they will never lack anything, that they will have bison and game there in abundance, and that they will there enjoy all kinds of pleasures. But one may say that almost all their religion is confined to that, without this idea of a future life influencing their manners and their conduct.[b]

All the savages believe in the immortality of the soul and above all in metempsychosis. Some imagine that their souls are going to pass into the bodies of certain animals, and they therefore respect that species; others that they are going to revive if they have been brave and good people in a happier nation where hunting never fails, or in a miserable nation and in a country where only alligators are eaten if they have lived badly.[c]

Farther on the same author adds that the souls of the Suns among the Natchez were supposed to go to the luminary from which they originally came. The reference to metempsychosis is unexpected and may be due to a misunderstanding of some totemic notions.

ORIGIN OF THE TRIBE

The identification of Natchez as a Muskhogean dialect [d] goes far to aid us in assigning the people their true position among the tribes of the Gulf region. Although language is no certain clue to blood relationship, it may be affirmed that it is a safe guide to the affinities of that core about which the tribe has been built, and the next questions in order are what section of the nation represented this Muskhogean core and whence were the accretions drawn. Here, however, we shall have to depend rather on probabilities than on solid arguments. If we may judge of the remote past by later occurrences, we might conclude from the fact that the Natchez comprised two subject tribes of the Tunica group, the Grigras and the Tioux, that this group had furnished the lower orders to an aristocratic body of Muskhogeans represented by the nobility. At the same time the position of the two tribes in question seems to have been exceptional, and there is every evidence that the bulk of Stinkards was, to all appearances, of precisely the same race as the orders of Nobles. How could it be otherwise when the Nobles were compelled to marry among them and had Stinkard descendants themselves in three generations? It is true that the speech of the Nobles differed from that of the lower orders, but Du Pratz says "this difference in language exists only in what concerns the persons of the Suns and Nobles in distinction from the people."[a] In other words, the differences were rather matters of etiquette than basal divergences in speech. Unfortunately, very few of the examples of differences in speech between people and nobility can be identified with those in later vocabularies, yet the aspect of neither is at all strange or unlike forms common to the Natchez speech as we know it. Had we better information we should probably find all of the examples resolve themselves into pure Natchez roots. A part of the misunderstanding regarding these etiquette terms has been due to the fact that the language of the Stinkards has been confounded with what Du Pratz calls "the common language," which was Mobilian, the regional medium of communication. Six or seven of the words recorded by French writers and some affixes are among those which show Muskhogean affinities. Nevertheless, as in the case of the English nation, the national speech may have been rather that of the lower classes than that of the Nobles, and a further argument for such a view is contained in the otherwise unique position and organization of this people. However, the former view appears on the whole stronger, since it is supported not only by linguistic considerations but by the appearance of those well-known Muskhogean social groupings into war and peace parties, emblematically represented by the respective colors red and white (see pp. 111, 117). Another Muskhogean feature, important in the present connection, is the existence of a definite migration tradition pointing to a western origin. This was a sacred possession of the nation, intrusted to the chief of the guardians of the temple, and was passed down by him to his successor. Du Pratz claims to have heard it from the guardian of his time, and gives it as follows, in the words of his informant:

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 128–131.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 166.

[c] The Luxembourg, Mémoire sur La Louisiane, 142.

[d] See *Amer. Anthrop.*, IX, n. s., 513–528. A more complete discussion is reserved for future publication.

"Before we came into this land we lived there under the Sun. [He pointed then with his finger almost toward the southwest, and having consulted my compass and a map, I recognized that he spoke to me of Mexico.[b]] We lived in a beautiful country where the earth is always good. It is there that our Suns remained, because the ancients of the country were unable to force us out with all their warriors. They came, indeed, as far as the mountains after having reduced under their power the villages of our people which were in the plains, but our warriors always repulsed them at the entrance of the mountains and they were never able to penetrate there.

"Our entire nation extended along the great water [the sea] where this great river [the River St. Louis] loses itself. Some of our Suns sent up this river to find a place where they might conceal themselves far from the ancients of the country, because after having been a long time good friends they had become ill disposed and so numerous that we were no longer able to defend ourselves against them. All those who dwelt in the plains could not avoid submitting, and those who had retired into the mountains remained alone under obedience to the great Sun. The ancients of the country wished, indeed, to force those of our people whom they had subjugated to join them in order to make war on us, but they preferred to die rather than attack their brothers and especially the Suns.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 324.

[b] The Mississippi. The bracketed portions of this story are Du Pratz's own.

"But those who had ascended along the west side of the great river, having discovered this land which we inhabit, now crossed the river on a raft of dry canes. They found the country such as they desired, suitable for concealing themselves from the ancients of the country, and even easy to defend against them if they ever undertook to attack us there. On their return they reported this to the great Sun and the other Suns who governed the villages.

"The great Sun immediately had those informed who remained in the plains and defended themselves still against the ancients of the country, and ordered them to go into this new land and build there a temple and to carry there the eternal fire in order to preserve it. There came hither a great number, with their wives and their children. The oldest and the Suns, relatives of the great Sun, remained with those who kept with the great Sun and in the mountains. They remained there a still longer time, as well as those who lived on the shores of the great water.

"A large part of our nation being then established here lived a long time in peace and in abundance during many generations. On the other hand, those who had remained under the Sun, or very near, for it was very warm there, did not hasten to come and join us, because the ancients of the country made themselves hated by all men—as much by our nation as by their own. Here is how the ancient word says that that happened.

"The ancients of the country were all brothers—that is to say, they all came out of the same country—but each large village on which many others depended had its head master, and each head master commanded those whom he had brought with him into this land. There was then nothing done among them that all had not consented to, but one of these head masters raised himself above the others and treated them as slaves. Thus the ancients of the country no longer agreed among themselves. They even warred against one another. Some of them united with those of our nation who had remained, and all together they sustained themselves well enough.

"This was not the only reason which retained our Suns in that country. It was hard for them to leave such a good land, and besides their assistance was necessary to our other brothers who were established there like ourselves and who lived along the shore of the great water on the side toward the east. These extended so far that they went very far beyond the Sun, since there were some of them from whom the Sun heard sometimes only at the end of five or six years, and there were yet others so far away from us, whether along the coast or in the islands, that for many years they had not been heard of at all.

"It was only after many generations that these Suns came to join us in this country, where the fine air and the peace which we enjoyed had multiplied us into a number as great as the leaves on the trees. These Suns came alone with their slaves, because our other brothers did not wish to follow them. Warriors of fire[a] had arrived who made the earth tremble and who had beaten the ancients of the country, and our brothers were allied with them, although our Suns had told them that these warriors of fire would subject them after having subjected the ancients of the country, as we have learned has happened.

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[a] The Spaniards.—[DU PRATZ.]

"The great Sun and the Suns who were with him were unable to induce them to follow them, took their farewells, therefore, in order to come alone to rejoin us here for fear lest the warriors of fire should make them slaves, which they feared more than death."

I did not fail to ask him who these warriors of fire were. "They were," said he, "bearded men, white but swarthy. They were called warriors of fire because their arms threw fire with great noise and killed at a great distance. They had other very heavy arms besides, which killed many people at a time, and which made the earth tremble like thunder. They had come on floating villages from the side where the sun rises. They conquered the ancients of the country, of whom they killed as many as there are spears of grass in the prairies, and in the beginning they were good friends of our brothers, but ultimately they made them submit as well as the ancients of the country, as our Suns had foreseen and had foretold to them."

What the guardian of the temple had told me of the ancients of the country naturally led me to ask him who these people were. Here is what he answered:

"We have always called them the ancients of the country because the ancient word teaches us that when we arrived in that country we found them there in great numbers and they appeared to have been there a long time, for they inhabited the entire coast of the great water which is toward the setting sun, as far as the cold country on this side of the sun,[a] and very far along the coast beyond the sun. They had a very large number of large and small villages, all of which were built of stones and in which there were houses large enough to lodge an entire village. Their temples were built with much skill and labor. They made very beautiful things with all kinds of materials, such as gold, silver, stones, wood, fabrics, feathers, and many other things in which they made their skill appear, as well as in manufacturing arms and in making war.

"We knew nothing of them on our arrival in this country. It was only a long time afterward and when we were multiplied that we heard of each other and encountered each other with equal surprise on both sides. They did not war together at all then, and the two nations lived in peace during a great number of years until one of their chiefs who was very powerful and a great warrior undertook to make them his slaves and finally succeeded, and then he also wished to subject us. It was that which obliged us, as I have told you, to abandon that land to come to inhabit this."

"But you yourselves," said I to him, "from whence are you come?" "The ancient word," replied he, "says nothing of what land we came from. All that it teaches us is that our fathers to come here followed the sun and came with it from where it rises, that they were a long time on the journey, saw themselves on the point of dying utterly and found themselves brought into this land without searching for it. Do not ask me more, for the ancient word says nothing besides and no old man will ever tell you what I do not tell you."[b]

The amount of truth concealed in this narrative will perhaps never be known, especially as there are so many discrepancies between the topography of the country described by the chief guardian and that we are acquainted with to the southwest of the Natchez country. At the same time there is no good reason to believe that Du Pratz has fabricated the narrative entire, though he very likely distorted it unconsciously to agree with some preconceptions of his own. Leaving aside his deductions, the gist of this narrative appears to be that the Natchez supposed themselves to have originally come from the eastward into a country to the southwest of their historical habitat, where they found apparently a semicivilized race of people whom they called "ancients of the country," or, as we would say, "aborigines." After warring with these people for some time and being hard pressed, a portion ascended the Mississippi river on the west side and crossed to the place afterward occupied by them. The tradition is suggestive in its statement that the Natchez rulers—that is, the Sun clan—did not join the rest of their people until later. In all probability the earlier part of the tradition dealing with their migration from the east is entirely mythical, having grown up around their Sun cult.

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[a] This seems to contain the European idea of two cold regions with a torrid zone between, and therefore must be Du Pratz's own words.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 62–70.

A former location of this tribe in a region somewhere to the west is also confirmed by De la Vente, who says:

> The Natchez, who have the most definite (*assurées*) traditions and who count 45 or 50 chiefs who have succeeded each other successively, say that they came from a very far country, and [it is], according to our reckoning, to the northwest.[a]

This direction agrees more closely with that given in Muskhogean traditions than the one in Du Pratz's narrative. If, however, the Natchez were really the result of a fusion of a Muskhogean element and a non-Muskhogean element related to the Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa, it is possible that both of these traditions are correct. The hypothesis of a southwestern origin for part of the people is strengthened by their known friendship for the Chitimacha, whom they called "brothers," but it should not be forgotten that the Chitimacha traced their origin from the Natchez country, the exact opposite of the Natchez tradition. That their ancient home was Mexico, as Du Pratz supposed, is out of the question, both on account of the distance of that country from the Mississippi and the implied nearness of that ancient home to the later Natchez habitat. If the account were to be relied upon we ought to look for some region along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico bordered by mountains, which we certainly do not find in Louisiana or Texas, nor is the geographical position of the semicivilized race with stone communal houses evident. It is apparent that this part of the narrative must be viewed with suspicion. The reference to "fire people" perhaps contains some reminiscence of the invasion of De Soto, which must have made a deep impression, though he did not pass very near the region in question except on his retreat down the Mississippi.

Taken together, language, myth, and customs seem to indicate that the Natchez originated from the fusion of people from the southwest, affiliated with the Chitimacha and Atakapa with a Muskhogean tribe from the northwest, probably part of the advance wave of the great Muskhogean immigration, which latter became the ruling class in the resulting state. Formerly the writer was inclined to think that the culture possessed by this composite tribe had arisen from a higher culture which the Muskhogean immigrants found on their arrival, but while there is reason to believe that they absorbed many ideas from the peoples whom they found in possession,[a] an examination of the region in question fails to yield any evidence that the culture there was as high as that developed in the Natchez state. Comparing what is said of the Natchez and their branch, the Taënsa, on one side with the culture of their neighbors, we find that practically all of the distinctive elements fade out in proportion to the distance from these tribes. If the Natchez had been instructed by their predecessors in the Mississippi they had evidently excelled their teachers.

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[a] De la Vente, letter of 1704, in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 37.

HISTORY SINCE FIRST WHITE CONTACT

Whatever is known or can be surmised regarding the history of the Natchez previous to 1682 has now been considered. The expedition of De Soto, which gives passing glimpses of very many southern tribes, appears not to mention them, although the retreating Spaniards necessarily passed in front of their villages, and no doubt Natchez pirogues joined in their pursuit.[b] From the time of Father Charlevoix,[c] 1721, if not earlier, it was commonly supposed that the Natchez were the people among whom De Soto had spent most of his time after he came out upon the river, but it is now very generally admitted that they were the Quapaw. At any rate, for a hundred and forty years after his expedition until the date we mention, the tribes of the lower Mississippi sank back into utter obscurity. Marquette's map, although noting the "Tanikwa" and "Akoroa," northern neighbors of the Natchez, omits any mention of the latter people.[d]

In his ever memorable expedition of 1682 La Salle left the Quapaw towns in March, and on the 22d of that month encamped in a small cove on the right bank of the Mississippi in front of Lake St. Joseph, where were located the villages of the Taënsa nation. Next day Tonti was sent to this tribe, and was cordially received by the great chief, who sent 20 canoe loads of provisions to La Salle's camp. This meeting and the things seen at the Taënsa villages are described at length in all accounts of the expedition,[e] which are of importance as containing the most detailed descriptions extant of this tribe and also on account of the confusion which subsequently arose between them and the tribe under consideration. March 25 the explorers left and encamped that night on an island 10 leagues below. The events of the succeeding days in which the Natchez first appear in history may best be told in the words of Tonti, preserved in Margry, which is probably the most authentic narrative.

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[a] See p. 57. Also, perhaps, head-flattening.

[b] See, however, a suggestion on p. 258.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 162, 1851.

[d] Map in Shea, Disc. and Expl. of the Miss.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 52–83, 1846; Margry, Découvertes, I, 547–614.

> The morning of the 26th, being on the water 2 leagues from our camp, we perceived a dugout canoe crossing the river. We gave chase to it; my canoe, which traveled the best, distanced all the others, and as I was about to come up with the dugout I was surprised to see the whole shore lined with savages, bow and arrow in hand. M. de la Salle, seeing the danger in which I was placed, begged me to cross to the other side, and when we had reached land, asking my advice how to come to this nation. I offered to go to carry the calumet of peace thither, which he granted me with hesitation. Nevertheless it was necessary to speak to them. I then embarked in a [birch] canoe in order to save myself in case of alarm. As soon as I had set foot to earth on the other side where the savages were they sat down. I made them smoke the peace calumet, and gave a knife to an old man who appeared to me to be the chief. He put it promptly inside of his blanket as if he had committed a theft. Joining my hands I imitated him, because that signifies in their manner that people are friends. Afterward I made signs to send two to the other side, and I would remain with them, which they did. And after they had seen M. de la Salle and called two of their people who were concealed in the woods, they returned with all of the French to the place where I had remained. We camped, and M. de la Salle, having been invited to go to their village, parted with part of his people, invite the chief of the Coroha, who traveled all night to see M. de la Salle, slept at the village. They are named Nahy.[a] During the night they sent to invite the chief of the Coroha, who traveled all night to see M. de La Salle, and the said chief came with him and 10 men to our cabin. Next day all embarked with us in our canoes to go to their village, which was 10 leagues distant.[b]

The various narratives of this expedition, however, differ considerably in detail, which it is sometimes almost impossible to reconcile. Thus the account just quoted implies that La Salle stayed one night at the Natchez village, that the Koroa chief traveled all night, accompanied by 10 men, and met him the very next morning, and that either that day or the next La Salle passed on to the Koroa. The Relation of Nicolas de la Salle, on the other hand, proceeds as follows:

> M. de la Salle went with seven men to their village 3 leagues distant from the river on rising ground. He remained there three days, the chief giving him to understand that he had sent to ask other chiefs to speak to him. M. de Tonti, seeing that M. de la Salle did not return, at the end of two days sent eight Frenchmen to find him. They all returned without speaking to these chiefs who had not yet arrived. They remained two days longer. They sent a little corn. There did not appear to be good hunting in this region. The Loups nevertheless made two canoes out of elm bark, their own being much worn. This nation is called the Natché. They told us that farther on we would find the Coroa. The fifth day we parted along with four Natché.[c]

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[a] Given in Nicolas de la Salle's Relation more correctly as Natché.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, I, 602–603.

[c] Ibid., 557–558.

The Memoir of the Sieur de Tonti runs thus:

> I made the chief men among them cross over to M. de la Salle, who accompanied them to their village, 3 leagues inland, and passed the night there with some of his men. The next day he returned with the chief of the village where he had slept, who was a brother of the great chief of the Natches; he conducted us to his brother's village, situated on the hillside, near the river, at 6 leagues distance. We were well received there. This nation counts more than 300 warriors. Here the men cultivate the ground, hunt, and fish, as well as the Taënca, and their manners are the same.[a]

The truth of the matter is evidently contained in the first two narratives, the last being evidently garbled, and the town 6 leagues distant said to belong to the great chief of the Natchez was the "Coroa" or "Coroha" village of the other relations.

Lower down the Mississippi La Salle's party had a hostile encounter with the Quinipissa tribe, and on their return they found that the Koroa had been informed of this and had taken the part of their enemies. The Natchez had evidently sided against him as well, since no one was to be seen at the Natchez landing when they encamped opposite on the night of April 29, and a little farther up hostile war cries greeted them from the other bank.[b]

Four years later, i. e., in 1686, Tonti descended the Mississippi again to meet La Salle, who had sailed from France for its mouth, and he writes:

> Having left [the Taënsa] the 1st of April, after having navigated for 16 leagues, we arrived at the village of the Nachés, where the chief awaited me on the bank with the calumet. It is a nation which can furnish fifteen hundred fighting men. I did not sleep there. I contented myself with complaining that they had wished to kill us treacherously four years before, to which they answered nothing.[c]

Although the people he met are here called the Natchez, and although there is no doubt that the number of fighting men given agrees very well with what we know of the strength of the nation at that time, the writer is of the opinion that the town he actually visited was that of the Koroa. His reasons for believing this are that this village, like that of the Koroa, and unlike those of the Natchez, is represented as situated on the bank of the Mississippi, and because otherwise Tonti's complaint regarding the treacherous attempt against his people is without point, La Salle and his companions not having stopped at the Natchez towns on their return four years earlier and they having heard nothing of that tribe except some hostile cries in the woods. It would seem that Tonti's notes or his memory became somewhat confused regarding the relation of these two peoples to each other, a confusion rendered still greater, no doubt, by the fact that by 1698 the Koroa town had disappeared from the place where La Salle and his companions had found it, a disappearance which is one of the mysteries of Louisiana ethnology. Early in 1690 Tonti again descended the Mississippi to find La Salle, but this time he did not himself go below the Taënsa, the rest of his journey being directed overland into the Caddoan country. On the 5th of February, however, while he was encamped opposite the Taënsa, he sent three men to the Natchez to inquire about two Frenchmen who were missing, and they brought back word that the Natchez had killed them.[a]

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 62–63, 1846.

[b] See authorities just cited.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, III, 556.

January 1, 1698, four missionary priests, Davion, La Source, De Montigny, and St. Cosme, left the Quapaw to visit the tribes below.[b] On the 11th they reached the Tunica, where it was decided to place Father Davion, and on the 21st the Taënsa. Although they went no lower they heard considerable of the Natchez either from Indians or unnamed travelers. La Source records the sacrifice of human lives on the death of a chief, and De Montigny states that they spoke the same language as the Taënsa and were more numerous than the Tunica.[c] It was determined that M. de Montigny should settle among the Taënsa. On the 27th they left this latter tribe to return to the Tunica, and afterward reascended the river to obtain such articles as should be needed in the new missions. In January, 1699, De Montigny was back among the Quapaw, as we learn from his letter dated the 2d of that month. "For the present," he says, "I reside among the Taënsas, but am to go shortly to the Natchez."[d]

Meanwhile La Salle's project of planting a colony near the mouth of the Mississippi, which had disastrously miscarried because he kept too far to the westward and landed on the Texas coast, was revived in France, and on October 24, 1698, Lemoyne d'Iberville, a noted naval officer and already a figure in Canadian history, set sail from Brest with two frigates, *La Badine* and *Le Marin*. In February he was in the neighborhood of the coast of the present Louisiana, and on the 18th of that month he claims to have made an alliance, through the medium of the calumet, with 11 different nations, among which was the "Techloel," evidently the Natchez.[e] On the 27th he left with small boats to find and explore the Mississippi, which he discovered on the 2d of the following month. On March 14 he reached the village of the Bayogoula and the Mugulasha, and on the 20th that of the Houma. A Taënsa was taken into his canoe at this latter place and gave Iberville much information regarding the tribes on the river above and on the Yazoo and Red rivers. The Natchez he called

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 72, 1846.

[b] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 75–86

[c] He had not met the Natchez, however, at that time.

[d] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 76.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 155.

Theloël or Thécoel, and he enumerated the names of nine villages belonging to them and constituting, as he explained, a kind of extended town.[a] These names are given and discussed on pp. 46–47. Disappointed at not finding the great fork in the river told of by Father Zenobius Membré,[b] Iberville turned back at this point and regained his ships.

On the 12th of June following De Montigny and Davion, who had come down from the French settlements higher up to take charge of their missions among the Taënsa and the Tunica, respectively, reached the Natchez accompanied by several Canadians and Indians. De Montigny delivered an address to them, explaining the peaceful purposes of the representatives of his order. Two days later they reached the Houma, and there learned that a French establishment had been made at Biloxi. The party kept on, therefore, reaching Biloxi July 1, and nine days later set out on the return journey to their respective missions. At that time De Montigny attempted to make peace between the Natchez and the Taënsa, and he appears to have been successful, for we hear of no hostilities between the two tribes subsequent to that date.[c]

In the spring of 1700 De Montigny descended from the Taënsa a second time and visited the greater part of the cabins of the Natchez, which he estimated at about 400, lying within a circumference of 8 leagues. He baptized 185 infants of from 1 to 4 years old and returned to the Taënsa three days before the arrival of Iberville on his second expedition, for whom he left a letter.[d]

As Iberville's account of his visit to the Natchez is the earliest of any length, it will be well to give it in its entirety, only omitting the references to De Montigny already made.

> The 11th [of March, 1700] I reached the landing place of the Natchez, which I find to be 18 leagues distant from the Oumas. One league below this landing place there is an isle three-quarters of a league long. From this isle to the landing place I found many savages who fish for catfish in the river, on a little scaffold extending into the water from 7 to 8 feet. They sold me very small white fishes and very good catfish a foot and a half long. Having arrived at the landing place, I sent a man to inform the chief of my arrival. The brother of the chief with 20 men came to bring me the calumet of peace, and invited me to go to the village. Two hours after midday I was at this village which is a league from the edge of the water. Half way there I met the chief who came before me accompanied by 20 men very well built. The chief was very sick of a flux, a sickness of which the savages almost always die. At our meeting this chief gave me a little white cross and a pearl which was not at all handsome, and had the same given to the Jesuit father, to my brother, and to the Sieur Duguay.

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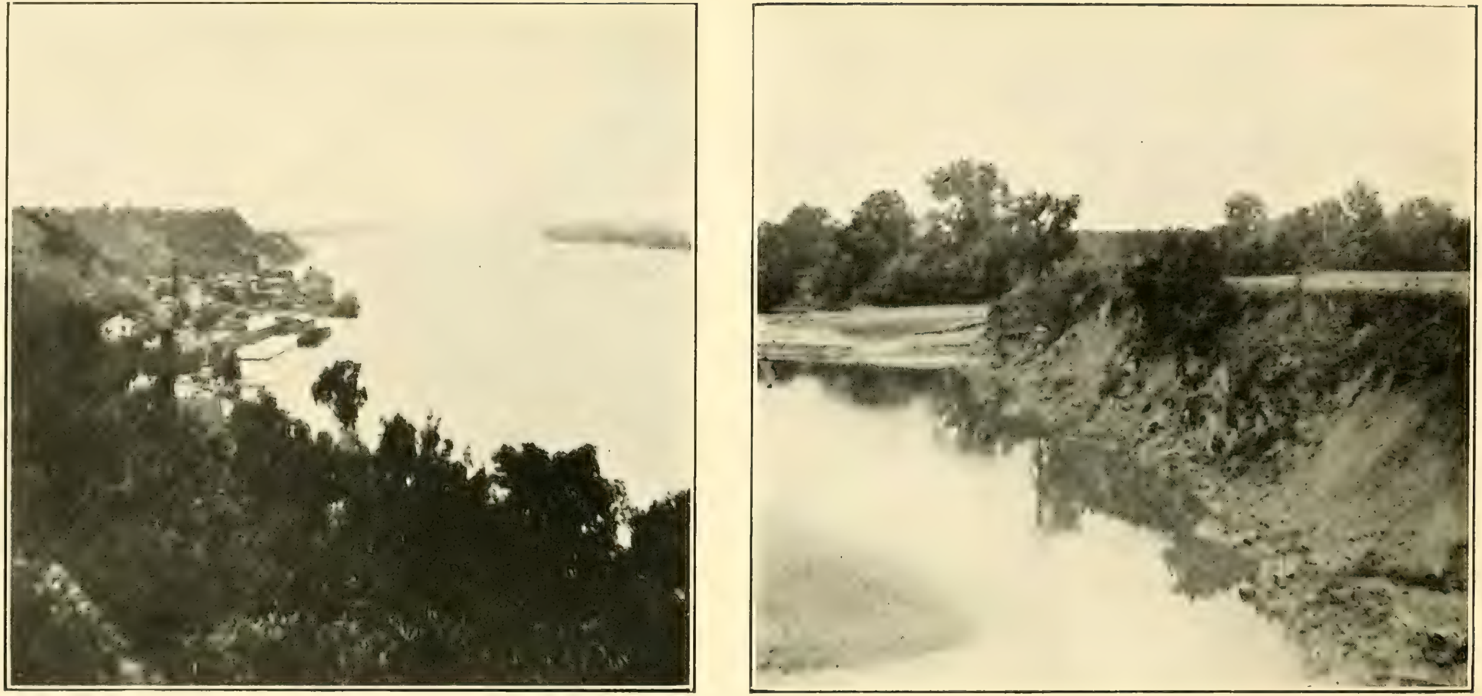
[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 179.

[b] This appears in early charts and seems to date from the De Soto narratives (see Trail Maker series, Narratives of De Soto, I, 201).

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 16, 227, 1851; De Montigny, MS. letter of Aug. 25, 1699.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 411.



a Looking down the Mississippi river from the top of the Natchez bluff

b St. Catherines creek, Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the old concession of White Earth. The bed of the creek has been lowered by the cutting of a new outlet into the Mississippi, leaving steep banks of unsightly heaps of talus

VIEWS IN THE NATCHEZ COUNTRY

> We repaired to his cabin, which is raised to a height of 10 feet on earth brought thither, and is 25 feet wide and 45 long. Near by are 8 cabins. Before that of the chief is the temple mound, which forms a round, a little oval, and bounds an open space about 250 paces wide and 300 long. A stream passes near, from which they draw their water. * * * From the landing place on the river one ascends a very steep hillside about 150 fathoms high covered completely with woods (pl. 5, *a*). Being on top of the hill one finds a country of plains and prairies filled with little hills, in some places groves of trees, many oaks, and many roads cut through, going from one hamlet to another or to cabins. Those who traveled 3 or 4 leagues about say they find everywhere the same country, from the edge of the hill to the village of the chief. What I have seen is a country of yellow earth, mixed with a few little stones, until within a cannon shot of his [the chief's] house, where begins the gray earth, which appears to me better. This country resembles very much that of France. The chief is a man 5 feet 3 or 4 inches tall, rather thin, with an intelligent face. He appeared to me the most absolute savage I have seen, as beggarly as the others, as well as his subjects, all of whom are large men well formed, very idle, but showing us much friendship. I made them a present of a gun, powder, and lead, a covering, a cloak, some axes, knives, and beads; also a calumet following the custom of those who go to visit others.[a]

Leaving his brother, Bienville, to collect provisions for a projected journey to the Caddoan country, Iberville continued his voyage on the 12th and reached the Taënsa landing place at noon on the day following. The 22d of the same month he was back at the Natchez landing, and with him came De Montigny, who had taken this occasion to move the seat of his mission to the larger field. Next day they went to the village, where they found the great chief dying and all his people plunged in grief. Iberville says that they appeared very glad to see the new missionary, which they doubtless considered as a guarantee of the friendship of the French, they then being at war with the Chickasaw.[b] Pénicaut also states that Iberville promised to send a young man to learn their language,[c] and though Iberville's journal is silent on the subject, we know from the letter of Father Gravier that this was the case.[d] About this time Tonti made his fourth descent of the river,[e] and shortly afterward Le Sueur, accompanied by Pénicaut, passed, going in the opposite direction, but it is not certain that they stopped at Natchez.[f] May 19 De Montigny and Davion came to Biloxi, accompanied by a chief of the Natchez and 12 men and 2 chiefs of the Tunica and 2 men. On the 25th Davion returned to his post while De Montigny left for France two days later along with Iberville.[g] Soon afterward St. Cosme must have come down from the Tamaroa to take his place, as he was there in November when Father Gravier passed. This priest left the Quapaw November 1, 1700, and reached the Tunica villages on the 14th. There he encountered M. de St. Cosme, who had heard that Davion was *in extremis* and had hastened to him from the Natchez. Shortly afterward Gravier himself proceeded to the Natchez towns, where he seems to have spent several days, not leaving until the 24th. From his own observations and the things related to him by St. Cosme and the young man whom Iberville had sent to learn the language he composed a very valuable sketch of the people, one of the earliest that has come down to us.[a] In 1704 De la Vente visited the Natchez and recorded some important facts regarding their condition at that time and their previous history.[b]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 410–412.

[b] Ibid., 417.

[c] Ibid., V, 398.

[d] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 140.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 17, 233, 1851.

[f] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 89–111; Margry, Découvertes, V, 400–420.

[g] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 431.

St. Cosme continued his missionary labors until his death, late in 1706,[c] at the hands of a Chitimacha war party when on his way to Mobile.

According to Pénicaut, part of the spring and summer of 1704 was passed by himself and other Frenchmen in the Natchez villages, and we are indebted to it for one of our chief accounts of their manners and customs.[d] His chronology is usually wrong, but in this instance he may be correct, for he places it just before the arrival of the ship *Le Pélican* from France, which we know happened July 24, 1704.[e] At the same time it is surprising that while referring to the mission of De Montigny he appears to be ignorant of that of St. Cosme. Possibly St. Cosme was with the Taënsa during the time of Pénicaut's stay. The Natchez occupied a position which formed a convenient stopping place for parties ascending and descending the Mississippi, their customs were striking, and their manners sufficiently free and easy to suit the average *voyageur*, so it is probable that they had no lack of white visitors before a definite post and a regular settlement were established near them.

In 1713 [f] M. de Lamothe-Cadillac, governor for Crozat, who had obtained a grant of Louisiana from the king, sent the MM. de la Loire to the Natchez, with 12 men and 2 canoes, to establish a trading post.[g]

They were, of course, moved principally by commercial considerations, but the steady advance of English traders into the Mississippi valley no doubt acted as a powerful incentive from a political standpoint. As early as 1700 some of these men were reported among the Chickasaw and Quapaw,[h] and in 1713, the year when the company established its post. Pénicaut states that he found three in the Natchez villages. On them he lays the blame for a recent attack on the Chaouachas by "a strong party of Chicachas, Yasous, and Natchez." This band went to the Chaouacha village under pretense of smoking the peace calumet, treacherously attacked their hosts, killed the great chief of the Chaouachas and several of his family, and enslaved eleven persons, including the great chief's wife.[a] An English trader named Hughes visited the Natchez at about the same time and subsequently descended the Mississippi, where he was apprehended and sent as a prisoner to Mobile, but afterward liberated. On his way back to Carolina, however, he was killed by a Tohome Indian.[b] The Chickasaw are known to have been in the English interest from the beginning, and the English had a sufficient hold over part of the Choctaw towns to bring on a fierce civil war, while the French themselves admitted their influence among the Yazoo and Koroa.[c] In fact, the only tribes that the Louisiana settlers could count upon with any certainty were the western Choctaw, the Tunica, and the small tribes gathered near Natchitoches, Mobile, and New Orleans. When we add to these circumstances the fact that the disturbances hostile to the French which soon broke out among the Natchez came from those villages which had had most to do with English traders, it seems probable that the English were at least indirectly and in some measure responsible for them. In justice to both Natchez and English, however, it should be stated that M. de Richebourg declares the hostile acts of the former were due to the refusal of Governor Lamothe to smoke the calumet with them and the consequent belief on their part that he intended to make war on them.[d] Of the first of these disturbances, resulting in what is called "the first Natchez war," Pénicaut claims to have had very intimate knowledge, and he describes it as follows:

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 136–142; Jes. Rel., LXV, 134–145.

[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., 35–38.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 101, 1831. Pénicaut says 1702–3; as usual, an error.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, v, 441–456.

[e] Ibid., 456.

[f] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 84.

[g] Margry, Découvertes, v, 506.

[h] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 126–127.

> M. de la Loire the elder descended [early in the year 1714][e] from the Natchez to Mobile. On the way he met a canoe in which were four Frenchmen who were going up to the Illinois to trade with the articles of merchandise which they had in their canoe. These 4 Frenchmen, having arrived among the Natchez, hired 4 Natchez savages to aid them in taking their canoe up to the Illinois, because the current of the Mississippi was at that time very rapid. They went together as far as the Little Gulf, where, in the evening, the Natchez, seeing the 4 Frenchmen asleep, murdered them, and after having stripped their bodies threw them into the river. Then they redescended, during the night, to the Natchez, where they divided the goods which were in the canoe, and carried them into their cabins.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 506–507.

[b] Ibid., 507–509; French, Hist. Coll. La., 43–44, 1851; La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 118–119. The French relations call him *You*, *Youx*, or *Huchi*.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 139–140, 1851.

[d] Ibid., 241–242.

[e] So Pénicaut; the true date was 1715, as stated by La Harpe and De Richebourg.

I was then among the Natchez, and in spite of the precautions which they had taken I did not fail to discover this, by seeing among them the goods which these Frenchmen had brought in their canoe. I told the young M. de la Loire, with whom his brother had left me as guard over the goods which were in the storehouse of the French among the Natchez; but we did not allow ourselves to act as if we had learned it. A short time afterward M. de la Loire the elder arrived from Mobile with three canoes loaded with goods and 14 Frenchmen. There was also an officer named M. de Varennes, who was sending up goods to the Illinois on his own account. M. de la Loire, before leaving Mobile, had had orders from M. de Lamothe to ascend to the Illinois in order to deliver to them the goods which they had lent him to pay the savages who had been to discover the mines. M. de la Loire remained fifteen days among the Natchez in order to obtain provisions for his people. While he was there the Natchez held councils many times in order to kill us; but, although we knew nothing about it then, we always kept on our guard because we had learned of the murder of the 4 Frenchmen, of whose death we appeared ignorant.

We asked 8 men of the great chief of the Natchez, paying for their services, to set out with us in two days. He had them informed at once.

Before setting out M. de la Loire had much difficulty in making his younger brother consent to remain to guard the storehouse of the goods of the company, for he saw the evident danger that he ran, which would have been yet greater than we thought had not God protected us. After having embraced this young man, we left him among the Natchez, very sorrowful that we were obliged to leave him thus, and we parted, along with the 8 savages, which the grand chief had given us to aid us in rowing (paddling) in ascending the river. When we were embarked that traitor of a grand chief told these savages, very loudly and in our presence, to do what we said, and that if we discovered on the bank of the river people who made signs to us to go to them not to go there, for fear lest they should wish to do us hurt or attempt our lives.

The evening of the day we left the Natchez to ascend to the Illinois, and while we were encamped on the shore of the river, one of the 8 savages came and seated himself near me, and, having asked a pipe of me in order to smoke, which I gave him, he said to me in a very low voice, so that only I should hear: "Where do you intend to go, Frenchman?" I answered: "To the Illinois." But after a moment's reflection I asked him why he had put this question to me. The savage[a] replied that his heart wept, because the next day we were to be killed, and the chief, named The Bearded, who is the worst of the Natchez chiefs, awaited us at the Little Gulf with 150 men in order to break our heads. This speech did not surprise me, because one of their minor chiefs, a friend of mine, had already warned me before leaving their village, although he had not spoken so clearly. I had already spoken of it to M. de la Loire, but we had not placed enough faith in this first warning to interrupt our journey. This second intelligence obliged us to pay more attention to the matter. We took council together, and afterward we called the 8 Natchez savages who were guiding us, to whom we promised a considerable present if they would tell us the truth, with promises of never declaring that it was they who had warned us. All the 8 savages declared to us openly that 6 leagues above on the shore at the left, where the canoes are obliged to pass close to the land, on account of a very rapid gulf which whirls in the middle of the river, 150 Natchez, armed with guns, at the head of whom was The Bearded, awaited us, and that we could not fail to perish, although there were six times the number of people.

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[a] La Harpe in Jour. Hist., 123, simply states that M. de la Loire had barely escaped by the advice of a chief who had given him the means to save his life.

This avowal of 8 persons, all of whom assured us of the same thing, obliged us to give up.

M. de la Loire, the elder, was above all much embarrassed how he should withdraw his brother, who had remained in the village of the Natchez as guard of the storehouse of goods of the company. He spoke to me about it, appearing very sad. I told him that, if he would permit me, I would go alone to find him, and that I would bring him back with me or perish there. After having laid our plans above, we parted three hours after midday in order to arrive at the landing of the Natchez village one hour before sunset, in order to be able to go by day to the village, because it was one league distant from the bank of the river. When we were arrived there I told my people not to land and to await me until midnight, and that, if I had not returned then, they might count on my being dead, and had then only to proceed. I took my gun, my powder flask, and my sack of balls, and I got out of the canoe to take my way to the village. M. de la Loire conducted me to the edge of the prairie; he embraced me weeping, and told me that, if I brought back his brother, he would not be the only one who would remember such a great service, and that all his family would be under infinite obligations to me. I answered nothing except that he should await me at daybreak, and that, God assisting, I would do all that I could.

When I was in the middle of the prairie, in sight of the village, some Natchez savages, perceiving me at a distance, ran to tell M. le Chevalier de la Loire, for so was he called, that a Frenchman was coming, for they had not recognized me at a distance. Immediately this young man came to see who it was, and, having recognized me, he ran to me and threw himself on my neck, asking the reason for my return. I told him at the moment that I was fallen ill, and, when I was in his cabin, I begged him to send for the grand chief, who came a moment afterward. I told him that there were 6 Frenchmen fallen ill in our canoes, which was the reason why we had returned as far as the landing, and that 30 men were needed next day to bring our goods to the storehouse of the company at his village.

He replied that he was going to have them informed, and that we had done well in having come down, because the Yazous were worth nothing and might have waited on the road to break our heads. I thanked him, telling him that he was right, although I well knew all his treason. After he had gone I said to the Chevalier de la Loire that we must think of escaping, although we were guarded by 3 savages, who slept in the cabin where we lay. After I had told him that the youth became very uneasy, and asked me every moment if we could save ourselves. I told him, in order to reassure him, that he had only to leave it to me, and that we would certainly save ourselves. We prepared for it, and I made him load his gun [and lay it] side of his pillow, so that he would have no trouble in finding it. When I saw that the 3 savages who were lying in our cabin were asleep I was desirous of stabbing them with my bayonet; but the young man withheld me, being absolutely unwilling, for fear, said he, lest it would make a noise and awaken the other savages, who were then all asleep. I took that time then to make him leave with me, and after I had softly opened the door I told him to take the road to the landing through the prairie. When I saw that he was perhaps a quarter of a league in advance I double locked the door of the cabin outside, inclosing the 3 savages. I threw the key into a heap of dirt, and began running after him, gun in hand. I joined him at the edge of the woods where I had told him to await me. As soon as he saw me he asked whether the savages were awake. "They are all in a deep sleep," said I, "that is why we are able to walk at present in safety." We ran, however, almost a quarter of a league farther, so much did we desire to arrive at the landing. There was from time to time a clear moon, and the Chevalier de la Loire then turned his head to see if anyone followed us. Finally, thanks to the Lord, we arrived at the end of the prairie, which is very near the landing, where we found M. de la Loire, the elder, who was awaiting us along with another person, acting as sentinel, to await us with him. After embracing much we got into our canoes and we landed the 8 savages. M. de la Loire recompensed all 8 of them and made a larger present to the one who had been first to forewarn me. As we parted they asked us where we were going, and we replied that we were going to Mobile, and that they would see us again in a short time.

As soon as we were gone the 8 savages that we had left on the shore of the river went home to the Natchez to inform the grand chief of the departure of the French. The entire village was immediately alarmed; but the grand chief said absolutely that that could not be, and that the Chevalier de la Loire, as well as Pénicaut, were lying in their cabin with 3 savages; the 8 savages, however, told him anew that they were gone with the other Frenchmen. The grand chief rose promptly and went to knock, like an angry man, on the door of the cabin of the Chevalier de la Loire, and hearing the savages who were inside say that they could not open the door and that they did not have the key, he ran to the bed of the Chevalier de la Loire, where, not finding us, he hastened to maltreat the 3 savages, to whom he had given orders to guard us. They excused themselves by saying that we must be sorcerers, and that they had not heard the least noise. He possessed himself of all the goods in the storehouse and the clothes, which were left in the cabin of the Chevalier de la Loire.

As for us, we arrived at 10 o'clock in the morning opposite the village of the Tonicas, where we set foot to earth. We found there M. Davion, missionary priest, who embraced us all. He told us that he had believed us dead. Then he said mass for us to thank God for the grace which he had shown us. After mass we recounted to him everything that had passed, for which he thanked God a hundred times. While we were speaking to him, we saw 3 Natchez arrive, who came, on the part of their grand chief, to excite the chief of the Tonicas to have the missionary and all the Frenchmen who were in his village killed, promising that all the Natchez savages would join them afterward in making war on the French, adding that it was much better to deal with the English who gave them goods at a better rate. The chief of the Tonicas, a man of as good sense as a savage is able to have, and incapable of treason, a very rare virtue among the savages, was very much astonished at such a speech. He wished to break his [the speaker's] head immediately. He asked the opinion of M. Davion on that point, who would not permit it, counseling him to send them back without doing them any harm, because M. de Lamothe would perhaps be offended. M. Davion wrote a letter to M. de Lamothe about the treason of the Natchez and their evil purpose; we gave him this letter on arriving at Mobile, at which M. de Lamothe was very much surprised.[a]

The events which followed—events dignified by the title of the first Natchez war—are given below as narrated by De Richebourg, who was captain of the company assigned to Bienville, and probably kept some official record of everything that happened:

M. de Bienville having received at this time new commissions from the king to the command of the Mississippi, his majesty gave him orders to go and make many establishments on this river, and to begin with that at the Natchez with 80 soldiers. He immediately set himself to work on the construction of pirogues needed to carry all things.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 512–520.

It was learned in the month of January, 1716, through M. Davion, the missionary, that four Canadians who were going up to the Illinois had been murdered by the Natchez. This news induced M. de Bienville to hasten his departure. He begged M. de Lamothe to give him the detachment of 80 men, as he had been ordered by M. le Compte de Pontchartrain. M. de Lamothe refused. He gave him command only of the company of M. de Richebourg, which had but 34 men. M. de Bienville engaged M. Duclos, ordaining commissioner, and MM. Rauzon and Labarre, agents of M. Crozat; to unite with him in representing to M. de Lamonthe the impossibility of undertaking the construction of a fort and a war against the Natchez, who counted at least 800 men, with a company of 34 men. But to no avail. It was necessary, then, to part with this company to which 15 sailors were added. They set out in eight dugout canoes.[a]

The 23d of April they came to the Tonikas, 18 leagues from the Natchez. There they learned that the Natchez had killed another Frenchman[b] coming down from the Illinois, and intended to surprise 15 more who were expected at the same place.[c] M. Davion, missionary to the Tonikas, informed M. de Bienville that the Natchez were ignorant that these murders were known to the French, the thing being kept very secret among them. The missionary furthermore warned M. de Bienville to be on his guard against the Tonikas, who had even received presents to kill him.[d] All this information must have been very disquieting to M. de Bienville, who, far from appearing disturbed, had all the Tonikas assembled, and without letting what he had heard be known, told them that his mission was to go to the Natchez in order to make a small establishment there and a warehouse which could furnish this nation and others, in exchange for their pelts, the merchandise of which they had need, but that as his people were very much wearied with the voyage and as he had sick people, he was going to encamp in an island a third of a league from their village in order to rest for some time; but that it would give him pleasure to have them send some one of their people during this time to inform the Natchez of his arrival. This was accomplished at once.[a] The Sieur de Bienville, after having received the calumet of the Tonikas and made them smoke in his, went with his little troop to camp on the island, where he made them work from the next day, the 24th, on a little intrenchment surrounded with palings, and in constructing three sheds—one for the provisions and munitions of war, another as a guardhouse, and a third for a prison.

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[a] Pénicaut gives as officers of this force M. de Pailloux, major of the troops; M. de Richebourg, captain of company; M. de Tissené and the two brothers De la Loire. (Margry, Découvertes, v, 520.) La Harpe states (Jour. Hist., 124) that Bienville with MM. de Pailloux and de Richebourg found at the fort on the Mississippi when they arrived there ten pirogues which had been sent from Mobile laden with provisions and utensils to form the settlements at Natchez and on the Wabash.

[b] La Harpe says two.

[c] Pénicaut's account runs thus: "We ascended the Mississipy as far as the portage of the Cross of the Tonicas, where we found a letter tied up in a little cloth sack which hung from the branch of a tree on the bank of the Mississipy; this tree extended sufficiently into the river to be perceived, with this inscription in large characters attached to the sack where the letter was: 'To the first Frenchman who passes.' It was M. Davion, the priest, who had placed it there. We took this sack, which we carried to M. de Bienville; he opened the letter, in which it was noted that a Frenchman named Richard had been taken eight days before by the Natchez in descending from the Illinois, and that after having taken his goods they had brought him to their village, where they had cut off his feet and hands and had then thrown his body into a bog. On reading this letter M. de Bienville knew that the thing was more serious than he had thought. He had before underrated it and regarded it as a trifle, accusing us of being afraid; but on reading this letter I think he was truly afraid himself, for he changed the design he had of going directly to the Natchez, and had us land at the Cross of the Tonicas; this was three hours after midday." (Margry, Découvertes, v, 520–521.) Bienville's attitude toward the undertaking is here represented differently from the way it appears in the narratives of De Richebourg and La Harpe.

[d] This seems hardly consistent with the attitude of the Tunica at the time when Natchez emissaries came to them after the flight of the MM. de la Loire and Pénicaut, but all savages are subject to rapid changes of view, and besides there was probably a Natchez party, even though a minority one, among the Tunica.

The 27th of April three Natchez arrived,[b] sent by their chiefs to M. de Bienville, to whom they presented the calumet, which he rejected, saying to them that they might make some of his soldiers smoke, but as for himself, being a great chief of the French, he would smoke only when calumets were presented by the chief Suns. This disconcerted the three warriors a little. However, M. de Bienville, having had food given to them, pretended to laugh with them, asked particular news of their chiefs, and exhibited an eagerness to see them and astonishment that they had not already come to bring him refreshments. He added that the Natchez apparently did not desire that the French should make an establishment among them; that if he thought that was the case he would make it among the Tonikas. They replied with marked satisfaction that all of their nation desired nothing better than to have a French establishment in their territory and that they were pursuaded that in five or six days the chiefs of the nation would not fail to come to show their pleasure.

The 28th of April these three savages returned home. M. de Bienville had go with them a young Frenchman who spoke their language perfectly, to whom he explained all that it was necessary to say to these chiefs and all that he was to reply to them to induce them to come.

This same day M. de Bienville dispatched one of the hardiest and most skillful Canadians in a little dugout, with an Illinois savage, to ascend the river, pass in front of the Natchez villages during the night, and go above to warn the 15 residents of the Illinois country, who intended to descend, to distrust the Natchez, and especially not to disembark among them. M. de Bienville sent with this Canadian a dozen large sheets of parchment to place at various points along the river. He had written on these in large characters: "The Natchez have declared war on the French and M. de Bienville is encamped among the Tonikas."

May 4 six Canadian travelers (*voyageurs*) arrived at our camp in three dugouts loaded with pelts, smoked meats, and bear's oil, who related to us that, not knowing that the Natchez had killed their comrades, they had landed among them, and that scarcely had they set foot to earth when 20 men jumped upon them, disarmed them, and carried off all that they had in their dugouts. They were led to the village of the chief named "The Bearded," grand war chief of this nation, who, as soon as he saw them, demanded how many other Frenchmen were coming down after them; that they had replied frankly that they had left 12 hunting in six dugouts and that they would not be slow in arriving; and that shortly afterward the great chiefs of this nation had come in great anger to complain to this war chief because he had disarmed the Frenchmen and pillaged their canoes; that immediately these great chiefs had made them restore their arms and promised them that their effects should be brought back. They gave them food and placed them in a separate cabin, where they remained three days. During that time these chiefs and the headmen of the nation held council night and day to deliberate about what they ought to do with the prisoners. The fourth day the chiefs had come to take them and conduct them to their dugouts, in which they had replaced almost all that they had taken. There these chiefs had informed their prisoners that M. de Bienville was among the Tonika resting; that in a little while he was going to come among them to make an establishment, and that in a few days they themselves were going to send him provisions.

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[a] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 521, states that M. de Tissené was sent to the Natchez with 20 men by Bienville to speak to their chief and invite them to descend.

[b] Pénicaut says nothing of this first visit.

The 8th of May, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we saw 4 dugouts coming, in which were 8 men standing, who sang the calumet song, and 3 men in each dugout seated under parasols, 12 who paddled and 2 Frenchmen.[a] M. de Bienville did not doubt that these were the chiefs of the Natchez, who had fallen into the trap he had set for them. As he knew all the ceremonies of the savages perfectly, he ordered part of his people not to show themselves, but to hold themselves in readiness, with their arms, in the guardhouse, and the other part to remain unarmed about his tent and the landing place, in order to take the arms from those savages as fast as they disembarked. He commanded to have admitted into his tent only the 8 first chiefs, whom he named, knowing them all by their war names, and to make the others sit down at the door of the tent. All this was carried out to perfection. All 8 chiefs entered, singing, calumet in hand, which they passed at different times over M. de Bienville from head to foot as a mark of union, and afterward, passing their hands over his stomach without rubbing it, and then over theirs. This terminated, they presented it to him to smoke. He pushed back their calumets with contempt and told them that he wished to understand their harangues and know their thought before smoking. This disconcerted these chiefs, who went out of the tent and presented the calumets to the sun. One of them, high priest of the temple, spoke into the air, his eyes fixed on the sun, in order to invoke it. His arms extended above his head, and then they reentered and presented the calumets anew. M. de Bienville repeated to them in a tone wearied with their ceremonies that they must tell him what satisfaction they would give him for the five Frenchmen whom they had murdered. This speech stunned them. They lowered their heads without replying. Then M. de Bienville gave the sign to seize them and conduct them all into the prison which he had prepared for them. They put them there in irons. In the evening they gave them bread and meat. They did not wish to eat at all. All sang their death songs. One of the two Frenchmen whom they had brought with them was the young interpreter who had been to invite them to come, and the other was a person living among the Illinois, who, not knowing of the war, had delivered himself into their hands. They had not done him any harm. At nightfall M. de Bienville had the head chief of the nation, who is called among them the great Sun,[b] come into his tent, his brother, Tattooed-serpent, and a third brother, surnamed the little Sun. As they were half dead [with fear], M. de Bienville, to reassure them, began by promising them that they did not wish to have them die. He said he knew that it was not by their orders that the five Frenchmen had been murdered; that he wished that by way of satisfaction they would send to him not only the heads of the murderers, but also those of the chiefs who had given the order for it; that he would not be contented with their scalps, but wished their heads, in order to recognize them by their tattoo marks; that he gave them that night to consult among themselves what measures they would take to give him prompt satisfaction, without which it would be necessary to make a resolution grievous for all their nation. He added that they were not ignorant of the influence he had over all of our savage allies; that it was easy for him to make them declare against them and destroy their eight villages without risking the life of a Frenchman; that they ought to remember that in 1704 the Chacchioumas had killed a missionary and three other Frenchmen; that on their refusal to deliver up the murderers all our allied nations had been let loose against them, who made war on them, so that from 400 families which they had formerly counted they had been reduced in less than two years to 80.

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[a] Pénicaut says 28 men, and does not mention the Frenchmen. La Harpe says 19 men sent by the grand chief, 5 of whom were Sun chiefs and 7 chiefs of villages, besides 6 Frenchmen.

[b] According to Pénicaut and La Harpe, the great Sun was not with this party, though they agree that his brother was present.

M. de Bienville also cited to them the example which he made in 1702. He recalled to them that he had had condemned to death a Frenchman for having killed two Pascagoula savages; that in 1703 the Koroa chiefs had made no difficulty in having killed four of their warriors who had murdered a missionary and two other Frenchmen; that that same year he had obliged the Taouacha chiefs to kill two of their people who had murdered a Chickasaw; that the Chacchioumas, in 1715, had a similar satisfaction from the Choctaws who had killed two of their men; that the Mobilians, in 1707, brought in the head of one of their people who had killed a Taouacha; that the Pascagoula, in 1707, had killed a Mobilian, and that he had had them render satisfaction to the injured parties, etc.

The chiefs listened to this discourse with much attention and answered nothing. They strongly resented the disgrace of being in irons with some of their servants.

The 9th of May at daybreak the three brother chiefs asked to speak to M. de Bienville. They were admitted. They begged him to be informed that there was none in their village who had enough authority to undertake to kill the men whose heads he demanded; that if he would permit it the Tattooed-serpent, as master of the nation, would go to accomplish this dangerous mission. M. de Bienville refused this; and he named in place of the Tattooed-serpent, his younger brother, the little Sun, whom he made part at once in a dugout protected by 12 soldiers and an officer, who brought him to a place two leagues below the village of the Natchez. From this place he went on by land, and our detachment returned the next morning.

May 10 a dugout arrived in which were two Canadians. Happily they had seen, above Natchez, a parchment which warned them to beware of the Natchez, without which they would have delivered themselves to them.

May 12 the Canadian who had left the 27th of April with a savage to go and forewarn the Frenchmen who were descending from the Illinois, arrived with 11 Frenchmen whom he had met 11 leagues above Natchez, without which that troop would have placed itself in the hands of that nation, knowing nothing of the war. This reenforcement gave so much the more pleasure inasmuch as they had seven pirogues loaded with meat and flour, which had begun to fail us. We learned that a Frenchman, with two Illinois Indians, who had separated himself from the voyagers, and who commanded a pirogue, had let himself be captured by the Natchez.

May 14 the little Sun arrived. He brought three heads, of which but two were recognized as those which were demanded. M. de Bienville had the chiefs come to him and said that he regretted the death of an innocent man whom they had killed, and made them throw this head at their feet. They admitted that it was that of a warrior who had had no part in the murder of the Frenchmen; but that as he was the brother of one of the murderers who had escaped them they had thought it necessary to kill him in his place.[a] M. de Bienville showed himself much dissatisfied with them because they had not brought him the other heads and told them that the next day he wished that they would bring [the head of] some chief. The Little Sun was replaced in prison and in fetters like the others. The Frenchman and the two Illinois savages, who had gone to deliver themselves to the Natchez, after four days, were brought back by chief Little Sun, to whom they owed their lives, for he had delivered them from the frame where they had been attached to be burned. This Frenchman assured M. de Bienville that no more Frenchmen were descending from the upper Mississippi, and that he was the last. They were very much pleased to hear it.

The 15th they sent to the Natchez two war chiefs and the high priest of the temple, who were charged to bring back the head of the chief Oyelape, otherwise called White Earth.[b] They were brought to a point near their villages by a detachment of soldiers. This same day the chief of the Tonikas came with M. Davion, their missionary, to inform M. de Bienville to keep himself well on his guard; that he had had news through three of his people, who had just arrived from the Natchez, that that nation had assembled, and that their warriors had taken the determination of descending *en masse* in dugouts to slaughter us in our camp, and thereby rescue all their chiefs or perish with them. These Tonikas offered to send 40 of their bravest warriors to guard us all night. M. de Bienville, who distrusted these as much as the others, thanked them, and told them that he feared nothing; that nevertheless they would please him by continuing to send spies among the Natchez to learn what they were doing.

The overflow of the Mississippi began to inundate all the land of the island where we were encamped. There was half a foot of water above the highest land. This caused us much fever, illness in the legs, and colic, [on account of] always having the feet in cold water, through the excessive heats. M. de Bienville, not being able to remain in his tent, had a cabin made surrounded with palings and covered with the bark of trees. He also had them erect a little powder magazine.

The chief, Tattooed-serpent, having caught the fever, M. de Bienville made him come out of prison, took off his fetters, and permitted him to remain every day with him (Bienville) along with his brothers. He had reason to be pleased with them. M. de Bienville, who thus passed all his days with these chiefs, reproached all of them for their evil practices, saying to them that they had received the past year English traders and two young boys of this nation to learn their language; that after having sent them back at his demand that they had promised him they would never detach themselves from the friendship and alliance of the French; that nevertheless six months afterward they had been traitorous enough to kill the first Frenchmen who had appeared among them; that every other French chief would not content himself with demanding solely the heads of the murderers, but that he would make all the nations which were their enemies join him and would go to destroy them entirely; that nevertheless they would force him to do this if they ventured to amuse him yet longer. These chiefs, after having admitted all the treason and all the deception of their nation, assured him that they had never appeared in the councils which were held to invite the English to come to establish themselves among them; that the French who were at that time in the village of the Natchez could render them that justice; that regarding the assassination of the Frenchmen they had only known of it eight days afterward, and that they had regretted them and wept. At that moment they gave forth great sighs and shed some tears. M. de Bienville asked them what they regretted. They replied that it was time to confess such things as were past; that three war chiefs of the villages of the Walnuts [Hickories], of White Earth, and the Grigras were the sole authors of the disorders which had taken place in their nation; that it was these three chiefs that had brought the English into their village; that it was at their orders that the Frenchmen had been killed; that there were two of them in irons in our prison; that one was called The Bearded Chief, who was their mother's brother, and the other Alahofléchia;[a] that the third had not descended with them and was called the Chief of White Earth; that these three chiefs for a year back had assumed so much authority in their nation that they were more feared and obeyed than themselves. The chief Tattooed-serpent also made known the fact that there were in our prison two other warriors who had killed the last Canadian in the month of March, and affirmed that he was entirely unacquainted with the others.

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[a] Pénicaut mentions only this head. The others may not have been shown him. He says the innocent person was killed in place of Chief White Earth. La Harpe states that two attempts were made to substitute another for the head of the chief who had committed the murder.

[b] According to Pénicaut, he was nephew of the great Sun, while La Harpe, who calls him "The Arrow," says he was the great Sun's brother. "The Arrow" may have been his name and White Earth his village. Oyelape has been supposed to be a corruption of *wi kaháp*, "earth white," but the writer's Natchez informant thought that it referred to a "blister" raised by medicine.

M. de Bienville said to these three chiefs that he had always doubted that they had had part in the unfortunate events which had taken place, and that henceforth he did not wish they should go into prison.

The 25th of May the two war chiefs who had been sent to their village to get the head of the chief of White Earth returned without bringing it and saying that he had fled.[b] They brought many slaves who belonged to the Frenchmen who had been killed. They also brought along many of their effects. The number of sick, which increased every day in our little camp, determined M. de Bienville to terminate this little war.

The 1st day of June he had all of the chiefs and the others who had been there for a month, except the four criminals, go out of the fort. He made them come to his house, where were the three other chiefs, and said to them that he was very willing to give them their lives and accord them peace on condition that they would give him their word that they would kill the chief of White Earth as soon as they should meet him and would send the head to the French officer who was among them; that for the present they should consent that the two war chiefs and the two warriors who were then in irons in our prison should be put to death in reparation for the murder which they had committed; that they should have restored all that had been pillaged, and for that which was found to be lost that they would make their people pay the value of it in pelts and provisions; that they would oblige their nation to cut 2,500 posts of acacia wood, 3 feet long and 10 inches in diameter, and to carry all to a place near the river Mississippi which would be indicated to them by us in order to build us a fort; that they would furthermore place themselves under obligations to furnish us 3,000 pieces of bark from cypress trees to cover our lodgings, and this before the end of July.

All these chiefs thanked M. de Bienville; each one of them made him a speech in which they protested their devotion to the French, saying that in the future they would conduct themselves in such a manner as no more to merit our reproaches; that they commended the Sun, their God, for having inspired them to engage their war chiefs, murderers of the French, to come with them in order to deliver themselves to us; that without that it would have been impossible for them to give us satisfaction on account of the great authority which these unfortunates had obtained over their nation; and that it was just that we should put them to death with the two others. They then repeated all the articles and all the conditions to which they bound themselves, promised to execute them faithfully, and to do even more.

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[a] The writer's Natchez informant believed this to be *Ula-homē'cia* or *Ula-hobē'ca,* "Shed snake-skin."

[b] La Harpe speaks of him as having been killed at this time, but he is evidently wrong (see p. 207). It will be noticed that this chronicler's estimate of the great Sun is different from Pénicaut's.

After these speeches were ended these chiefs asked M. de Bienville if he was willing to permit them to present their peace calumets to him to smoke, but he told them that it was not yet time, that he wished first that they should go to their villages, assemble all their warriors there, and explain to them the conditions under which he accorded them peace, and that he would send an officer and two soldiers with them to be witnesses of it.

The four criminals, seeing themselves alone in this prison, suspected that we were informed of what they had done and redoubled their cries and their death songs. The Tattooed-serpent, fearing that those of his people who were about to part for their village, would report that they wished to have these great warriors die, and that that would occasion an uproar in the nation on account of the great esteem which they had for them, prayed M. de Bienville only to let the report be spread that they would be sent to the governor in the lower part of the colony, who would decide their fate, and himself went to find them in prison to assure them that they would not die and that they must be calm.

June 3 the Sieur de Pailloux, adjutant, was commanded with 2 soldiers to go to the village of the Natchez with all the chiefs and the others except the Tattooed-serpent and his brother, whom M. de Bienville wished to keep as hostages. He gave orders to M. de Pailloux in case this nation accepted the treaty of peace to remain in the great village with a soldier and send back the other with the chiefs, who must return to render an account of their mission. He also recommended to M. de Pailloux to examine the most suitable place to locate our fort, near the river, and to inform him of it.

June 7 the pirogue which had been to the Natchez returned with nine old men of this nation and the soldier, by whom the Sieur de Pailloux wrote that he had seen the entire nation assembled; that it had shown great joy at what their chiefs had agreed with us; and that all these Indians were very much disposed to execute all that had been demanded of them. The said M. de Pailloux also informed him that he had found near the river a hill situated very advantageously for the construction of our fort. The same day M. de Bienville received the calumets which were presented to him by these nine venerable old men with many ceremonies. They were then made to smoke in ours. The next day, the 8th of June, M. de Bienville sent the nine old men home. He also permitted the chief Little Sun to part, but he kept near him the Tattooed-serpent, and sent at the same time in a pirogue 4 soldiers to carry to the Sieur de Pailloux axes, spades, pickaxes, nails, and other iron things necessary for the construction of the fort.

The 9th they had the soldiers break the heads of the two warriors.[a]

The 11th M. de Richebourg, captain, who was sick, parted with 3 soldiers to return to Mobile.

The 12th M. de Bienville, who had retained the Canadian *voyageurs* for some time, permitted them to go on their business to the lower part of the colony, made them carry along the two war chiefs, and gave orders to them to break their heads when they were 10 to 12 leagues off. As they were conducting away these two unfortunates to embark them, one of them, The Bearded, ceased for a moment singing his death song and sang that of war. He related his great deeds against different nations and the number of scalps he had carried away. He named the five Frenchmen whom he had caused to die, and said that he died with regret at not having killed more. The Tattooed-serpent, who was then the only one of his nation among us, listened attentively and said to M. de Bienville, "He is my brother, but I do not regret him. You are ridding us of a bad man."

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[a] Pénicaut says that the four were killed together immediately after their guilt had been discovered and before terms of peace had been agreed upon.

As the Mississippi did not lower and the water was always 5 or 6 inches over the surface of the earth, which continued to give us much sickness, M. de Bienville made the sick and the convalescent pass to the village of the Tonikas, who are on very high ground. These savages took great care to furnish them fresh bison and deer meat.

June 14 there arrived among the Tonika 8 Natchitoches in a pirogue loaded with salt, which these came to sell. By these savages M. de Bienville had news of the march of the Spaniards from Mexico to come and establish themselves on Red river, to the number of 500 men on horseback, with 250 pack mules. In order to prevent them, he at once sent out 6 soldiers and a sergeant to take possession of the upper part of this river before them.[a]

July 1 M. de Pailloux wrote M. de Bienville that three-quarters of the piles for our fort were brought to the place; that there were savages at work making trenches, and that there would be need of 6 skillful soldiers to show the savages how to plant the piles straight and of equal height. The next day, the 2d of the said month, 6 soldiers and all the necessary tools were sent.

The 22d M. de Bienville, having learned that his fort was almost finished, ordered a chief of the Tonikas to furnish him 30 of his people to aid him in ascending the river, which was very rapid. There remained to us only 6 well soldiers.

The 26th we arrived at Natchez. The Tattooed-serpent, whom we had with us, made 150 of his people come, and they carried our things to the fort the same day.

The next day we put the few soldiers that were well at work on the fort, and continued until the 2d of August, when it was entirely closed. The Natchez furnished us all the bark that had been demanded of them, and they were employed to cover a magazine, a powder magazine, a guardhouse, and barracks. All was finished the 3d of August.

The 25th 30 men of the Yazous and Offagoulas came to sing the calumet song to M. de Bienville, who received them very well. The same day the Natchez came, to the number of 500 to 600 men, without arms, and about 300 women, to give a public dance before our fort. The chiefs went inside, made M. de Bienville smoke, and told him that all these people were come to dance at his gate in order to show him their joy at having Frenchmen established among them.

The 28th of August M. de Bienville, seeing that things were entirely tranquil in his garrison and that he had nothing to fear on the part of the savages, gave the Sieur de Pailloux orders and instructions about what he was to do and determined to descend to Mobile to render an account to M. Lamothe-Cadillac. The 4th of October he arrived at Mobile, where he was given a packet from the council of marine, in which was a royal order for him as commander in chief in the colony, in the absence of M. d'Epinay, named to this Government in place of the Sieur de Lamothe-Cadillac, to whom it was not at all disagreeable for him to render an account.

Thus ended the first war with the Natchez.[b]

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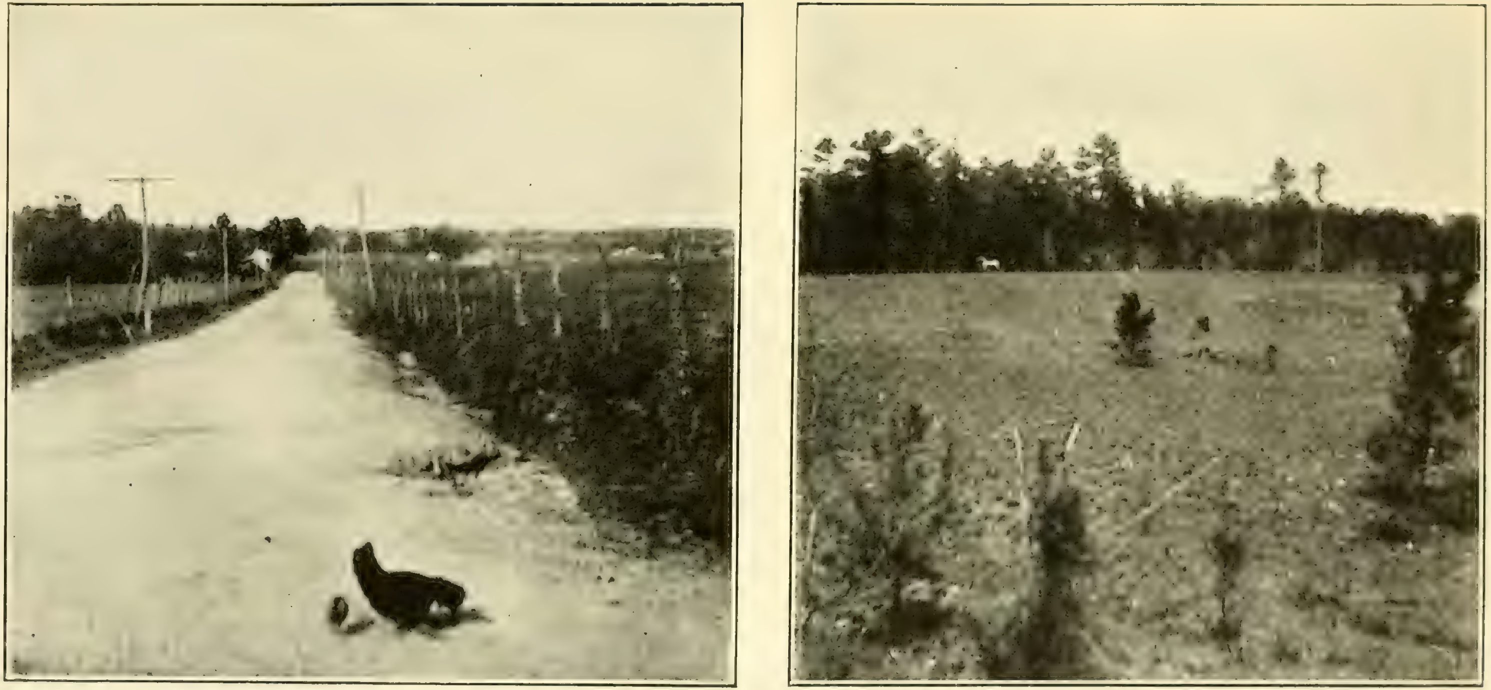
[a] According to La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 130–131, this was not executed until January, 1717.

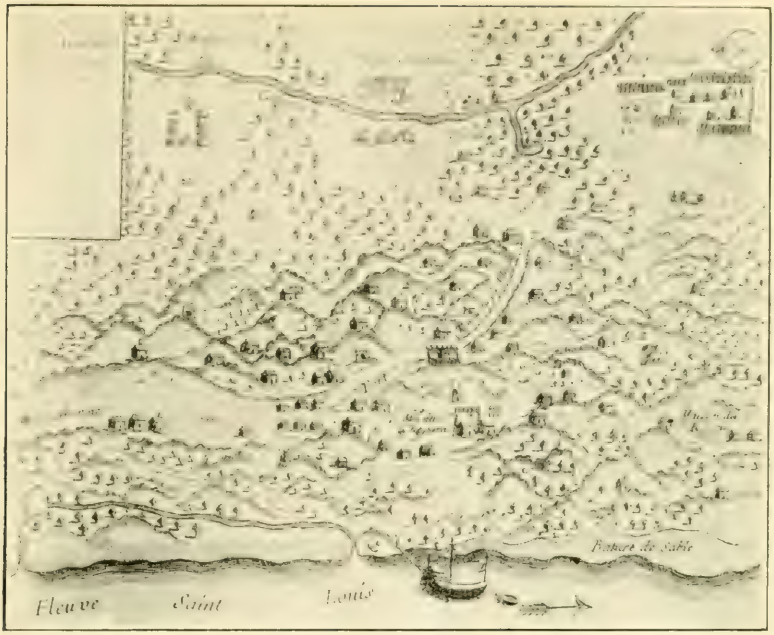
[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 241–252, 1851.



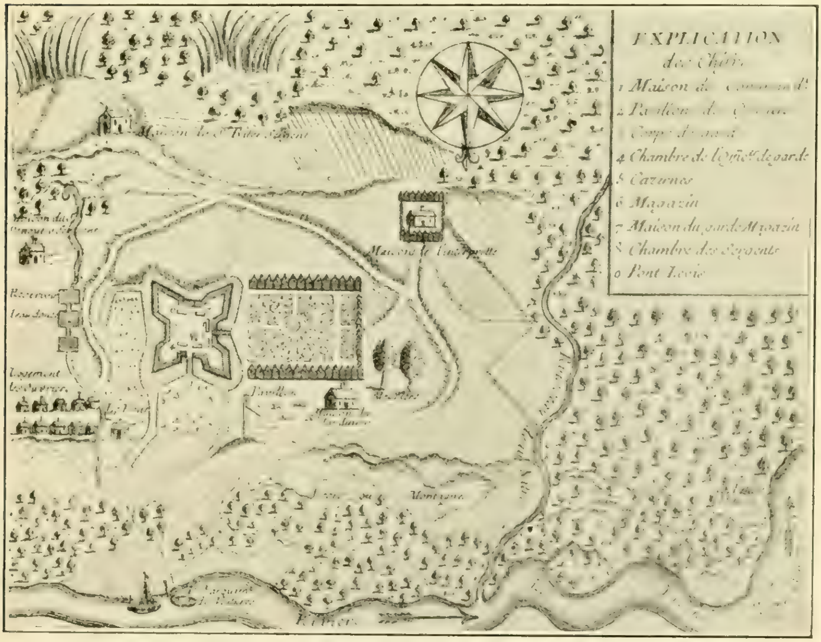
a View on the road between Natchez and Washington, Miss. Part of the country shown in this picture was included in the French concession of St. Catherine

b Probable site of the Natchez town house after the settlement of that tribe among the Creek Indians. It is now on the Hurd plantation Talladega county, Ala.

SITES CONNECTED WITH NATCHEZ HISTORY


Batture de Sable
Fleuve Saint Louis

a Plan of Fort Rosalie, the concessions of St. Catherine and White Earth, and the Natchez villages intervening


EXPLICATION
1 Maison du Commandt
4 Chambre de l'Offer de garde
5 Cazernes
6 Magazin
7 Maison du garde Magazin
8 Chambre des Sergents
9 Pont Levis
Riviere

b Plan of Fort St. Peter and the neighboring French settlements on Yazoo river

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN MISSISSIPPI

(From Dumont's Mémoires Historiques sur La Louisiane, II, 94, 85)

This post, situated on the lofty bluff at Natchez, was named Fort Rosalie by Bienville, after the Duchess of Pontchartrain.[a]

"It was," says Dumont (cf. pl. 7, *a*), "merely a plot 25 fathoms long by 15 broad, inclosed with palisades, without any bastions. Inside, near the gate, was the guardhouse, and 3 fathoms off along the palisade ran the barracks for the soldiers. At the other end, opposite the gate, a cabin had been raised for the lodging of the officer on guard, and on the right of the entrance was the powder magazine. At this post the company maintained a company of soldiers, with an ensign, a second lieutenant, a lieutenant, and a captain to command."[b] This settlement antedated the foundation of New Orleans by about two years, and was, indeed, favored by some as the capital of French Louisiana in preference to the latter place.

According to Pénicaut, Bienville returned to Natchez after a fifteen days' stay at Mobile and remained there until 1717,[c] when he went to Mobile to meet the new governor, M. de l'Epinay, leaving M. de Pailloux in charge. Later in the same year or early in 1718 Bienville removed M. de Pailloux to the new settlement of New Orleans, sending M. Blondel to relieve him. In 1718 Bienville went to Natchez to relieve Blondel, who was appointed to the post among the Natchitoches. When Bienville returned he left M. Barnaval in charge.[d]

In the year last mentioned the noted Louisiana historian, Le Page du Pratz, came to the colony and after establishing himself for a while near New Orleans, proceeded to Natchez as the agent of M. Hubert, *Commissaire Ordonnateur*,[e] and purchased for him two grants on St. Catherines creek, one for M. Hubert himself and one for the Western Company. These were on each side of the great Natchez village, about half a league distant, and one league from Fort Rosalie. For himself Du Pratz purchased other Indian lands between the fort and the two first grants.[f] The concession purchased for the company was situated below the Natchez village and was called White Earth (pl. 5, *b*), and some persons from the town of Clérac in Gascony, under M. de Montplaisir, were settled upon it to cultivate and work tobacco. They did not remain long, however, and the grant afterward passed into the hands of M. le Blanc and associates, who had formerly a concession on the Yazoo.[g] Before the last Natchez war it had again changed ownership and belonged to M. le Maréchal, Duc de Belle Isle.[a] M. Hubert's own concession, which lay above the great Natchez village, was called by him St. Catherine (pl. 6, *a*), and its name has been perpetuated in that of the stream. In 1723, being desirous to return to France, he sold it to M. Kolly through his agents, the MM. Dumanoir.[b]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v. 526. Charlevoix erroneously attributes the naming of this place to Iberville in 1700.—French, Hist. Coll. La., 146, 147, 1851.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 62.

[c] This date is correct; see La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 131.

[d] So Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 526, 546, 549, 554. Dumont simply says that Barnaval succeeded Blondel in 1719. Bienville was made commandant-general of Louisiana in 1718.

[e] La Harpe in Jour. Hist., 141, gives his title as *Directeur Général*.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 125–128.

[g] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 100.

Many smaller concessions were established here, among which Pénicaut mentions that of "M. de La Houssaye, a gentleman of Picardy, with 15 persons, among whom were the two Tisserand brothers associated with M. de La Houssaye."[c] This was also on St. Catherines creek. It was subsequently sold to Pénicaut. In the following year he records "the concession of MM. Pellerin and Bellecourt, with 15 persons and their families," which was placed "at the village of the Natchez."[d] In fact settlers now came in rapidly and Natchez was soon a flourishing place.

Toward the end of July, 1720, M. de Pailloux tried to persuade the Natchez and Yazoo to declare war against the Chickasaw; with what success does not appear.[e]

The year following Natchez was visited by the famous historian of New France, Father Charlevoix. He left the Quapaw towns early in December, 1721, and the Yazoo post the 10th of the same month, carrying with him a Natchez who desired to return home. This proved a fortunate circumstance, for on the 13th of that month he would have been lost in a gulf had it not been for this Indian. On the 15th he arrived at Natchez, which he describes as "the finest, the most fertile, and the most populous [canton] of all Louisiana." The great village of the Natchez was then reduced to a very few cabins, "because," as he explains, "the savages, from whom the great chief has a right to take all they have, get as far from him as they can; and therefore many villages of this nation have been formed at some distance from this." The Indians were then all at another village attending a feast. The father remained here longer than he had intended in order to minister to the spiritual needs of the settlers, and left the day after Christmas. The abandoned state of these latter will occasion less mourning among ethnologists than it caused the reverend father, since it probably enabled him to give a longer description of the Natchez tribe than would otherwise have been the case.[f] He informs us that there had been no missionary stationed among them since the death of St. Cosme, but Father Poisson, who stopped at the place from June 13 to June 17, 1727, on his way to the

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 126.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, V, 583. Dumont says it was not sold to them until after the death of M. Hubert, but as a matter of fact M. Hubert died very soon after his return to France.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, V, 553.

[d] Ibid., 566.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 76, 1851.

[f] Ibid., 140–170, 1851.

Quapaw, found a Capuchin *curé*, the Reverend Father Philibert, whose mission, however, seems to have been rather for the benefit of the whites than the Indians.[a]

M. Hubert did not go to his concession in person until 1722, when the Natchez and other Indian tribes farther up the Mississippi came to him to smoke the peace calumet. The former took occasion to beg for the pardon of the chief of White Earth, whose life had been forfeited by the terms of the treaty with Bienville. Bienville accorded it, and the event was celebrated by a great feast in all the Natchez towns.[b]

La Harpe, who passed Fort Rosalie January 20-25, 1722, found Barnaval in command with 18 men, but notes that the fort was "composed only of bad, decayed posts, so that it admits of no defense."[c]

What is called "the second Natchez war" broke out in the autumn of this same year. La Harpe refers to it in the following terms:

> The 29th [of October, 1722] M. Dustiné, coming from the Natchès, related that a sergeant of this garrison having had an altercation with some savages regarding a debt, they had come to blows, which obliged them to summon the guard; that these Indians making resistance, the son of a chief had been killed and others wounded, a fact which had induced many of this nation to attack the French; that M. Guenot, one of the directors of the concession of St. Catherine, when returning from the aforesaid concession on horseback, had received a gunshot wound in the shoulder. The next day the savages tried to surprise the cart of the settlement loaded with provisions and escorted by 20 fusileers; they had concealed themselves in the grass, from whence they had fired a volley with their firearms, killed a negro, and wounded another. Some days afterward they had come to attack the concession to the number of 80; they had been repulsed after having lost 7 men, and in this attack a man named Marchand, a soldier of the garrison, had perished. After this expedition they had surprised 2 settlers in their houses, had cut off their heads, and had killed 11 cows, many horses and pigs.
>
> The two principal chiefs of the Natchès had descended to New Orleans in order to obtain information from M. de Bienville. They were sent back with presents, and accompanied by M. de Pailloux, in order to quiet this disorder.[d]

The accounts given by Du Pratz and Dumont agree with this in all essentials, though varying considerably in details and professing to be much more elaborate. Du Pratz's narrative is as follows:

> A young soldier of the garrison had made some advances to an old warrior of one of the Natchez villages (this was the White Apple village), who was to give him some corn in return. Toward the beginning of the winter of 1723, this soldier being quartered near the fort, the old warrior went to see him and the soldier demanded of him his corn. The native replied gently that the corn was not yet dry enough to husk, that besides his wife had been sick, and that he would pay him as soon as it was possible. The young man, little satisfied with this reply, threatened to give the old man a cudgeling. Immediately the

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[a] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 311.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 573–575.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 309, 1831.

[d] Ibid., 343–345.

latter, who was in the soldier's cabin, became angered at this threat and told him he might see outside which was the stronger. At this defiance, the soldier, crying "murder," summoned the guard to his assistance. The guard ran up and the young man urged it to shoot at the warrior, who was returning to his village at an ordinary gait. One soldier was imprudent enough to do so. The old man fell at the shot. Soon the commandant was informed of what had passed and repaired to the place where the witnesses, for there were French and Natchez—where the witnesses, I say, informed him of the deed. Justice and prudence would have dictated that he should inflict on the soldier an exemplary chastisement. He dismissed him, however, with a reprimand, after which the natives made a litter and carried away their warrior, who died of his wounds the following night, although the gun had been loaded only with buckshot * * * .

The first effect of the resentment of the Natchez fell on a Frenchman named M. Guenot, whom they surprised returning from the fort to St. Catherine, and on another settler, whom they killed in his bed. Soon afterward they attacked simultaneously the grant of St. Catherine and that below Fort Rosalie. It was in this last that I had established my dwelling. I then saw myself exposed, along with many others, to pay with my goods and perhaps with my life for the rashness of a soldier and the too great gentleness of his captain. But as I already knew the character of the people with whom we had to deal, I did not despair of being able to save both the one and the other. I barricaded myself in my house, and having placed myself in a position of defense, when they came at night, according to their custom, to surprise me, they did not dare to make an attack.

This first attempt, which I well judged would be followed by one and perhaps several others, determined me, when day came, to retire close to the fort, as did all the settlers, and to carry thither all the provisions which I had in my dwelling. I was able to execute my plan only in part. My slaves having begun by carrying over the best things, scarcely had I arrived at the fort when the commandant begged me to put myself at the head of a detachment of settlers to go to the assistance of St. Catherine. He had already sent thither all of his garrison, retaining only five men to guard the fort, and this succor was not sufficient to relieve the concession, which the natives pressed vigorously in great numbers.

I departed without delay. The shots could be heard at a distance, but the noise ceased as soon as I arrived, and the natives appeared to have retired. Without doubt they had seen me on my march, and the sight of the reenforcement conducted by me had impressed them. The officer who commanded the detachment of the garrison which I relieved returned to the fort with his troop, and the command having thus devolved on me, I had all the negroes assembled and ordered them to cut all the bushes which covered the country, favoring the approach of the enemy even to the doors of the houses of this concession. This operation was performed without any trouble, except a dozen shots fired by the natives from the woods on the other side of the river, where they were concealed; for the plain about St. Catherine being absolutely cleared of all that might mask them they no longer dared to appear there.

However, the commandant of Fort Rosalie brought influence to bear on the Tattooed-serpent that this great war chief might calm that part of his nation and procure peace. As he was one of our friends he worked effectively to that end and hostilities ceased. After I had passed twenty-four hours at St. Catherine I was relieved by a new detachment of settlers whom I relieved in my turn the next day. It was during this second period that I mounted guard that the village with which war was made sent me the calumet of peace through its deputies. My first instinct was to refuse it, knowing that this honor was due to the commandant at the fort, and it appeared to me so much the more delicate to deprive him of it as we were not on too good terms. However, the evident danger of occasioning the continuation of the war by refusing it determined me to accept it, but not till after I had taken the advice of those who were with me, who all judged it best to treat with these people to whom the commandant had become odious.

I asked them what they wished, and they replied tremblingly "Peace." "That is good," I answered, "but why do you bring the peace calumet to me? To have peace it is necessary to carry it to the chief at the fort." "We have orders," said they, "to bring it to you first, if you wish to smoke it; we will carry it afterward to the chief of the fort, but, if you are not willing to receive it, the orders are that we are merely to return home."

I then told them that I was very willing to smoke in their calumet on condition that they should carry it to the chief of the fort. They made me a short but very flattering speech. I will be excused from reporting it for reasons that may well be guessed. I replied to their speech that it was well we should resume our manner of living together, and that the Frenchmen and the red men should entirely forget what had passed; that as far as concerned me I was grieved at no longer having a house, but I was going to build one very soon, and that as soon as I had built a dwelling I would forget that the old one had been burned; finally that they had only to carry the calumet to the chief of the fort, and from there to go home to sleep.

Such was the outcome of the first war with the Natchez, which lasted only three or four days.[a]

The Tattooed-serpent afterward had the warriors of the White Apple village rebuild Du Pratz's house, and they called it Strong House, "because it was ball proof and had loopholes on all sides."[b]

The commerce or trade was reestablished as it had been formerly, and those who had suffered some damage thought only of repairing it. Some time afterward there arrived from New Orleans the major-general whom the governor of Louisiana had sent to ratify this peace. He did so, and the security on both sides became as perfect as if there had never been anything to quarrel about.[c]

Dumont's account of this war is much longer, and gives a very different idea of it, being written from the point of view of the French settler, while Du Pratz, as always, is more favorable to the Indians. As usual in such matters, it is evident there were two sides to the question, neither of the parties monopolizing all of the virtue or justice. It is singular that Dumont is the only writer who mentions an expedition from New Orleans during the second war. The importance of these events, many of which are otherwise trivial, is enhanced by the insight they give into those causes which led to the final Natchez uprising. Following is Dumont's narrative:

This act of hostility on the part of the Chickasaws (an attack near the Yazoo post) was followed a short time afterward by another accident which showed that the Natchez were not much better disposed with regard to the nation. The establishments which were made among the savages which bear this name were not formed at all in the same manner as in all the other cantons of the province, where, to have a habitation after having chosen such land as one wished, it sufficed to present one's request to the council which never failed to sign it after having put in certain clauses; this act took the place of a contract of sale and title in order to possess legally the lands which had been ceded. On the contrary, those who had first established themselves among the Natchez, purchased the land they wished to occupy from the savages of the place themselves, who by this traffic were bound to the French, were attached to them, and became their friends.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 180–186. He here ignores entirely the "war" of 1716, but unlike some writers distinguishes between the war of 1722–23 and that of 1723–24.

[b] Ibid., 186–187.

[c] Ibid., 187–188.

Things were in this state when the inconstancy or the malignity of the barbarians gave rise to an event of which the consequences were very disastrous. Perhaps, too, the Sieur Guenote brought on himself the misfortune which befell him; at least it was suspected that he would not have been attacked if he had not caused some discontent on the part of some of the Natchez savages established at the Apple village. He was one of the directors of the concession of St. Catherine, and had gone to dine with the commandant of Fort Rosalie, when on returning in the evening through the woods, a savage shot at him with a gun, the ball wounding his right arm. Happily the shot did not bring him down. He put spurs to his horse and arrived safely at the concession, where the Sieur de St. Hilaire, who was its surgeon, did him the first services.

The savages on their side, angry at having lost their coup, turned all their fury against another French soldier of the garrison named La Rochelle, who lived in a cabin separated a little from the fort, and who, believing he had nothing to fear on their part, had even neglected to close it with a door. They entered his house one night while he was asleep, killed him, and carried off his scalp.

Nothing more was needed to inform the French that the savages had declared war against them. The Sieur Guenote fearing, with reason, to fall into their hands, abandoned the settlement and returned to the capital, as much that he might not draw upon himself a greater misfortune as to have his wound attended to. It was doing well and gave hopes of a prompt and perfect cure, but not having been willing to follow the advice of the surgeon, who warned him to take care of himself and not drink at all, gangrene set in in his wound, and he died.

The commandant-general of the country had no sooner been informed of these two acts of hostility committed by the Natchez savages than he resolved to revenge them. For this purpose he had a certain number of troops commanded by the Sieur Payon, who performed the functions of major-general in the colony, embark in four boats. This little army arrived at Natchez and was preparing to fall upon the savages in accordance with the orders it had received when the Tattooed-serpent, who was then grand chief of all this nation,[a] came to present the calumet of peace to the general, and in the speech which he made him, represented to him that the acts of hostility which were complained of ought not to be attributed to the savages of the grand village, nor to those of the Flour village; that they could only be imputed to those of the villages of the Apple, of Jenzenaque, or of the Gris; that, besides, the savage who had done the shooting was out of his mind when he had done it—that is to say, was drunk—and that he was no longer in the village; that, besides, all of his people were friends of the French and carriers for them; that it was then useless to come and declare war against them; that his nation was entirely unwilling to have war with the French, and he asked peace.

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[a] He was in reality only the head war chief. Cf. p. 149, note [c].

The Sieur Payon, who had been informed by the people of the concession of St. Catherine themselves that the blow had indeed been struck by the savages of the Apple village, replied to the grand chief through the Sieur Papin, interpreter, that he liked his arguments, and that they appeared just and legitimate to him; but that it had cost much, as also to treat the Frenchman who had been wounded, and if he wished to have peace, it was fair that he purchased it by paying some damages. The Tattooed-serpent consented to this; he taxed the savages of the three villages of the Apple, of Jenzenaque, and of the Gris, making each cabin furnish a certain number of fowls, which were brought; and after they had been placed in the boats, the troops reembarked and betook themselves to the capital. Thus was terminated this first expedition through an accommodation, which they preferred to make with savages who still appeared to desire our friendship, than to expose themselves to the uncertain outcome of war.[a]

The third Natchez war followed closely upon the second, in the autumn of the succeeding year. Dumont describes it in greatest detail:

This peace was not of long duration, and I might almost say that the French general and his troops had scarcely returned to the capital when the savages thought of recompensing themselves for the many fowls they had furnished against their will. It is true that at this time they did not carry their undertaking against the person of any Frenchman, but they desolated the concession of St. Catherine, killing the cattle, and even the horses which belonged to it, when they met them. This settlement had for defense only a small number of workmen and some negroes, so that seeing themselves every day an object of persecution by the savages of the Apple, Jenzenaque, and the Gris, they addressed themselves to the commandant-general of the country, begging him to take them under his protection and put an end to the insults of the barbarians. This officer, desiring to preserve order, decided to go in person to this canton; he chose to accompany him among the troops of the colony those which suited him, had five boats and some pirogues armed, left toward the middle of October, and reached the Natchez at the end of the month. In ascending the river St. Louis [the Mississippi] this little army rested four days at the Tonikas, the chief of whom, who was a Christian and a good warrior, joined the French with a party of his people, and wished to follow them in this war. * * *

As soon as the commandant-general had arrived at Natchez he repaired with all his officers to the house of the Sieur Barnaval, who then commanded at Fort Rosalie, where he supped. After supper he had many pieces of cloth of Rouen torn up for bandages and he had them distribute these cloth bands to all the savages who followed the army with orders to fasten them to their arms in order that the French who accompanied him and who did not know what distinguished the different barbarous nations might at least recognize by this mark those of these peoples who were friends. Besides the Tonikas of whom I have spoken the army had been joined by some Yazou savages and by a party of Choctaws commanded by Red Shoe.

The next day the commandant, not wishing to give the enemy time to fortify themselves or even to escape from him, made all the troops march in two columns to report at the concession of St. Catherine, where he established the general rendezvous for all the army. It was composed of troops of the company, soldiers of the concession of White Earth, many citizens, Canadians, and volunteers from the capital, and some inhabitants of the Natchez post. The first column followed the high road which leads from Fort Rosalie to St. Catherine; the other took a little trail running across the prairies and the valleys. The whole army being assembled at the rendezvous they passed the night there sleeping under the open sky, their weapons under their arms, awaiting the general, who slept at the fort. There the Tattooed-serpent did not fail to present himself to ask pardon for his nation. He avowed that the inhabitants of the Apple, of Jenzenaque, and of the Gris were really mutinous and that he himself had not been able to restrain them, but all that he was able to obtain of the commandant was that his vengeance would extend only to these three villages, he being promised that out of consideration for him he would spare his Grand village and that of the Flour, which he knew besides not to have been at all imbrued in the hostilities committed by the three others.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 93-98.

The following day, the commandant having arrived, the army began to march in the direction of the village of the Apple, defiling through the forest on little trails where the soldiers were able to pass only one at a time. It was All Saints' Day. All the troops marched in silence in order to surprise their enemies. On the way they came to a cabin where there were three savage women at the door occupied in pounding maize to make hominy. As soon as they perceived the French armed and in such great numbers, accompanied by savages painted for war, they abandoned their work in the quickest possible manner in order to enter their cabin, the door of which they closed.

There was in that cabin made of mud three savages, who seeing through the loopholes left in the walls that the Frenchmen were directing themselves against them, armed themselves with their guns and began to shoot through the openings; but as there were but three the army disposed itself in such a fashion that no one was wounded. An inhabitant newly established at Fort Rosalie, however, wishing to profit by the promise which the commandant had made, that he who took a woman or girl of the savages should have her as a slave, and hoping to carry off one of the savage women whom they had seen, without paying any attention to the danger to which he was going to expose himself, detached himself from the body of the army, and directing his course thither arrived at the door of the cabin. He seized the upper part of it with one hand intending to pull it down, but as this door was made only of dry canes tied and interlaced with two other canes placed crosswise, one of the three savages who was within aimed at him through these canes and with one shot pierced his heart. The Frenchman fell dead, dragging the door with him, and thus leaving a free access to whoever might wish to avenge him. A settler, a good gentleman of Bearn, named the Sieur Mesplet, undertook to do it; he entered the cabin at the moment when the savage was about to shoot, and instead of killing him with a shot from his gun, as he might have done, he advanced to seize him in hopes of having him for a slave if he could take him alive. The savage, who had not had time to reload, seeing the Frenchman approach, leveled a blow against him with the butt of his gun, but he missed him and the Sieur Mesplet, having seized him in a moment about the body, lifted him and carried him out of the cabin. As soon as he had done so the commandant ordered one of our savages to kill him and take his scalp, having resolved to give no quarter to males; at the same time he promised this settler to give him the first female slave which should be taken by our savages. As to the two other savages they were killed by some Frenchmen, who, while this was going on, had entered the cabin. One of them, named the Sieur Tisserand, possessed himself of two of the female savages who had concealed themselves under a bed; the other was taken by another settler.

After this first expedition the army resumed its route for the village of the Apple, but the shots which had been exchanged on both sides had served as a warning to the savages to escape, and they were all dispersed in the woods or in the neighboring villages so that when it arrived at their settlement the army found nothing but the cabins. It came to a halt in the grand square of the village and the commandant, thinking that the savages might perhaps go to the cabin they had just left to take the scalp of the Frenchman who had been killed there, sent thither a detachment with orders to burn the cabin and the body of the Frenchman. At the same time he had all the cabins in the village set on fire, and as the day began to decline the army took up its route again for St. Catherine.

They reached there at nightfall and passed four hours in repose, without anything new happening. The fifth, the commandant divided the army into two corps and gave the leadership of one to the Sieur Payon, with orders to take the same route they had formerly taken. For himself, having placed himself at the head of the second corps, he set out for the village of the Gris, where he arrived over trails still worse and more difficult than those of which I have already spoken. They found no savage there, but only a temple and some cabins scattered about, which the commandant had reduced to ashes. The troops, however, were dying of thirst, and while everyone was searching where he might quench it, a settler met by chance an old savage woman who was perhaps more than 100 years old, since her hair was entirely white, a very rare thing among these savages. He led her to the general, who, after having questioned her and having learned from her where water might be found, abandoned her on the spot as a useless incumbrance to the discretion of a little slave he had, who took her scalp and killed her. Then the army continued its march, always having to undergo the same fatigues and the same inconveniences; they were obliged to cry at each instant, "Halt the van," and a moment afterward "Close the rear." It is certain that if the savages had had the spirit or the courage to assemble and make an ambush in some ravines it would have been easy for them to have destroyed the whole army.

Finally they got out of the woods and defiles, and the troops having entered a large and vast plain from which the grasses had been burned, they discovered at a distance one of the hostile savages armed with a gun who, without doubt, was reconnoitering and examining our line of march. As soon as he had perceived him, a Frenchman named Maréchal instantly begged the commandant to permit him to run upon this savage, which the latter refused at first, but finally, overcome by his importunities, he permitted him. Then Maréchal parted like a flash of lightning, without taking his gun, and armed only with a woodcutter's knife. The whole army, uncertain what was going to happen, stopped to witness this combat. The savage, seeing come against him but one single man without arms, thought himself strong and skillful enough to conquer him; he waited for him with firm foot, and when he saw him within range, he shot at him, but missed him. Immediately he took to flight across the prairie, pursued by his enemy, who finally reached him and buried his knife in his back. The savage fell from the blow and the Frenchman above, but at once the latter rose again, uttered the death cry, took the scalp from his enemy, and came in triumph to present it to the general, who by way of recompense had some goods delivered to him.

A short time afterward Red Shoe, chief of the little party of Choctaws which had followed the army, having perceived 4 fleeing female savages, ran after them, seized them, and brought them to the general. They were questioned, and by their replies it was learned that half a league from there there were, at the village of Jenzenaque, 50 savages who were awaiting us firmly resolved to conquer or die. At this news the army doubled step, and the chief of the Tonikas placed himself at the head, marching straight toward the enemy. Some time later they perceived a strongly built cabin on a height; they did not at all doubt that this was the place where the savages were to be found. Immediately the drums beat, the fifes played, the army formed in battalion squares and advanced toward the cabin. The chief of the Tonikas, who was at the head, arrived first on the height; he approached the cabin, examined it, and found no one there. The savages had abandoned it, and had done the same with so much precipitation that they had left some guns, balls, and horns full of powder. The chief of the Tonikas encircling the height, perceived below a minor chief of the enemy called the Little Sun. We should rather say, seeing each other at the same time, to aim and fire was almost the same thing. The chief of the Tonikas threw down his enemy dead on the spot, and fell himself dangerously wounded. The ball with which he was struck had entered his mouth, pierced the cheek, from there had gone into the breech of his gun, and sliding along the entire length of it, had broken his shoulder blade.

The savages seeing him fall, and thinking that he had been killed, uttered cries and frightful howls, but some Frenchmen having approached, found that he yet breathed. They raised him, laid him on a stretcher, and, having placed him in the midst of the army, they resumed the road to St. Catherine. But night coming on, they were obliged to camp in a prairie, where each one lighted a fire to warm himself, for there was neither tents nor covering, they had not even brought provisions. Toward midnight the savages began to make some discharges with their guns loaded with powder, which they are generally in the habit of doing when they are near the enemy, to let them know that they are on their guard. Unfortunately the company of White Earth which was commanded by the Sieur de Liette had no knowledge of this usage of the savages; they thought that this was a surprise of the enemy who were coming to attack the army, placed themselves under arms, and marched in the direction whence the firing was heard, when the commandant, informed of this mistake, sent thither an aid-de-camp to make them return to their quarters. At daybreak on the following day the army placed itself in line of march, and arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning at the concession of St. Catherine, where a strong detachment was left to place this settlement beyond the insults of the savages. The remainder of the troops retired to Fort Rosalie, where the company of the Sieur de Liette was dismissed and returned to White Earth. The commandant now thought of putting an end to this war, but he did not wish to terminate it without having it cost the savages, not fowls, as had happened the first time, but blood worthy of being shed. With this intention he sent to tell the Tattooed-serpent to come to speak to him, and that one having immediately repaired to him, he told him that he was going to withdraw the word he had given him not to fall on the Grand Village and on that of the Flour, since he had learned that he was giving a retreat to his enemies. To this speech the great chief, who was really a friend of the French, made no other reply than to ask for peace. "I will grant it to you," replied the general, "but see at what price. You know that among your people there is a negro who formerly belonged to the French; bring me his head with that of Old-hair, chief of the village of the Apple, and promise me that you will always regard the French as your friends and brothers; on these two conditions I will give you peace." This negro, whose head was demanded, was a free black, who instead of establishing himself with the French in the lands which belonged to them, had passed over among the savages where he had even made himself chief of a party. It was justly feared that he would teach them the manner of attack and defense, and for that reason it was of the utmost importance for the nation to get rid of him.

The Tattooed-serpent submitted to all that was exacted of him, and demanded only three days for its execution, which were granted him. Two days afterward he did in fact bring the head of Old-hair, and the next day that of the negro. Then the commandant, seeing the war ended, left orders, as well to the commandant of Fort Rosalie as to the great chief of the savages, and returned to the capital, after having reestablished peace and tranquillity in these parts.[a]

Following is Du Pratz's description, which is much abbreviated. It will be noticed that he makes Bienville's attack upon the Natchez entirely unprovoked, which is improbable, though Dumont is unable to chronicle any overt act against a settler, but merely the destruction of cattle. Perhaps Du Pratz considered these acts too trivial to be noticed, and in fact an assault in force without previous warning, the slaughter of several Indians, and the burning of their towns seems a rather severe reprisal for the loss of a few domestic animals. Neither Bienville nor any of his contemporaries had learned that drastic measures may easily be carried too far with the prouder and more powerful tribes of Indians, where blood revenge is one of the first duties of life. Says Du Pratz:

At the beginning of the winter following this phenomenon[b] [1823–24] M. de Bienville arrived in our Natchez district without noise and without anyone being forewarned of it, because the commandant of the post had orders to detain all the Natchez who should come to the fort that day that the news of his arrival might not be carried to the Natchez. He had brought regular troops, settlers, and native allies to the number of 700 men in all.

The order was given that all our Natchez settlers should be at his door at midnight at the latest. I repaired thither and mingled in the crowd without making myself known.

We arrived two hours before day at the settlement of St. Catherine. The commandant having finally found me ordered me on behalf of the king to put myself at the head of the Natchez settlers and command them, and for them to obey me as himself. We advanced in complete silence toward the village of the Apple. It is easy to see that all these precautions were in order to surprise our enemies, who must expect us so much the less as they had made peace with us in good faith, and as M. Paillou, major-general, had come to ratify this peace on the part of the governor. We marched on the enemy; the first Natchez cabin, which was isolated, was invested; the drums accompanied by the fife beat the charge; the cabin, in which were only 3 men and 2 women, was fired on.

They then moved to the village—that is, to the many cabins which succeeded; we stopped at 3 which were adjoining, in which were intrenched 12 to 15 Natchez. On seeing us they would have taken us for people who came merely to inspect these cabins. Indignant that no one had made it his duty to attend to them, I took it upon myself to surround the enemy with my troop in order to take them from behind. They fled; I pursued them, but we would have needed the legs of deer to catch them. However, I approached so close that to run faster they threw away their clothing.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 98–113.

[b] A remarkable celestial display.

I rejoined the command, and, expecting to be reprimanded for having driven them without orders, I had my defense all ready, but I was deceived. They gave me nothing but praise. I would not have reported this fact had not M. de Bienville noted it more at length in the relation of this war which he sent to the court, and which was placed in the Journal.

This war, of which I will give no more details, lasted four days in that place. M. de Bienville demanded the head of an old, unruly chief of this village, and the natives gave it up to him in order to have peace.[a]

M. Barnaval, who had commanded at Fort Rosalie during this period, was succeeded by the Sieur de Liette, formerly director of White Earth, and he in turn by the Sieur Brontin. The Sieur Brontin being also director of White Earth found it convenient, on account of the number of workmen and negroes to oversee at the latter place, to reside there, leaving the fort in charge of the historian Dumont.[b] From this time a deep tranquillity reigned in the district, broken only by a slight disturbance happily put an end to without bloodshed. Dumont describes it as follows:

There were at White Earth all kinds of beasts—oxen, cows, bulls, horses, etc.—which went every day to graze in the plain. But it happened one day that a savage gave a mare of this settlement a blow on the flank with an iris-shaped war club on the near side, and not satisfied with having wounded it cut off its tail, which among these savages is regarded as great an act of bravery and courage as if they had taken a scalp, and in consequence as a declaration of war. Happily the mare was found in this state, and it was brought to the concession and put into the hands of a farrier, who cured it.

The Sieur Brontin wished to know the reason for this hostile act, and being very desirous to penetrate at the same time the intention of the savage, who perhaps had attacked the mare only because he did not dare to attack the French, he sent word to the Tattooed-serpent to come to speak with him. The latter presented himself before him immediately; and the commandant having asked him if he or his people were the ones who were going to live on good terms with the French, the great chief wanted to know why he asked this question. The Sieur Brontin explained, and even let him see the wounded mare, but the Tattooed-serpent protested to him that this blow did not come from any of the people of his nation, and wished, indeed, to impute it to the little nation of Tioux, which lived about 2 leagues west of the grand village and 1 league to the south of Fort Rosalie. At this reply the Sieur Brontin immediately dispatched a messenger to one named Bamboche, who was regarded as chief of the Tioux, with orders to come to speak with him. He presented himself, and the commandant having made known what had passed, and what the great chief of the Natchez had said of his village, this person, who at heart was a rascal, firmly maintained that the action could not have been performed by any savage of his village, because there was not one who had an iris-shaped war club, and that it came without doubt from the Tattooed-serpent's own people, since they had many of these arms in their five villages. The great chief of the Natchez, stung by this reply, rose quickly and went out, saying: "I see what is to be done; I am going to give the order for it." At the same time he returned to his village, where he assembled his Honored men.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 197–200.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 117–118.

> As soon as he had gone the Sieur Brontin had his troop armed and sent a messenger to me to the fort to inform me of what had passed. At this news I had the cannon which was at the fort loaded, had a general alarm sounded, and having assembled the inhabitants by firing off a cannon loaded with powder, I warned them to be on their guard and to retire to the fort at the second discharge of the cannon which they should hear, along with their wives and children. These precautions were useless, however. The Tattooed-serpent, having heard the cannon which I had had discharged, imagined at once that the French were going to fall on his villages with arms, and in order to prevent them he left on the spot with all his Honored men to go and present the peace calumet to the commandant of White Earth. The latter at first hesitated to receive it, and said to the great chief that he could return to his village, where he was going to bring him another calumet to smoke. However, he finally let himself be overcome by the importunity of the savage, who begged him insistently to receive him and his people into friendship; but in the speech which he had made to him, he asked if it was right that the concession lose its mare in this manner. The Tattooed-serpent agreed that it was not just, and by way of reparation for the injury he sentenced each cabin of all the villages of his nation, even including those of the Tioux, to furnish to the concession a hamper of corn, a thing which was accomplished in eight days. At the same time the Sieur Brontin made the great chief understand that it was not enough to make peace with him if he did not make it also with his lieutenant, who commanded at the fort, and who was not less angry than he, which determined the savages to come to Fort Rosalie, where I was, with the same favor of the calumet, the whole garrison being under arms as long as the ceremony lasted. The corn which was obtained from this contribution was more than sufficient to pay an entire regiment of cavalry, since but two hampers were needed to make a quarter of corn [25 pounds], containing 120 pots [English pints], which were sold then at 30 livres. Thus it happened that on this occasion the prudence of the chief did not permit the nation to become the plaything of these savages, who at heart loved the French, and who paid very dearly for the fault which one of them had committed.[a]

Not long after this trouble had been satisfactorily settled the Sieur Brontin was recalled to the capital and succeeded by the Sieur de Tisnet, who remained a year. Dumont notes of him that, in order to win the friendship of the Natchez, he taught them to build palisaded forts after the manner of the French. This does not mean that the natives were ignorant of such forts, but that De Tisnet taught them improvements. Of these they seem to have made excellent use in the subsequent war with their teachers. The next commandant, the Sieur de Merveilleux, is said by the same authority to have been very much beloved by the white inhabitants and to have lived on excellent terms with the Indians.[b] Perhaps his virtues may have improved in retrospect in contrast with the vices of his successor, the Sieur Chopart or Chépart.

We now come to the last tragic chapter in the history of the Natchez as a nation, that to which, even more than to the uniqueness of their social organization and many of their customs, they owe their fame. The massacre of a post as large and as important as that of Natchez and the subsequent war to the death with the Natchez, which followed, as well as the Chickasaw war to which it gave birth, could not fail to create a profound impression at the time, both in the region where these events took place and in Europe, and upon their ashes all kinds of rumors and stories arose, some containing an element of truth, some grossly exaggerated.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 118–122.

[b] Ibid., 122–123, 125.

The principal outside authority, the one with the best official and documentary information, was Father Charlevoix, the statements in whose "History of New France" can only be supplemented or checked by means of some of the official letters of Perrier and D'Artaguette contained in Gayarré's History of Louisiana. More direct and detailed information regarding the massacre itself and the causes which led up to it is to be found in our two principal ethnological authorities, Dumont and Du Pratz. The wife of the former was held captive among the Natchez at that time, while the latter was thoroughly familiar with the post and the Indians near it and was still in the colony when the outbreak occurred. He also claims to have obtained much of his information from a woman who had been captured by the Natchez and was afterward governess in his family, and from Tattooed-arm, mother of the great Sun, while she was a captive at New Orleans.[a] These may be supplemented by short accounts in Bartram[b] and Adair,[c] and an interview of a supposed Natchez Indian by Col. Anthony Hutchins.[d]

Several different reasons have been assigned for the Natchez outbreak, and it is probable that there is truth in each. At the same time, as in most important movements, we may suspect that there were older influences which had been working up toward it for many years, influences perhaps traceable from the period of earliest white contact. A short résumé of what some of these may have been will, perhaps, be of interest.

On his descent of the Mississippi in 1682, La Salle and his companions came as the allies, or at least friends, of the Quapaw.[e] They were therefore well received by the Taënsa, the allies of the latter people, and concluded a treaty with them. The explorers noted the fact that the Indians on one side of the river were at enmity with those on the other; the Tunica, at any rate, being hostile to the Quapaw and Taënsa. The Natchez were on the same side of the river as the Tunica, but we do not know whether the general remark above referred to applied to them or not. La Salle was greeted in a friendly enough way by them, but perhaps he made a mistake in not waiting for the chiefs of the Natchez towns, who had been sent for to come and smoke the peace calumet with him. As the largest, strongest, and proudest tribe on the lower course of the river, his hasty departure may have been taken as a slight. Subsequently on his return we know that they and the Koroa assumed a hostile attitude toward him. Iberville and Bienville, however, soon after the permanent settlement of Louisiana, established satisfactory relations with the tribe and for a time everything went smoothly, the most influential part of the nation at any rate, including the great Sun, welcoming the French as allies against the frequently hostile Chickasaw. But almost as rapidly as the French advanced from the south English traders from Carolina pushed toward the Mississippi from the northeast. Some of them, as we have seen,[a] reached the Quapaw as early as 1700, while their establishments among the Chickasaw must have considerably antedated this, and the Chickasaw were almost unwaveringly in the English interest. From them English traders communicated with the Yazoo and Koroa, as was well known to the French, and the very year in which a mercantile establishment was located among the Natchez, Pénicaut records that he found three Englishmen among them.[b] The towns which seem to have received most of these men were those of White Apple, The Hickories or Jenzenac, and the town of the Gris or Grigras, and it was with the people of these same villages that the French had most difficulty. We know also from the confession of the great Sun to Bienville that councils had been held to invite the English into their towns.[c] Since the great chief claimed to have had no part in them, it is a fair assumption that they were held by the chiefs of the three towns in question. At any rate, although Pénicaut believed the great Sun to have been a party to the affair, inhabitants of these towns, including their chiefs, were responsible for the murder of the four French *voyageurs* in 1715, the immediate occasion of the first Natchez war.[d] Whether a result of previous injuries or not, those hostile acts which led to the second war were attributed to Indians of the same towns both by the Tattooed-serpent and the inhabitants of the concession of St. Catherine, and these towns were taxed by the great Sun to indemnify the French.[e] Later, in revenge for their losses, they devastated the concession of St. Catherine and were in turn the special objects of the attack led by Bienville, the Tattooed-serpent claiming that he had been unable to restrain them. In this expedition the three villages were burned and several scalps taken, including that of a Sun, while to obtain terms of peace the great Sun was obliged to send Bienville the head of Old-hair, chief of the village of White Apple.[f] In the next disturbance the three villages in question are not mentioned, blame being laid by the Tattooed-serpent on the small nation of Tioux.

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 261, 326–327.

[b] Bartram, Travels through N. Amer., 431–432, 1792.

[c] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 353–354, 1775.

[d] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 48–49.

[e] See pp. 259, 261.

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[a] P. 192. [b] P. 193. [c] P. 202. [d] Pp. 193, 197. [e] P. 211. [f] Pp. 214–215.

Running through the history of this entire period, from 1713 to 1729, we thus see two influences at work among the Natchez, a friendly attitude, at least grounded on policy, on the part of the people of the Grand village and the Flour village, including the supreme chiefs of the nation, and a hostile position maintained by the people of White Apple, The Hickories, and the Grigras and fostered more or less by English traders. There is no doubt, as Du Pratz intimates, that the devastation of their towns by the French was never forgotten by these latter, but more than all the exaction of the life of Old-hair must have rankled in their minds. Bienville, in spite of his long acquaintance with Indians, appears to have had for his motto repression rather than conciliation, and while this policy worked very well in dealing with the smaller tribes, such as the Chitimacha, with the Natchez and Chickasaw, numerous and proud people sensitive to insults, it was another matter. It was particularly poor policy on his part to insist on exacting the life of a principal Sun such as Old-hair, a man who, by the constitution of the Natchez nation itself, was immune from being put to death—especially when we consider that no Frenchman of prominence had died as a direct result of the outbreak. If, as Du Pratz claims, there was no adequate reason for his attack on the Natchez towns, Bienville's action was not only unwise but constituted a political blunder of the first magnitude. There is no question regarding his bravery, energy, or loyalty, and his ability to handle a difficult situation with success had been demonstrated in the first Natchez war, but like Perrier after him his aim was to control by fear, and in pursuing it he stirred up one of the most deeply seated passions of the American Indian, blood-vengeance, and drew it down upon numbers of his French compatriots. Nor do his campaigns against the Chickasaw show generalship of a very high order, at least when Indians were the objects of attack. Perhaps, like his brother Iberville, he was naturally more of a sailor than a soldier. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that his drastic measures during the third Natchez war in some measure paved the way for the great uprising of 1729.

A great obstacle to this uprising was removed in the death of the Tattooed-serpent in 1725[a] and his brother, the great Sun, three years later.[b] The former was head war chief of the nation, and such was the confidence and love of his brother that he was given practical control over the entire people and by some Frenchmen was supposed to be actually the head chief. Whether from real friendship or from policy these two were firm friends of the French, and the media through whom peace was granted to the nation after every disturbance. On the death of the great Sun, however, the power and office passed to a young man unused to rule, while the chief of White Apple seems to have been a man of experience and one enjoying the confidence of the nation in a high degree. The chief of the Flour village, which had been friendly to the French, was an old man at the time of the Tattooed-serpent's death, and probably did not survive the great Sun, while his successor was evidently the same whom the great Sun, after his capture by Perrier, designated as a usurper.[a] Since he figures in the later Natchez war as one of the principal hostiles, it seems possible that he had obtained his position through the backing of the anti-French element. In fact the only prominent person in the French interest with any strength of character at the time of the outbreak appears to have been the great chief's mother, Tattooed-arm, of whom we shall hear more later. All things would therefore seem to have been ripe for an upheaval; yet there is no certainty that it would have taken place, and such was the belief of most of the French in a position to know the events of that time, had it not been for the appointment at that critical juncture of a commandant at Fort Rosalie utterly unworthy of occupying a position of such importance. History often misjudges, but in this case such is the unanimous verdict regarding the Sieur Chépart or Chopart of all acquainted with him.

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[a] See pp. 144–157.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 242, note.

Says Dumont:

> He was no sooner established in this post than, instead of trying to obtain the friendship of the people whom he came to govern, he only thought of making himself a tyrant over them, ill-treating all those whom he suspected of not being his friends, trampling on justice and equity, and always making the balance incline toward those whom he wished to gratify, despising even the royal ordinances, and neglecting the service so far as to let it be executed by mere sergeants, who, not seeing themselves restrained by their officers, abused this license with impunity.[b]

Dumont proceeds with the relation of his misdemeanors as follows:

> There was then, as I have said, at the concession of White Earth which belonged then to M. le Maréchal Duc de Belle-Isle, a company of soldiers which were kept for the preservation of the property of this concession and for the defense of the workmen who were employed there. The Sieur Chopart undertook to drag them away by his authority, and left there but 8 soldiers commanded by a corporal. The Sieur Desnoyers, who was then manager of this concession, opposed these pretensions at first; but the Sieur Chopart having told him in a positive tone that he wished it, and this manager, who was an officer of the company, being in that capacity subordinate to this commandant, he was obliged to submit.
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> It was not the same with a lieutenant of the garrison of the fort[c] who had commanded in this post under the eyes of the Sieur Brontin, and who, a witness

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[a] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 113.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 125-126.

[c] It was the author himself to whom this adventure happened.—[DUMONT.]

of the crying wrongs which the commandant exercised against one of the inhabitants, opposed it firmly. It is true that he thereby drew on himself the anger of the Sieur Chopart, who by surprise had him put in irons, but the officer, having had the good fortune to escape and reach the capital, carried his complaints to the commandant-general, who on the spot made the Sieur Chopart come from the Natchez to answer for his conduct. The affair having been investigated the lieutenant had entire satisfaction in full council, where the commandant of the Natchez was obliged to confess himself guilty. He would even have been dismissed and would never have returned to his post had not the commanding general been forced to grant him pardon on account of the pressing solicitations of some persons who interested themselves in his behalf; he sent him back only after he had promised him to treat the inhabitants better and to change his conduct entirely.[a]

We have here the old, old story of incompetence placed in a position of responsibility by favoritism and held there against the judgment of better men; but not always, fortunately, has it had the same tragic sequel for innocent and guilty alike.

When Chépart returned to Natchez after his temporary disgrace he had formed the determination to establish a plantation of his own, but the best land not occupied by the native villages had already been taken up, and his recent experience deterred him from any attempt to oust the white inhabitants. In view of this fact he took the fatal determination to dispossess the occupants of one of the Natchez villages and, if our principal authorities are to be believed, he set about it in the most high-handed manner imaginable. There is a disagreement between Dumont and Du Pratz as to which village Chépart had determined upon. The former states that he established his temporary country home at the house of a native of White Apple village, whom he turned out, and that afterward he called the great chief and ordered him to abandon the Grand village where he designed to locate his permanent home.[b] Du Pratz, on the other hand, states that it was the inhabitants of White Apple that he desired to evict, although at the same time a threat appears to have been directed against the Grand village as well.[c] Chépart pretended that this drastic proceeding was by order of the governor of the colony, and that the removal must be executed immediately, although it was explained to him that the corn had just sprung up and the hens were setting, so that a removal would result in the loss of the native food supplies for that year. Finally, however, he agreed to allow a certain respite—according to Dumont two months, according to Du Pratz until the first frosts—on consideration of being paid a number of fowls, pots of bear's oil, baskets of corn, and peltries at the end of that period. If this were not done, the insane commander threatened that he would send the chief, bound hand and foot, to New Orleans.[a]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 126–128. Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 231, attributes his restoration to a change in governors and the fact that the new executive, M. Perrier, was not sufficiently informed regarding Chépart's character.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 129–130.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 231–233.

Immediately after this the Natchez held several secret councils, in which it was finally agreed that the only course left to escape French exactions was to destroy them entirely, and with this end in view they sent embassies to other tribes to induce them to unite in a general attack upon the colonists.[b] The extent of this conspiracy has never been really known, but there is reason to believe that it was confined to the Natchez, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The other tribes which might have served the purposes of the conspirators were small and largely in the French interest. It seems strange that the Yazoo and Koroa, who had often shown anti-French inclinations, were not informed, yet it would appear from later events that they had been left out.

According to some French writers the real movers in the conspiracy were not the Natchez at all, but the Chickasaw, who had been instigated by the English, and it appears from the following statement of Adair that there was some truth in this accusation:

> Some of the old Nahchee Indians who formerly lived on the Mississippi, 200 miles west of the Choktah, told me the French demanded from everyone of their warriors a dressed buckskin, without any value for it—i. e., they taxed them; but that the warriors hearts grew very cross, and loved the deerskins. * * * As those Indians were of a peaceable and kindly disposition, numerous and warlike, and always kept a friendly intercourse with the Chikkasah, who never had any good will to the French, these soon understood their heart burnings, and by the advice of the old English traders, carried them white pipes and tobacco in their own name and that of South Carolina, persuading them with earnestness and policy to cut off the French, as they were resolved to enslave them in their own beloved land. The Chikkasah succeeded in their embassy: But as the Indians are slow in their councils on things of great importance, though equally close and intent, it was the following year before they could put their grand scheme in execution.[c]

While it may be deduced from this statement that the Chickasaw, and the English through them, had fanned the flames of discontent and promised the Natchez support, the fact remains that discontent already existed, although, indeed, Adair throws the causes of it a year farther back. There being no French post near the Chickasaw, the position of the latter was one of passive sympathy, however, and the only active allies the Natchez appear to have had at the time were the Choctaw, who were to attack New Orleans and the other settlements on the lower river. In order to strike their blows at the same time each of the parties to the conspiracy was given a bundle of sticks, one of which was to be withdrawn and destroyed each day.[d]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 131–134; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 233–236.

[b] Ibid., and following: Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 79–80.

[c] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 353–354.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 134–136; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 237–244; Bartram, Travels through N. Amer., 432; Claiborne, Hist Miss., I, 48–49.

All accounts which mention the use of sticks agree in stating that in some manner one or two of those in the Natchez bundle were destroyed, besides the ones abstracted according to agreement, but they differ in the cause they assign to this. Dumont states that they were destroyed by a little boy of the nobility who had followed the great chief of the Natchez into the temple where the bundle had been deposited, and, seeing him withdraw a stick and throw it into the fire, imitated him by treating two others in the same manner. Du Pratz was told by Tattooed-arm, mother of the great chief, that she had extorted the secret regarding this plot from her son, and being unable to convince the French commandant of its existence, had destroyed several sticks in order to advance the day agreed upon so that the Frenchmen in other posts would be spared. The account obtained by Colonel Hutchins,[a] however, attributes this action to "Stel-o-na, the beautiful daughter of White Apple," who was the mistress of "Sieur de Mace." The two latter accounts may be reconciled by the fact that Tattooed-arm had particularly informed M. de Massé, the same as the man referred to by Hutchins, who was a second lieutenant of the garrison, and these probably contain the truth of the matter. Charlevoix, who says nothing of the employment of sticks, admits, nevertheless, that the outbreak occurred in advance of the time set, but attributes this to the arrival of several batteaux well stocked with goods for several settlers and the Natchez and Yazoo garrisons, and the arrival of the MM. Kolly, father and son, to visit their concession of St. Catherine, as well as several other persons of distinction.[b] This, however, can hardly be urged as a sufficient reason, because, in the first place, the batteaux would probably be detained several days; and, secondly, it would have been fully as easy to attack and capture them higher up at the little gulf, as had been done on a previous occasion. In fact, Du Pratz states, instead, that the day was postponed in order to allow the batteaux to reach Natchez.[c]

Through the efforts of Tattooed-arm and others the French commandant was repeatedly warned of the impending attack, but, like all little men in high positions, he obstinately refused to believe anything contrary to his wishes and preconceptions, and rewarded those who brought him word by putting them in irons. The very evening before the outbreak he proceeded to the Grand village, accompanied by the Sieur Bailly, judge and commissary of the post, and the Sieur Ricard, the storekeeper, to view the site of his intended habitation and spend the night. The necessaries for a feast, including wine and brandy, had been taken there in advance by some negroes.[a]

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[a] In Claiborne's Hist. Miss., op. cit.

[b] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 81. Later on he attributes it to the arrival of English goods among the Choctaw (ibid., 91).

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 253–254.

The same day the batteaux arrived, and the next morning the Natchez repaired to the commandant and offered their services for a grand hunt, in honor of the distinguished persons who had come. The commandant accepted their assistance joyfully, and they at once distributed themselves throughout the French settlements to purchase guns, powder, and ball, which they paid for on the spot in poultry, corn, etc., even at high rates. Meanwhile the great chief, accompanied by his principal warriors and Honored men, proceeded to the fort, ostensibly to bring part of the provisions that had been exacted in return for the delay granted them in the removal of their village, and to perform the calumet dance.[b]

Suddenly, while they were in the midst of this dance, they seized their guns and shot down several persons in the commandant's presence, and almost at the same time a company which had been detached to capture the batteaux fired upon those who had charge of it. At this signal the Natchez, who had taken good pains to distribute themselves in such a manner as to outnumber the French everywhere, fell upon them and made an almost complete slaughter. So few escaped that the details of this massacre recorded by various writers naturally disagree in many points. According to some, Chépart was the first to fall, but Du Pratz and Dumont are probably right in stating that the Natchez, having too much contempt for him to kill him themselves, had a Stinkard beat him to death with a wooden war club, toward the end of the massacre.[c]

Other prominent individuals killed were the Kollys, father and son; Father du Poisson, missionary among the Arkansas; and M. du Codère, commandant at Yazoo. The missionary was on his way to New Orleans to consult with M. Perrier, and to adopt with him proper measures to enable the Quapaw to descend to the banks of the Mississippi for the accommodation of the *voyageurs*. He arrived at Natchez quite late on the 26th, intending to set out again the next day, after saying mass. Unfortunately for him, the Capuchin father who exercised parochial functions at that place was absent, and Father du Poisson was requested to say mass and preach, it being the first Sunday of Advent, and he consented. In the afternoon, as he was on the point of embarking, he was informed that there were some sick persons at the point of death. He attended them, administered the last sacraments to some, and deferred one till next day, as his case was not so urgent, and it was already quite late. The next day he said mass and then carried the Viaticum to the sick man, to whom he had promised it, and it was after performing this duty of charity that he was encountered by a chief, who seized him around the body, threw him to the ground, and chopped off his head with blows of a hatchet. The father, in falling, only uttered these words, "Ah, my God! ah, my God!" M. du Codère drew his sword to defend him, when he was himself killed by a musket ball from another savage, whom he had not perceived.[a]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 137–138; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 254.

[b] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 81–82; Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 139–142; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 256.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 144–146; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 255–256.

Charlevoix places the number of killed at about 200 and the number of captured at 150 children, 80 women, and almost as many negroes,[b] while Perrier places the killed at 250.[c] This last statement is probably the most correct, although it appears to be conservative, if anything, as Dumont, whose wife was one of the captives, puts the French loss in killed alone at "over 700."[d] As in other cases of the kind, the story of this disaster lost nothing in the telling, and we hear the French loss placed as high as 1,500,[e] or even more. Those women who had young children and those who were pregnant were killed. The rest were enslaved and the greater part of them placed in the cabin of the great female Sun, or white woman.[f] "No resistance was made except at the house of M. de la Loire, chief commissary of the India Company and "former commandant of Fort Rosalie."[g] M. de la Loire, having learned that morning of the intended massacre, had mounted his horse and was on his way to the fort to give warning, when the signal was given, and he perceived he was too late. Endeavoring to return, he was intercepted by a party of Indians, who killed him only after he had shot four of them. Meanwhile the members of his household defended themselves stoutly and killed eight of their assailants. At nightfall the two survivors reached the river, found a *galère*, and escaped.[h]

Of the entire post, only about 20 white men got away and five or six negroes, most of them wounded.[b] One soldier was engaged at the time in cutting wood for a furnace which had been made on the side of the hill upon which the fort stood. At the first alarm he promptly drew back the wood, crawled inside, and concealed himself there all day, escaping at night.[i] The first to reach New Orleans and bring word of the disaster was Ricard, the storekeeper. At the first shots he jumped into the river, gained the neighboring forest by swimming, and hid himself there over night. Not daring to follow the bank, he immersed himself in the water up to his neck and slowly descended in this manner. On reaching the house of a master potter named Rousseau he saw a light, and was so overcome by cold and hunger as to be induced to enter, but he at once found himself surrounded by Indians and gave himself up as lost. They proved, however, to be a band of Yazoo who had come to Natchez with M. du Codère, commandant of the Yazoo post, and had been quartered here during the absence of Rousseau. These received him kindly, gave him food and a pirogue, and sent him on to New Orleans with the assurance that their nation would remain firm friends of the French, and that they would warn all pirogues found ascending the river.[a]

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 166, 167.

[b] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 82–83.

[c] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 414.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 144.

[e] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 353–354.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 261.

[g] Dumont does not mention him among the commandants, but says he had been "judge and commissary."

[h] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 82; Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 146–148.

[i] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 148–149.

Two other Frenchmen named, the one Postillon, the other Louette, did not have equal good fortune. They had parted that morning together to go to White Earth, when, having arrived on a height which commanded that on which this grant was situated, they discovered at a distance the massacre which the savages were making of the French. At this sight they stopped, and, not daring either to advance or to risk returning to the fort in broad daylight, they concealed themselves in the woods, awaiting night. When it had come on they set out, not by the ordinary road but across the forests and prairies. They arrived in that way at the old storehouse of the company, where, seeing a light and the Sieur Postillon looking through the window, taking for French those who were within, he rapped. One opened the door, and scarcely had he entered when he recognized that these were savages, who had dressed themselves in the clothing of the French they had massacred. As soon as they saw him among them they presented him with a glass of brandy and amused themselves a moment with him; then, having made him drink a second draft, they threw him on the ground, put his head on a block of wood, and cut it off with a blow of an ax. Louette, who was outside, seeing the reception which they gave his comrade, did not consider it prudent to enter among such charitable hosts; he continued his route to gain the river, in hope of finding some conveyance there in which he might embark. Passing near a cabin, he thought he heard persons speaking French; he entered; it was the French women whom the savages had enslaved, and who had collected in this cabin under guard of one among them. As soon as they perceived him, they cried, "Why do you come here, poor Louette? All the Frenchmen are dead; save yourself." He profited by the advice and escaped.

One named Canterelle, seeing what passed, had closed his house while the massacre was going on, and kept himself concealed all day in his granary with his wife, without any savage venturing to enter. When night came, after having loaded themselves with the best things they were able to carry, they set out and took their way through the woods; but the Sieur Canterelle, having remembered on the way that he had left something at home which was of consequence to him, he told his wife to go and await him in a place he indicated, and returned to his house. On his return he was entirely unable to find his wife, whether she had wandered or had been made a slave by the savages; but in searching for her he had the good fortune to discover a pirogue, in which he escaped. Some other Frenchmen swam across the river, and having reached a cypress swamp where a master carpenter named Couillard was working on wood for buildings, they informed him what had passed, and warned him to save himself.[a]

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 84–85; Le Petit, in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 170–173; Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 149–150.

Couillard profited by this advice, killed two Natchez hunters that were with him, and descended to New Orleans in a large pirogue, although greeted with shots from the captured batteaux on the way.

The adventure of still another, a soldier named Navarre, is thus related by Du Pratz:

> Navarre told them [the French soldiers at the Tonicas] that a girl with whom he was very much in love came to him early in the morning and warned him that the French were going to be killed by the Natchez; that he should escape promptly and that he had no time to lose; that she brought him a pistol, powder, and balls, so that if he was attacked in escaping he might defend himself and die like a warrior if he had to die. He mounted on horseback to inform his commandant, but he met another Frenchman escaping, who told him that the Natchez had struck the blow. Navarre concealed himself in the woods until evening, and at night went to the French establishment to find some way to embark. Seeing a light in a French house he went there, but perceiving that it was full of natives he fled, and seeing plainly that it was not possible for him to escape on that side he went that night to the house of his mistress, who concealed him in the depths of the wood, where she and her companions nourished him for eight to ten days, and then brought him provisions for his journey, showed him the road to take to the Tonicas, and she said to him: "We presume that the French will exact vengeance for the death of their brothers, but if you return with them try to have me to live with you." [b]

The actions of the Indians during and after the massacre are best related by Charlevoix and Le Petit, whose testimony in substance is as follows:

During the massacre the head chief of the Natchez, the great Sun, was seated calmly under the tobacco shed of the India Company. There his warriors brought to him the head of the commandant, about which they ranged those of the principal Frenchmen of the post, leaving their bodies a prey to the dogs, the buzzards, and other carnivorous birds. They did not illtreat the negro and Indian slaves that surrendered to them. In fact, before executing their plot they had made sure of several negroes, among whom were two commanders. These had persuaded the rest that under the Indians they would be free; that our women and children would become their slaves, and that there was nothing to fear from the French of the other posts, as the massacre would be carried out simultaneously everywhere. It seems, however, that the secret had been confided to only a small number for fear of its taking wind. Their real reason for the good treatment accorded to the negroes, men as well as women, was their desire to sell them to the English in Carolina. The white women, however, were treated with the utmost indignity during the two or three months of their captivity,[c] the least miserable being those who knew how to sew, who were kept busy making shirts, dresses, etc. The others were employed in cutting and carrying wood for cooking, and in pounding corn, "of which they make their hominy." They were given to understand that the same fate had befallen all the other French posts in Louisiana, and that the English would soon come to take the places of the French.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 150–153.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 266, 267.

[c] Those assigned to the White Woman, however, were treated with great kindness, both by her and the wife of the great Sun; cf. Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 113.

As soon as they were assured that not another Frenchman remained at the post they applied themselves to plunder the houses, the magazine of the Company of the Indies, and all the boats which were still loaded by the bank of the river. They employed the negroes to transport the merchandise, which they divided among themselves, with the exception of the munitions of war, which they placed for security in a separate cabin. While the brandy lasted, of which they found a good supply, they passed their days and nights in drinking, singing, dancing, and insulting in the most barbarous manner the dead bodies and the memory of the French. The Choctaws and other savages being engaged in the same plot they had no fear of reprisals. One night when they were plunged in drunkenness and asleep, Madame des Noyers wished to make use of the negroes to revenge the death of her husband and the French, but she was betrayed by the person to whom she confided her design, and came very near being burned alive.[a]

Only two men were spared, one a carter named Mayeux, who was employed to superintend the transportation of the French effects to the Natchez villages, and the other a tailor, Le Beau, to whom was assigned the duty of making over articles of clothing for their Indian wearers. He was also used as a decoy to entice several Frenchmen to their death. This was done to a Yazoo storekeeper named Le Hou, who had found temporary refuge in the woods, and to a pirogue containing five persons, three of whom were shot and a fourth captured and burned in the frame (*cadre*), while the fifth effected his escape to the Tunica.[b]

As stated above,[c] there was a party of Yazoo Indians near Natchez at this time who had descended with M. Codère, the commandant of the Yazoo post. According to Le Petit they were going to the Houmas[d] to dance the calumet, but Dumont and Du Pratz state that they had intended to perform the same function with the Natchez, but were put off by the great chief until after the massacre, when he hoped to gain them to his interest.[e] The latter is probably the true account, and, at any rate, in spite of their recent protestations of friendship through the storekeeper Ricard, they were unable to withstand the presents lavished upon them, and returned to their people prepared to follow the example that had been set. This they soon did.

On the 11th of December Father Souel, missionary to these people, was returning in the evening from visiting the chief of the Yazoos, when, as he passed through a ravine, he received many musket balls and fell dead on the spot. The murderers then rushed to his cabin to plunder it. Father Souel's negro attempted to defend his dwelling with a woodcutter's knife, and even wounded one of his assailants, but was soon killed. Father Souel was much beloved by these Indians, but angered them by continually reproaching them for their immorality, and this was probably the cause of his death, since his murderers repented of the deed almost immediately afterward. Having made a beginning, however, they determined to continue the massacre, saying, "Since the black chief is dead, it is the same as if all the French were dead; let us not spare any."

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[a] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 83–84; Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 168–171. As usual, the accounts of Le Petit and Charleviox run almost parallel.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 155–159.

[c] P. 227.

[d] Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 173.

[e] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 160–162; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 262–263.

Early next morning, January 1 or 2, 1730,[a] the Indians repaired to the fort,[b] which was not more than a league distant, and were at once admitted, it being supposed that they had come to chant the calumet with the Chevalier des Roches, who commanded that post in the absence of M. de Codère. He had but 17 men with him and was entirely unaware of what had taken place at Natchez; therefore they fell an easy prey to the Indians, who massacred all except 4 women and 5 children. One of the Yazoos clothed himself in the dead missionary's garments, and in that guise announced to the Natchez that his nation had redeemed its pledge, and that the French settled among them had been massacred. The Ofo, who had been absent on a hunt at this time, were strongly urged to join with their neighbors, but refused, and went to live with the Tunica.

Some suspicion of this disaster had already been entertained at New Orleans, when the arrival of Father Doutreleau, missionary to the Illinois, dispelled all further doubts regarding it. This missionary had taken advantage of the period when his Indians were on their winter hunt to descend to New Orleans for the purpose of regulating some matters connected with his mission. He set out on the first day of the year 1730, and, not expecting to arrive at the residence of Father Souel, of whose fate he was ignorant, in time to say mass, he determined to say it at the mouth of the Yazoo, where his party had camped. As he was preparing for this a canoe load of savages landed.[c] On being asked to what nation they belonged, they replied, "Yazoos; friends of the French," at the same time presenting the voyagers with provisions and greeting them in the most friendly manner. While the father was preparing his altar a flock of bustards passed, and the Canadians fired at them the only two guns they had, which they did not think to reload, as mass had already begun. The savages noted this and placed themselves behind them, as if to hear mass, although they were not Christians.

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[a] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 418.

[b] Called by Dumont Fort St. Claude; by most other writers Fort St. Peter.

[c] Dumont and Du Pratz make this the canoe of Yazoo from Natchez bringing the news of the massacre to their people, but they are evidently mistaken.

At the time when the father was saying the Kyrie eleison the savages fired, killing one man and wounding the priest in the right arm. Seeing this and that the four other voyagers had fled, he threw himself on his knees to receive the fatal blow which he regarded as inevitable. In this posture two or three discharges were aimed at him at close quarters, but without taking effect. Taking courage, Doutreleau then fled, jumped into the water, and drew himself into the dugout in which two of his companions were making their escape. As he was climbing on board he turned his head to see if any of the savages was following him too closely and received a discharge of small shot, the greater part of which were flattened against his teeth, although some entered the gums. One of his companions[a] also had his thigh broken by a musket ball. Nevertheless, the father steered and his two companions paddled with such good effect that after being pursued for more than an hour they distanced their enemies. They assisted themselves in this by often pointing at them a gun which was not loaded nor in any condition to be loaded, a threat which had the effect of making their foes stop paddling and throw themselves into the bottom of their canoe.

Le Petit, whose narrative has been substantially followed in the foregoing, continues thus:

> As soon as they found themselves freed from their enemies they dressed their wounds as well as they could, and for the purpose of aiding their flight from that fatal shore they threw into the river everything they had in their boat, preserving only some pieces of raw bacon for their nourishment.
>
> It had been their intention to stop in passing at the Natchez, but having seen that the houses of the French were either demolished or burned, they did not think it advisable to listen to the compliments of the savages who from the bank of the river invited them to land. They placed a wide distance between them as soon as possible and thus shunned the balls which were ineffectually fired at them. It was then that they began to distrust all these savage nations and therefore resolved not to go near the land until they reached New Orleans, and supposing that the barbarians might have rendered themselves masters of it, to descend even to the Balize, where they hoped to find some French vessel provided to receive the wreck of the colony.
>
> In passing the Tonika they separated themselves as far as possible from the shore, but they were discovered, and a pirogue which had been dispatched to reconnoiter them was not a long time in approaching. Their fear and distrust were renewed, and they did not decide to stop until they perceived that the persons in that boat spoke very good French, when they overcame their fears and in the weak state they were gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to land. There they found the little French army which had been formed, the officers compassionate and every way kind, a surgeon, and refreshments. After recovering a little from the great dangers and miseries they had endured, they on the next day availed themselves of a pirogue which had been fitted out for New Orleans.[b]

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[a] His name is given by Dumont as Dusablon.

[b] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 172–183.

After resting here a while and recovering somewhat from his wounds, Father Doutreleau departed once more, probably in company with Baron, to act as chaplain of the French army in its campaign, a position to which he had been invited by the officers. Later he returned to New Orleans for a rest of six months and finally ascended in safety to his Illinois mission.[a]

The first information received by the governor of Louisiana, M. Perrier, of this outbreak was as above noted from the Sieur Ricard, on December 2. He was at first hardly credited, but on the following day Couillard arrived and confirmed everything.

> At once (says Charlevoix) [Perrier] dispatched the Sieur le Merveilleux, a Swiss captain, with a detachment to warn all the settlers on both sides of the river to be on their guard, and to throw up redoubts at intervals, in order to secure their slaves and cattle, and this was promptly executed. He then enjoined the same officer to observe closely the small tribes on the river, and to give arms to no Indians, except when and to whom he should direct. He at the same time dispatched a courier to summon to him two Choctaw chiefs, who were hunting on Lake Pontchartrain. The next day a dugout from Illinois reached New Orleans, bringing a Choctaw, who asked to speak to him in private. He admitted him at once, and this man told him that he was greatly affected by the death of the French, and would have prevented it had he not deemed a falsehood what some Chickasaws had told him, namely, that all the Indians were to destroy all the French settlements, and massacre all the men. "What prevented me," he added, "from crediting this story, was their stating that my tribe was in the plot; but, Father, if you will let me go to my country, I will immediately return to render a good report of what I have done there."
>
> Mr. Perrier had no sooner left this Indian than others from the smaller tribes came to warn him to distrust the Choctaws, and he learned almost at the same time that two Frenchmen had been killed in the neighborhood of Mobile; that the perpetrators of the murder had not been discovered, but that throughout the district it was said openly that the Choctaws were to attack the fort and all the dwellings.[b] The commandant-general would gladly have concealed this news from the settlers, who were but too panic-stricken already; but it spread all over in less than no time, and the consternation became so great and so general that 30 Chaouacha, who lived below New Orleans, made the whole colony tremble. This obliged M. Perrier to send negroes and destroy them.[c]

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 183–184.

[b] This is confirmed by Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 167–168, who even pretends to record the attempt in the following words: "They [the Choctaws] were precise in keeping their promise on the day agreed upon. The 1st of December they came to the number of 600 men within sight of New Orleans, having only Lake St. Louis to cross in order to arrive there, and from there they sent a deputation to the Sieur Perrier to obtain permission to go and present him the calumet. But whatever the advantage the commandant-general might expect from this deputation, he did not think it was prudent to admit such a large number of savages into the capital, and refused to receive them. He had them informed only that if their chief wished to come there with 30 of his people he was welcome. This refusal of the commandant having disconcerted the plan of the Choctaws, they revenged themselves on their return to their village by killing some cattle which belonged to the grant of the Sieur de Chaumont established among the Pascagoulas."

[c] A rather poor excuse, one would think, for the murder of an insignificant, inoffensive tribe. This statement is copied from Perrier's own dispatch: See Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 422–423. Perrier intimates that by the same means he might have destroyed all the small tribes on the river had he considered it prudent.

On the fifth he adopted the plan of sending the *Saint Michael* to France, to inform the court and company of the condition in which Louisiana was, and ask relief proportioned to its actual need. Two days after, one of the two Choctaw chiefs whom he had sent for, came to tell him that he had dispatched his letter to his nation, and invited all who were enemies of the Natchez to march against them, and that he advised him not to employ the smaller tribes, as he suspected them of being in concert with the Natchez. "I also suspect them," said M. Perrier, "but if they are in the plot you, too, are implicated; however, whether you are or not, I have given good orders everywhere, and I am very glad that you know that the secret has taken wind."

On the 1st day of January, uneasy at not receiving any dispatches from the Sieur Regis, who by his orders resided among the Choctaws, he dispatched the Sieur de Lusser, a Swiss captain, to ascertain the actual disposition of these Indians, and on the 4th he learned that the Natchez had gone to sing the calumet to them. This confirmed all his suspicions, and threw him into great perplexity. But on the 16th he received a letter from the Sieur Regis, informing him that immediately after speaking to the Choctaws in his name, they had raised the death cry; that afterward 700 warriors had set out to attack the Natchez, and that a party of 150 was to pass to the Yazous to intercept all the negroes and French prisoners, whom they wished to conduct to the Chickasaw. The next day he received letters from de Saint Denis, the commandant at the Natchitoches, about whom he was much concerned, as some Natchitoches were seen among the Natchez at the time of the massacre of the French; but he learned by these letters that the wisdom and vigilance of that officer had saved him from the disaster threatening his post.

He had, however, great difficulty in reassuring the settlers, whom the sad tidings brought in from all parts, almost all with no foundation, but an alarmed imagination, had hurled at once from excessive confidence to as excessive discouragement. He himself felt less sanguine, as he was fully informed that the smaller tribes had been gained by the Chickasaw, and that if the Natchez had not anticipated the day fixed for the execution of the plot they would have acted simultaneously with them. He also discovered that what had induced the Natchez to precipitate their meditated blow was their learning that at the very time that the first Choctaw chiefs who had come to New Orleans on his invitation, were on their way thither, 120 horses loaded with English goods had entered their country. The Natchez were convinced that these two circumstances were the most favorable to insure the success of the project; that the two Choctaw chiefs were going to delude the commandant-general by feigned protestations of fidelity, and that their nation, seeing that an alliance with the English would bring plenty into their country, would not hesitate to keep the promise they had given to fill all on the Mobile river with fire and blood.

But they were deceived. The Choctaw, from the moment they received the general's invitation through the Sieur Regis, began by declaring that they would not receive the goods from the English till they had learned what their father wished to tell them; and on the return of their deputies they resolved to follow exactly the line of policy which they had long before adopted. Several years before they had wished to destroy the Natchez, and the French had prevented them; they had pretended to enter the general conspiracy only to involve us with our enemies, to whom we had granted peace in spite of them, and thus force us to apply to them to rid ourselves of them, and thus at the same time profit by the spoils of the Natchez and our liberality.

Perrier had not yet well unraveled all the meshes of this self-interested policy, and all that then seemed to him certain was, that but for the western

Choctaw the general conspiracy would have taken effect. He accordingly did not hesitate to employ them to obtain redress of the Natchez, cost what it might.[a]

Those desirous to defend the good name of the Indian and who wish to believe him deserving of the title "noble red man" certainly have a hard problem before them in finding nobility in the attitude and actions of the Choctaw throughout this war. As the Natchez accused them to their faces of having entered the conspiracy against the French without having the accusation denied, and the fact was commonly reported by everyone at the time, there can be little doubt that they were parties to it. Disgruntled by the premature attack of the Natchez and the failure of their own part of the program, they sent an embassy to the Natchez to present the calumet with the evident hope and expectation that they would receive a very large slice of French plunder. The result of this embassy, and of a second, sent with the same object in view, is thus given by Dumont:

> A short time afterward these same savages sent to the Natchez a considerable party from their nation to present the calumet to the great chief and dance the stake dance; the presents which were made them did not appear to them sufficient, only consisting in some rather rough shirts, kettles, looking-glasses, vermilion, etc., without guns, powder, or balls; these deputies, who had been informed of what was past, complained loudly that the Natchez had anticipated by two days that which had been agreed upon for the general massacre of the French, telling them that they were dogs who preferred to keep all for themselves rather than share with those who had promised to help them, a thing which, without doubt, had prevented the great chief of the French from permitting them to pass to his capital, and threatening to make them repent of it.
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> After this first party a second came also from the Choctaw Nation, who were no more satisfied with the presents they had received than the others had been. These, having learned that on the occasion of the death of one of their children the Natchez had slaughtered a young French boy, and that they had also deliberated whether they should not kill all their slaves, because they feared they would have war on their account with the Choctaw; these savages, I say, striking the post, forbade them in future to kill any of their slaves, women, girls, or boys, declaring that if they acted otherwise they would have them to deal with. These threats arrested the fury and the cruelties of the Natchez; from that time they were disquieted, holding frequent councils, without knowing what to determine or what measures they ought to take.[b]

If, as Charlevoix says, these Choctaw had been playing double with the Natchez also, having entered the conspiracy only to involve them in war with the French, their case becomes still blacker, for they are placed in the light of traitors even from the Indian point of view, they having entered into a solemn compact, and then endeavored to obtain as many gifts as possible from their reputed allies with the ultimate intention of turning upon them and helping to destroy them.

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[a] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 89-92.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 168-169.

Supposing them to have been originally sincere in entering upon the conspiracy, as the writer believes to have been the case, they no sooner found themselves disappointed in their expectations of sharing in the plunder to the extent they desired than they bethought themselves of another means of gratifying their wishes. If they should now form an alliance with the French and fall upon the Natchez unexpectedly, before the latter were aware of their intentions, they figured that they stood an excellent chance of obtaining considerable plunder which they could either retain or allow the French to redeem at fancy rates. The success with which this altruistic policy was carried out will be seen below. But to return to Perrier.

> Fortunately (says Charlevoix), two of the company's vessels arrived at New Orleans in the midst of all this, and he did not wish to defer any longer his march against the enemy, convinced that he could not too soon involve the Choctaw, recall the smaller tribes to our interest, or at least overawe them and reassure the settlers. Yet he felt that he ran some risk by beginning the war with such slender forces. * * *
>
> As on the plan adopted by the general, the most urgent point was to make sure of the Choctaw and other nations nearest to the fort of Mobile, he made known the first tidings of the Natchez disaster as soon as he received them, to M. Diron, who commanded at that post, and by a second letter, which was handed to that officer on the 16th of December, he directed him to sound the Choctaw, to see whether he could depend upon them. The difficulty was to find a man willing to run the risk of putting himself at the mercy of these savages, whose disposition was then doubtful enough, and to whom we could as yet make only promises. M. le Sueur,[a] who had come when quite young from his native Canada to Louisiana, and had grown up among these tribes, counted enough on the friendship which all the Indians, and these especially, had ever shown him to offer to go with them. His offer was accepted, and he set out from Fort Mobile on the 19th. With great toil he visited all the villages; he was well received everywhere, and had no great difficulty in forming the corps of 700 warriors of whom I have spoken, and whom he led straight against the Natchez.
>
> On his side, Perrier sent up to the Tonikas two of the company's vessels. He sent overland warning to all the posts, as far as the Illinois, of what had happened and what he intended to do. He dug a ditch around New Orleans; he placed barracks at its four angles; he organized militia companies for the defense of the city, and as there was more fear for the settlements and concessions than for the capital, he threw up intrenchments everywhere, and erected forts in the most exposed points; he finally prepared to go and take command of his little army which was assembling in the bay of the Tonikas. But it was represented to him that his presence was absolutely required at New Orleans; that we were not yet perfectly sure of the Choctaws, and that there was even a fear that the negroes, if these Indians declared against us, would join them in the hope of escaping from slavery, as some had done at Natchez. He accordingly judged it best to confide the expedition to the Chevalier de Loubois, Major of New Orleans, whose valor and experience he knew.
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> The first effect of his preparations was to restore to our side the small Mississippi tribes, who had abandoned it, as M. le Sueur regained those around Mobile. We were sure of the affection and fidelity of the Illinois, Arkansas, Offogoulas,

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[a] Dumont calls him, erroneously, the Sieur de Lery.

and Tonikas; and soon, as I have said, of the Natchitoches, and they all gave striking proofs of it in the course of this war. On the other hand, the Natchez seemed to behold without alarm the storm gathering against them. They did not at first despair of winning over the Tonikas, and on the 9th of December sent to them the Tioux, a little tribe long domiciliated among them, to offer them some of the plunder taken from the French, in order to win them over to their side. They did not succeed in this, but killed two straggling Frenchmen whom they found.

On the 10th the Sieur le Merveilleux entered that bay with his detachment and some Frenchmen who had joined him. He intrenched for fear of surprise. The following days all the troops arrived, and on the 18th the Chevalier de Loubois entered it with 25 additional soldiers. He found the whole army encamped, well intrenched, and in good condition. He had two days previously detached the Sieur Mexplex [a] with 5 men to obtain tidings of the enemy, and, the better to ascertain their strength, he had ordered him to throw out some proposals of peace.[b]

The party proceeded up the river in a pirogue, landed, and marched to the concession of White Earth within half a league of the Grand village. Proceeding on from this point, they soon found themselves surrounded by enemies and sought refuge in a ravine. Here they defended themselves for some time until one of their number, the Navarre above referred to,[c] who had improved his time by heaping insults on the enemy in their own language, was killed and the Sieur Mexplex wounded. The remainder surrendered and were taken before the great chief. One of the white prisoners, Madame Desnoyers, was then brought in, and the chief dictated terms of peace to her which he afterward gave to one of the soldiers to deliver to Loubois. Madame Desnoyers, however, took the opportunity to represent to the commander the unfortunate state of herself and her companions.[d] According to Le Petit "they demanded as hostages the Sieur Broutin [or Brontin], who had formerly been commandant among them, and the chief of the Tonikas. Besides, they demanded as the ransom for the women, children, and slaves, 200 guns, 200 barrels of powder, 200 barrels of balls, 2,000 gunflints, 200 knives, 200 hatchets, 200 pickaxes, 20 quarts of brandy, 20 casks of wine, 20 barrels of vermilion, 200 shirts, 20 pieces of *Limbourg*, 20 pieces of cloth, 20 coats with lace on the seams, 20 hats bordered with plumes, and 100 coats of a plainer kind." [e]

Charlevoix declares that it was afterward discovered they had intended, if these things were sent, to butcher the French who brought the ransom and then sell their prisoners to the English.[f]

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[a] This was probably the Sieur Mesplet referred to on p. 212. These six men volunteered for the service.—Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 173.

[b] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 92–95.

[c] P. 228.

[d] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 173–175; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 269–271, 274–279. Charlevoix is evidently in error in saying that three of the party were killed and the others made prisoners immediately on landing.

[e] Le Petit, Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 190–191.

[f] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 95–96.

The soldier was retained, however, and no answer given. Accordingly, when the term set for the reply had expired, the Natchez took revenge on the three prisoners remaining, of whom the two common soldiers were despatched quickly, but the Sieur Mexplex with all imaginable tortures—tortures which he bore, however, with the greatest fortitude.[a] About this time the Natchez were very much perturbed over the sayings of an old female shaman who announced that they would soon be surrounded by many men, and not long afterward her prophecy was indeed fulfilled.[b]

At daybreak, January 27, 1730, Le Sueur, accompanied by a large force of Choctaw, arrived upon the scene. Charlevoix states that the number of warriors in this force was 700,[c] Du Pratz makes it 1,500 to 1,600,[d] and Dumont 1,600.[e] If we are to believe the first-mentioned authority and Father Le Petit, the Choctaw made a sudden, unexpected attack, liberated most of the French prisoners,[f] took a number of scalps and several prisoners,[g] and shut the Natchez up in two forts they had built. What actually happened appears not to have been so exciting. Dumont and Du Pratz, who had better facilities for knowing matters of this kind, both state that the Natchez did indeed arrive unexpectedly, early in the morning, but that while still some distance away they began to shoot off their guns in order to give fair warning, with the result that practically all of their enemies escaped into the forts.[h] The only difficulty was experienced by some whose dwellings lay at a distance, and among these latter was the cabin of the white woman, in which were a large part of the prisoners. These latter were the principal captives liberated by the Choctaw, who plundered them in their turn of nearly everything the Natchez had left them. What Charlevoix adds regarding the narrow escape of the Natchez from losing their powder and being compelled to surrender or fly may be treated as probably without any basis.[i] Nothing is more apparent in the action of the Choctaw than their willingness to stay out of danger, and in the succeeding days, until the arrival of the French troops, there was constant shooting from a distance and no execution worth considering.

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 177–178; Du Pratz, Hist de La Louisiane, III, 279–280.

[b] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 180.

[c] Shea's Charleviox, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 94.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 283.

[e] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 181.

[f] Charlevoix gives 53 whites and 150 negroes and negresses; Le Petit 59 whites, including the tailor and carter, and 106 negroes and negresses.

[g] Charlevoix says they killed 80 men and took 16 women prisoners; Le Petit gives the figures as 60 and 18.

[h] Du Pratz and Dumont, op. cit. These forts were known to the French as Fort de la Valeur and Fort de la Farine.

[i] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 96.

Why Loubois remained all this time with the Tunica has never been entirely explained, but it is not at all improbable that, as D'Artaguette says, he stayed to watch the Choctaw, believing in a general conspiracy.[a] Perhaps he chose to let that tribe prove its loyalty in action before risking the only assured defense of the colony between real foes and friends possibly false, yet this is partially contradicted by his demonstrated ignorance of the movements of the Choctaw.

Finally, however, on February 8, 1730, one division of his army ascended the river and landed on the west bank opposite the Natchez landing. A captain and 30 men having been sent across to reconnoiter encountered some Choctaw, who told them what had happened, and immediately the division crossed and camped beside the Choctaw on the concession of St. Catherine. The Choctaw declared they were going to attack the forts that night, but nothing happened.[b] On the day following the Choctaw asked 10 men to assist them in capturing the great chief, whom they proposed to seize during a parley. This piece of treachery, for participation in which the French can scarcely be excused, was foiled by the hotheadedness of a Choctaw, who, seeing in the Natchez party that came out to meet them a warrior who had killed one of his kinsmen, shot him dead. The fire was returned and one Frenchman killed.[b] On the 10th the second division of the army arrived with two pieces of cannon.[b] On the 12th skirmishing took place and lasted all day, and on the day following the cannon were placed in position 250 fathoms from Fort de la Valeur,[c] around the grand temple, which was selected as the site of a post. A demand was then sent to the enemy to submit, but they resolutely refused.[c] Next day, the 14th, the French battery opened fire, but it was too far off to produce any effect, and after six hours of constant fire not a single palisade had been dislodged.[c] The Natchez replied with their guns and three cannon which had been taken from Fort Rosalie, but as they did not know how to manage these latter no harm resulted.[d] That night the Natchez stole forward under cover of a canebrake, intending to drive the French from their guns, but this contingency had been foreseen by the commander in charge, who swept the canes with grape and drove them back.[e]

On the 15th the interpreter, Du Parc, was sent a second time to summon the enemy to surrender. He advanced within hearing with a flag, which he planted in the earth beside him during his harangue.

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[a] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 269.

[b] Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46.

[c] Ibid.; also Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 97.

[d] Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 287.

[e] Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46.

His speech was greeted, however, with a sudden discharge which frightened him so much that he fled, abandoning his flag, which the enemy prepared to capture. They made a sortie for this purpose, but a soldier, called "the little Parisian," on account of his shortness, ran forward quickly and brought it back, an act of bravery which obtained for him the rank of sergeant.[a] Taking advantage of the confusion which this event occasioned, some female captives escaped to the French lines, and in revenge the besieged tortured a number of children to death and exposed their bodies on the palisades.[b] The same day another sortie was made against the temple where De Loubois was quartered, with the intention of surprising him, but it failed in its object.[c] The sergeant in charge of the battery, disgusted at the small effect of his guns, approached the fort opposed to him, accompanied by a soldier, with the intention of throwing grenades inside. De Loubois hearing of this, however, called him back, fearing some of the prisoners would be killed.[d] On the days immediately following other parleys were held, but without result.[e]

The night of the 19th to 20th a new trench was opened 280 fathoms from the fort, in which four more cannon were placed, and on the following day the cannonade was renewed.[f] Perrier states that the long delay in opening this was due to "the ill will of our soldiers and some other Frenchmen."[g] Early on the 22d, before daybreak, the Natchez made another sortie to the number of 300. Two hundred of these advanced under cover of the canes, apparently to attack the temple, while a forlorn hope of 100 men threw themselves upon the battery.[h] The latter first encountered an outpost of 30 men and 2 officers, who, imagining that they were attacked simultaneously by the Natchez and Choctaw, took to flight. The assailants then penetrated the French works, overthrew the mantelets, and got as far as the last retrenchment. Here they were met, however, by the Chevalier d'Artaguette, who, although he had but 5 men at the time, finally repulsed them after a sharp conflict and drove them into the canes, losing but 1 Frenchman.[i] During the night the works were repaired.[j] The same day De Loubois ordered 40 Frenchmen, as many Indians, and some negroes to attempt to storm one of the forts on the morrow, but the order was not executed.[a] On the 23d a battery of three 4-pounders was planted within 180 fathoms of Fort de la Valeur.[b] Afterward the trench was opened 15 yards farther and 2 mantelets placed there and a gun charged with grape. Word was then sent to the Natchez that unless they surrendered the prisoners they held the fort would be reduced to powder, and the latter replied by sending out the wife of the Sieur Desnoyers with their proposals. She was retained, however, and no answer sent. They immediately opened fire upon the Natchez fort, but it was returned with such good effect that the cannoneer and 3 men of the battery were wounded.[c] The same day the Choctaw informed their allies that they desired to withdraw. These disheartening circumstances, added to the fact that ammunition was beginning to fail, determined the French to withdraw to the bank of the Mississippi, and an officer and 2 engineers were sent to select a position. At the same time it would seem that the Natchez themselves were grown weary of the war and of being closely immured for such a long period.[d] While the cannonade just referred to was still in progress a white flag had been hung out from Fort de la Farine and after the French had ceased firing Ette-actal, the Indian, spoken of elsewhere in connection with the burial of the Tattooed-serpent, came out.[e] On behalf of the Natchez he offered to release all the prisoners in their possession, provided that the French would withdraw to the bank of the river; otherwise they threatened to burn them to death. Moved by a desire to save the lives of these latter, as well as by the increasing difficulties of his own position, the doubtful reliability of his troops, and disquieting rumors of Choctaw treachery and the approach of English and Chickasaw forces, De Loubois decided to accept these terms, and on the following day, February 24, the batteries were dismantled, while on their side the Natchez liberated the captives, both white and colored, even sending in some of the latter who would have preferred to remain.[f] Two negroes who were recognized as having taken part in the atttack of the 22d were bound, and a third, resisting arrest and springing into the river to escape, was shot.[g] The French losses in this campaign were 15 men out of 500.[h]

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 97–98; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 288–289.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 289–290.

[c] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98.

[d] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 288.

[e] Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46.

[f] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98; Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46–47.

[g] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98.

[h] Charlevoix says they attacked in three places.

[i] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98; Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46–47; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 287. The last mentioned confuses this sortie with an earlier one.

[j] Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46–47.

A few nights after this took place, Charlevoix says the night of the 28th to 29th, but he is usually one day later in his dates than the

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98.

[b] The Claiborne Journal says 80 yards, evidently wrongly.

[c] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 98; Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 46–47.

[d] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 99; Ms. in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 47.

[e] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 290.

[f] It appears from authorities given above, however, that a few negroes were kept, see p. 245; also Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 434–435.

[g] Journal in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 47.

[h] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 432.

Claiborne narrative, which the writer has generally followed, the Natchez escaped to the opposite side of the Mississippi with all of their possessions and all their plunder that was of any value.[a] Du Pratz and d'Artaguette intimate that this could not have been done without the connivance of some of their enemies,[b] yet since practically all that was needed was to cross the river itself, if we suppose the Choctaw to have been too disgruntled or indifferent to keep a close watch, it was not an impossible feat. Another accusation, made by Dumont and practically indorsed by Du Pratz, is that De Loubois had granted peace and agreed not to enter the Natchez forts only to secure the release of the prisoners, and that afterward he had intended to break his word and return to the assault, but that the Indians suspected his design.[c] The truth of this accusation depends entirely upon the actual terms of the treaty, which were evidently not committed to writing and can not now be known. Charlevoix, Le Petit, and the Claiborne manuscript give these as simply involving the surrender of the prisoners on the one side and the withdrawal of the French to the river on the other, without stating whether there was a specification that this withdrawal was to be permanent or for a limited period, or, indeed, whether any time was mentioned.[d] As De Loubois is otherwise well spoken of, it is hardly fair to accuse him of such a piece of treachery without better evidence. It looks rather as if the Natchez had already laid their plans to escape and took the measures they did in order to gain time and remove the French from their neighborhood until the project could be carried out.

All that now remained for De Loubois was to erect an earthwork to take the place of the old stockaded Fort Rosalie, leave d'Artaguette, who had distinguished himself in the campaign, or the Baron de Cresnay in command,[e] ransom the prisoners from the Choctaw, to whom they had been delivered, and return to New Orleans.[f] The fact that De Loubois allowed the prisoners to be surrendered to the Choctaw instead of to himself seems strange, and still more so that no one has commented upon it. Could it be possible that those proficient double dealers, the Choctaw, had secured the custodianship of the prisoners from the Natchez as hush money for conniving at or winking at their escape? That they were quite capable of such a maneuver seems apparent. We must not lay too much to their charge, but that their French allies themselves put little confidence in them is plainly evident. Says Le Petit:

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 100; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 291–292.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 292; Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 434.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 189; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 293.

[d] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 99; Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 193; Journal in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., I, 47.

[e] Du Pratz and Dumont, followed by Gayarré (I, 435), say the Baron de Cresnay; Charlevoix and Le Petit say d'Artaguette.

[f] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 100; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 293.

> Before the Tchactas had determined to fall upon the Natchez they had gone to them to carry the calumet and were received in a very novel manner. They found them and their horses adorned with chasubles and drapery of the altars, many wore patens about their necks, and drank and gave to drink of brandy in the chalices and the ciboria. And the Tchactas themselves, when they had gained these articles by pillaging our enemies, renewed this profane sacrilege by making the same use of our ornaments and sacred vessels in their dances and sports. We were never able to recover more than a small portion of them. The greater part of their chiefs have come here [to New Orleans] to receive payment for the scalps they have taken and for the French and negroes whom they have freed. It is necessary for us to buy very dearly their smallest services, and we have scarcely any desire to employ them again, particularly as they have appeared much less brave than the small tribes, who have not made themselves feared by their great number. * * * Since these savages have betrayed their disposition here, we have not been able to endure them longer. They are insolent, ferocious, disgusting, importunate, and insatiable. We compassionate and at the same time we admire our missionaries that they should renounce all society, to have only that of these barbarians.[a]

The Choctaw were not the only participants in the expedition to receive censure, however.

> It is admitted (says Charlevoix) that the soldiers acted very badly at the siege; that 15 negroes, who were put under arms, fought like heroes, and that if all the others could have been armed and put in the place of the soldiers they would have succeeded in storming the besieged works. The settlers, commanded by d'Arembourg and de Laye, also did very well. They cheerfully undertook all the labors and whatever else was ordered. "These creoles," says M. Perrier, "will be good soldiers as soon as they are drilled. In fine, the Natchez were reduced to the last extremity; two days more and we should have seen them with their necks in the halter; but we were every moment on the point of being abandoned by the Choctaw, who grew very impatient, and their departure would have exposed the French to receive a check, and to behold their women, children, and slaves burned, as their enemies threatened."[b]

In this same year, and apparently about the same time that De Loubois was conducting his campaign against the Natchez, Charlevoix states that the Quapaw fell upon the Yazoo, Koroa, and Tioux, destroying the last to a man and all of the Yazoo and Koroa except 15, who hastened to join the Natchez.[c] No doubt some successful Quapaw raid took place, but, as the Yazoo and Koroa had a fort by themselves during Perrier's Black river campaign the following year,[d] it is evident that there were more than 15 survivors. It may also be doubted whether Charlevoix is correct in bringing the Tioux to such a summary end at this time, since this tribe usually lived with the Natchez, and there is no reason to suppose that it was even in part with the Yazoo and Koroa.

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[a] Le Petit, Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 195.

[b] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 100–101.

[c] Ibid., 102.

[d] See p. 249.

That the Natchez were not going to be idle on their side was soon evident. First a party of 10 soldiers and 20 negroes, who were cutting wood in a cypress swamp for the barracks of the new Natchez fort, were attacked, and all killed except 2 negroes and 1 soldier who hid in a hollow tree. He was the same who had escaped the Natchez massacre by hiding in a furnace. Among the slain was "the little Parisian," who had distinguished himself in De Loubois's campaign.[a] A few days after this event 6 Natchez presented themselves before the fort in the guise of Choctaw, obtained an entrance, and made a sudden attack on the garrison, killing 5 and wounding many others before they were themselves destroyed. One was captured and burned in the frame.[b]

The remainder of this year Perrier spent in meeting representatives of various Indian tribes, and securing the allegiance of the Choctaw, the eastern division of which was much influenced by the English.[c] He urged the smaller tribes to make continual raids on his enemy, and succeeded in having 50 of them killed or captured. All of the captives but 4 men and 2 women, who were burned at the stake, he sent to Santo Domingo. Two hundred and fifty warriors of the friendly tribes were sent to blockade the Natchez until aid came from France.[d] In August the reenforcements he had asked from France arrived but proved so much below his expectations that he was obliged to depend very largely on the settlers and the smaller Indian tribes.[e] In December his army was ready to march. The description of this campaign given by Charlevoix is so much fuller and more satisfactory than any other account that it is appended in his words:

> His [Perrier's] first step was to send the Sieur de Coulonge, a Canadian, to the Akansas, who were to assemble at the French fort at Natchez. The Sieur de Beaulieu embarked with him, with orders to reconnoiter the enemy's condition. On the 9th of December [1730] Mr. de Salvert embarked with 200 men, including three companies of marines; the rest volunteers or sailors from the Somme. On Monday, the 11th, Mr. Perrier set out with a company of grenadiers, two of fusileers, and some volunteers. This detachment was also 200 strong. Captain de Benac, commanding the militia, followed on the 13th with 80 men. He was to have 150, but the rest joined him on the way.
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> On the 20th, the whole force having united at the Bayagoulas, a Colapissa chief arrived there with 40 warriors of his tribe. The militia companies were organized at this place, and a company of cadets selected from them but soon suppressed. Mr. le Sueur had orders the next day to load the demigalley which he commanded and to push on to Red river, which he was to ascend;

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 103; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 298–299; Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 193–194.

[b] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 299–300.

[c] Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 102–107.

[d] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 437–438.

[e] Ibid., 106–107.

for although it was not precisely known where the Nachez were, they were supposed beyond doubt to be on the Black, or river of the Ouatchitas, which empties into the Red 10 leagues above its entrance into the Micissipi.

On the 22d they set out from the Bayagoulas in this order: The army was divided into three battalions or three squadrons. The marines under de Salvert on the right, the militia under de Benac on the left; the general in the center, having under him the Baron de Cresnay, commandant of the Louysiana troops, the Chevalier d'Artaguette commanding the grenadier company, the Sieur Baron acting as engineer, and the fusileers. A part of the latter were at the French fort at Natchez, whence Mr. de Lusser was to march with them to Red river. The negroes were scattered in different boats, and the Indians, who had not all assembled yet, were to form a corps by themselves.

On the 27th they had made but little progress, as snows and rain had swollen the river and increased its currents, while the fogs were so dense and continual as to force them every moment to stop.

This day news came that de Coulonges and de Beaulieu had been attacked by the Natchez and that of 24 men in the French batteau 16 had been killed or wounded; Beaulieu among the former and Coulonges among the latter. To crown the disastrous intelligence, it was also reported that the Akansas, weary of hearing no tidings of the French force, had gone home. Perrier halted some time at the bay of the Tonicas to assemble the Indians, who had not yet come in; he was blamed for not having arranged to send them on in advance to blockade the Natchez in their fort; but he probably had not sufficient confidence in these Indians to intrust them with a movement on which all the success of the campaign depended.[a] The Canadians, who readily blamed everything that was done, since the colony was no longer governed by one of themselves, judged the Louysiana by the Canada Indians, and in this were mistaken. Perrier might have maneuvered differently if he had had Abénaquis, Hurons, Algonquins, and Iroquois to deal with, all Christians [!], and long domiciliated among us.

That general rejoined the army at the mouth of Red river on the 4th of January, 1731, with several Indians, who now amounted to 150 of various nations. He had some days before ordered de Benac to ascend to our Natchez fort to obtain information. He returned on the 9th without having seen anything or heard any intelligence. The same day the Indians and 150 volunteers were detached to take the advance under Captain de Laye of the militia and blockade the Natchez as soon as they were discovered; but this detachment did not proceed far, the Indians not going willingly on this expedition. On the 11th they ascended Red river, and at noon the next day they entered the Black. The general had commanded the greatest precaution to avoid being discovered by the enemy, but his orders were unavailing, as the Indians, recognizing no authority and observing no discipline, continued to fire, as usual with them, at all game that showed itself, so that it is rather astonishing that they succeeded in finding the enemy in his fort after so long a march and so little secrecy.

It was on the 20th of January that they discovered the enemy.[b] Orders were at once given to invest them, and as this was done closely, and they were within speaking distance, the besieged began by invectives. The trenches were opened and skirmishing kept up all day and all night. The next day the mortars and all things necessary for the siege were landed. Some shells were then thrown which fell inside the fort.[c] The besieged made a sortie, killed one Frenchman and one negro, and wounded an officer,[a] but they were sharply repulsed by Mr. de Lusser. Shells were thrown all through the 22d,[b] but produced no great result, and the enemy wounded two of our soldiers.[c] However, on the 24th, they hoisted a white flag.[d] Perrier at once raised a similar one at the head of his trench, and soon after an Indian was seen approaching with two calumets in his hand.

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[a] This seems to contradict what Perrier himself says (see p. 343), but perhaps the blockade he there refers to applies to an earlier date, and had not been maintained.

[b] This was done through a Natchez boy who was surprised by some Frenchmen while fishing.—Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 322.

[c] According to Gayarré the two mortars first put in position and which were made of wood soon burst and a third had to be sent for to the boats.—Hist. Louisiana, I, 466.

The general sent his interpreter to receive him, and when the envoy came before him, he asked for peace, offering to surrender all the negroes whom they still had in the fort. Perrier replied that he wished the negroes, but he also required that the chiefs should come to confer with him. The deputy replied that the chiefs would not come, but that if the general had anything to communicate to them, he might advance to the head of the trench, and the head chief would on his side advance to the edge of the fort. Perrier told him to go at all events and get the negroes, and that on his return he would announce his intentions.

He returned with this reply and in half an hour brought 18 negroes and 1 negress.[e] On restoring them to the general, he told them that the Sun would not come out, yet that he asked nothing except to make peace; but on condition that the army should at once retire; that if it adopted this course, he pledged his word that his nation would never commit any hostility against the French, and that he was even ready, if desired, to go and restore his village in its old site. The general replied that he would listen to no proposition till the chiefs came to meet him, that he assured them their lives, but that if they did not come to him that very day there should be no quarter for anyone.

The envoy returned with this message, and after a time came back to say that all the warriors with one accord refused to let the Sun come out; that this excepted, they were disposed to do anything required. The cannon had just arrived, the general replied to this Indian that he held to his first proposition, and ordered him to notify his people that if they allowed a single cannon to be fired he would put all to the sword, without sparing even the women and children. This man soon returned with a Natché named St. Côme,[f] a son of the woman chief, and who consequently would have succeeded the Sun. This Indian, who had at all times been quite familiar with the French, told Mr. Perrier in a very resolute tone, that inasmuch as peace had been concluded he ought to dismiss his troops, that he was very sorry for what his nation had done against us, but that all should be forgotten, especially as the prime mover in all the mischief had been killed in the first siege during the Choctaw attack.

Perrier expressed his pleasure at seeing him, but insisted absolutely on seeing the head chief also; that he would no longer be trifled with, and that no Natché must again think of coming to his presence except in company with the Sun, as he would fire on anyone advancing to make new proposals; that he accordingly permitted him to return to his fort, but that if the head chief did not come forth as soon as he got in, he would reduce the fort to ashes with his bombs. St. Côme at once took leave of him, and in half an hour was seen coming forth with the Sun and another called the Flour chief. The last was the real author of the massacre of the French, but St. Côme had wished to throw the fault on another. They appeared at the moment when preparations were making to attack the fort during the coming night.

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[a] Gayarré says two officers, "A sergeant and De Laye, one of the militia officers."—Hist. Louisiana, I, 446.

[b] From one fieldpiece and the mortar.—Ibid.

[c] An outpost of the Natchez was captured this day after two assaults. Mining operations were pushed rapidly.—Ibid.

[d] Because the French were preparing to storm.—Ibid.

[e] Gayarré says nineteen and one negress, and adds that six others were reported to be absent from the fort on a hunting excursion at the time.—Ibid.

[f] Referred to in connection with the obsequies of the Tattooed-serpent. This name was evidently adopted into the tribe from that of their second missionary, killed by the Chitimacha. See p. 192.

Mr. Perrier sent soldiers to meet them and conduct them to his quarters. The Sun told the general that he was charmed to treat with him, and that he came to repeat to him what he had told him through the envoy, that it was not he who had killed the French, that he was then too young to speak, and that it was the ancients who had formed this criminal project. "I am well aware," he added, "that it will always be ascribed to me, because I am the sovereign of my nation, yet I am quite innocent." In fact, it has always been believed in the colony that his whole crime was in not daring to resist his nation or notify the French of what was plotting against them. Up to that time, and especially before he had attained the dignity of Sun, he had never given any grounds to distrust him. St. Côme, who was likewise not hostile to the French, also cleared him as well as he could; but the other chief merely said that he regretted deeply all that had happened. "We had no sense," he continued, "but hereafter we shall have." As they stood in the rain, which became more violent, Perrier told them to take shelter in a neighboring cabin, and as soon as they entered he placed four sentinels there and appointed three officers to watch it by turns.

He then summoned the head chief of the Tonicas and a Natché chief, called the Tattooed-serpent, to endeavor by these means to extract some light from his prisoners, but it seems that these two men could elicit nothing new. My authorities do not state whether the Tattooed-serpent was then in our camp as a friend or as a prisoner, but toward the close of 1721, while I was at the Natchez, I saw that he was regarded as the best friend we had in that nation, and he was said to be a very close relation of the Sun. The commission confided to him by Perrier induces me to believe that he had always remained strongly attached to us.[a]

To return to those who had been arrested: Le Sueur, who was one of the three officers to whom they had been committed, and who understood their language very well, wished to converse with them, but they made him no reply, and he left them to rest, while the other two officers reposed. Half an hour later these awoke, and he in his turn went to sleep. About 3 o'clock he was awakened by a loud noise. He sprang to his two pocket pistols, and perceived St. Côme and the Sun in the posture of men who are on the point of escaping. He told them that he would blow out the brains of the first who stirred, and, as he was alone, the sentinels and other two officers being in pursuit of the Flour chief, whom they had by their negligence allowed to escape, he called for help. Perrier was the first to run up, and gave new orders to pursue the fugitive, but all in vain.

Early in the morning of the 25th a Natché approached the camp. He was led into the cabin where the Sun was, and informed him that the Flour chief had come into the fort; that having awaked his nephew and 8 or 10 of the oldest warriors, he had told them that the French intended to burn them all; that for his part he was sternly resolved no longer to remain exposed to fall into their hands, and that he advised them to seek safety with him; that they had followed his advice and escaped with their wives and children; that all the others had deliberated whether to do the same, but had deferred too long coming to a resolution, and day breaking, they saw that escape was impossible. On this, the head chief told Mr. le Sueur that the Flour chief was a usurper, who although not noble, had seized the place he occupied, which made him the third person in the nation, and gave him absolute power over all whom he commanded.

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[a] This was not the same man; the one Charlevoix learned of in 1721 died in 1725. Tattooed-serpent was probably a hereditary title.

In the evening Mr. Perrier went to see the Sun, and declared to him that he must send orders to all his subjects to come forth from the fort unarmed, with their wives and children; that he would spare their lives and prevent the Indians from illtreating them. He obeyed and at once sent orders by the Natché who had come to bear the message I have mentioned; but all refused to submit. The wife of the head chief came to him the same day, with his brother and some others of his family, and Perrier gave her a hearty welcome, in consideration of the kindness she had shown the French women during their captivity. They were anxious to have the woman chief,[a] who had even more influence in the nation than the Sun himself. The wife of the chief went repeatedly to the fort to induce her to come out, but her exhortations were unavailing. About 35 men and 200 women surrendered toward 2 o'clock in the afternoon; the rest were told that unless they did the same at once, the cannonade would begin, and that as soon as it opened there should be no mercy for anyone. They replied that we might fire when we chose; that they did not fear death. Yet it is certain that there were only 70 warriors[b] at most remaining in the fort; that they had not a single chief, and that most of them kept themselves shut up from the fear of falling into the hands of the Indians if they attempted to escape separately, or of being perceived by the besiegers if they all escaped in a body.

They were not, however, cannonaded; moreover, the weather was fearful, the rain having been incessant for three days; the besieged trusted that the French would be less careful in watching the passes, and they were not mistaken. About 8 o'clock at night Mr. De Benac sent word to Mr. Perrier that they were escaping. The trenches and all the posts at once were ordered to fire, but the fugitives passed unperceived along a bayou or little river, which ran between the quarter of the militia and that of the Baron de Cresnay; and before it was known and we entered the fort they were already far off with their wives and children. Only one woman was found, who had been just delivered of a child, and one man in the act of escaping.[c]

The next day, the 26th, we endeavored to induce the Indians to pursue these fugitives, but they refused, saying that as they had escaped by our fault it was our business to pursue them;[d] so that having no longer any enemies to fight, our troops had to think of returning. The same day all the prisoners were bound; the Sun, his brother, brother-in-law, Saint Côme, and all of that family were put on board the *Saint Louis*. Forty warriors were put in the demigalley commanded by Le Sueur. The women and children, numbering in all 387 persons,[e] were distributed among the other vessels. The whole army embarked on the 27th, and on the 5th of February reached New Orleans.[f]

Thus ended an expedition which our popular histories still represent as having entirely destroyed the Natchez nation. There is no doubt that the capture and subsequent enslavement of the head Sun and his family, together with the loss of so many women and children, did deal the tribe a very severe blow, but had their losses been confined to those suffered at this time the strength of the nation would not have been seriously impaired. In fact, the Black river expedition was little more fruitful in positive results than the previous fiasco at Natchez, and in it many of the very same blunders were repeated. Perrier was a good governor over the whites and an excellent man personally, whose justice is loudly praised by his contemporaries, yet he evidently knew little about dealing with Indians, either from a military or civil standpoint. If he intended to strike terror his blow should have been delivered rapidly, without wasting days in parley until a favorable opportunity allowed his enemies to give him the slip. If his intentions, on the other hand, were pacific, he was not warranted in enticing the head chief within his lines and making him a prisoner, and his subsequent disposition of those who had yielded themselves, especially when we consider that they were probably the head Sun's own following, and, therefore, the remnants of the old French faction in this tribe, capped the climax of political unwisdom. It is further to be noted that the captives included only 40 warriors, and that the expatriation of the wives of so many others simply served to turn adrift a number of other warriors, deprived of everything but a desire for vengeance. Altogether, either politically or from a military point of view, very little glory was garnered by the French forces from this campaign, and unless some radical improvement took place in future operations one might have prophesied the disasters of 1736 and 1741, when the same methods were tried against a really powerful people, the Chickasaw. What actually did destroy, or very largely decimate, the Natchez nation was the attrition of numberless encounters with other Indians, losses in the swamps from sickness and exposure, and epidemics which would have reduced them in any event, with or without warfare. That part of the Natchez war yet to be told concerns several minor engagements out of which finally grew the disastrous war with the Chickasaw. Says Charlevoix:

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[a] The mother of the heir apparent.

[b] Perrier claimed that only 16 men and 4 women escaped, but Gayarré says "other accounts inform us that the number of warriors who thus baffled him and slipped from his grasp exceeded 150."

[c] Gayarré says: "Only 2 sick men and 1 woman were found in the fort."—Hist. Louisiana, I, 447.

[d] Gayarré, however, states that the Indian allies did pursue the fugitives, kill 1, and capture 2, "whom they burned at the stake (in the frame?)."

[e] Gayarré gives the number of captured as 45 men and 450 women and children.—Hist. Louisiana, I, 447.

[f] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 107–114. Gayarré adds that they demolished the fort and burnt all the enemy's materials.—Hist. Louisiana, I, 448.

> The war was far from being finished. Le Sueur had ascertained from the head chief that the whole nation was not by any means in the fort that we had besieged; that it still comprised 200 warriors,[a] including the Yazoos and the Corrois, and as many youth, who could already, in an emergency, handle a musket; that one of their chiefs had gone to the Chickasaws with 40 men and many women; that another, with 60 or 70 men, more than a hundred women, and a great number of children, was three days' journey from his fort, on the shore of a lake; that 20 men, 10 women, and 6 negroes were at the Ouatchitas; that a band discovered by the army on the 18th of January,[b]

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[a] Diron d'Artaguette says "three hundred."—Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 449.

[b] Gayarré says they met this band on the 19th and killed 2 men and 1 woman belonging to it.—Hist. Louisiana, I, 445.

comprised 20 men, 50 women, and many children; that some 20 warriors were prowling around their old village to cut off the Frenchmen; that the Yazoos and Corrois were in another fort three days' march from this; that all the rest had died of hardship or dysentery. We were finally informed that the Flour chief might have assembled 60 or 70 men, a hundred women, and a great number of children.

Le Sueur having acquired all this information, proceeded to report it to the general, and told him that if he would allow him to take all the well-disposed men, he believed he could guarantee to master all these separate corps; but he was refused. Perrier had not, perhaps, all the confidence in the Canadians that most of them deserved, and brought up in a service where discipline and subordination are at the highest point, he could not conceive that anything of importance can be effected with militia, who acknowledged no law but great bravery and invincible patience in the severest marches and most laborious works. He would doubtless have thought otherwise had he reflected that rules must be adapted according to the enemy's manner of fighting.

However, we were not slow in perceiving that the Natchez could still render themselves formidable, and that the step of sending the Sun and all who had been taken with him to be sold as slaves in St. Domingo had rather exasperated than intimidated the remnant of that nation, in whom hatred and despair had transformed their natural pride and ferocity into a valor of which they were never deemed capable. In the month of April the head chief of the Tonica descended to New Orleans and told Perrier that while he was hunting 4 Natchez had come to him to beg him to make terms for them with the French, adding that all, including those who had taken refuge among the Chickasaw, asked to be received and pardoned; that they would reside wherever it was wished, but that they should be glad to be near the Tonica, and that he came to ascertain his intentions.

Perrier replied that he consented to their settling 2 leagues from his village, but not nearer, to avoid all occasion of quarrel between the two nations; but that, above all things, he exacted that they should come unarmed. The Tonica promised to conform to this order; yet as soon as he reached home he received 30 Natchez into his village, after taking the precaution to disarm them. At the same time 15 other Natchez and 20 women came to the Baron de Cresnay, whom they found in the fort which had been built on their old grounds. A few days after the Flour chief arrived among the Tonica with a hundred men, their women and children, having concealed 50 Chickasaw and Corrois in the canebrake around the village.

The head chief informed them that he was forbidden to receive them unless they gave up their arms. They replied that this was indeed their intention, but they begged him to consent to let them keep them some time longer, lest their women, seeing them disarmed, should think themselves prisoners condemned to death. He consented; then food was distributed to their new guests and they danced till after midnight, after which the Tonica retired to their cabins, thinking that of course the Natchez would also go to rest. But soon after—that is to say, one hour before day, for it was the 14th day of June—the Natchez and apparently the Chicaksaw and Corrois, although Perrier's letter says nothing on the point, fell upon all the cabins and slaughtered all whom they surprised asleep. The head chief ran up at the noise and first killed 4 Natchez; but, overborne by numbers, he was slain with some 12 of his warriors. His war chief, undismayed by this loss or the flight of most of his braves, rallied a dozen, with whom he regained the head chief's cabin; he even succeeded in recalling the rest, and after fighting for five days and nights almost without intermission remained master of his village. The Tonica on this occasion had 20 men killed and as many wounded. They killed of the Natchez 33 men and took 3 prisoners, whom they burned.[a]

Perrier no sooner received this tidings than he dispatched a detachment, under the command of the Chevalier d'Artaguette, to induce as many Indians as he could to pursue the Natchez. At the same time he ordered the Baron de Cresnay to make sure of all those who had surrendered to him. He obeyed, but his adjutant, to whom he confided them, having allowed them to retain their knives, they sprang, at a moment when it was least expected, on 8 muskets which were stacked, and with these kept up a fire till they were all killed—men, women, and children to the number of 37. Their chief had gone to New Orleans with 15 of his men; these were arrested and sent to Toulouse Island, where they were put in irons. They found means to break them, but had not time to escape and were all killed.[b]

Meanwhile the Flour chief, after the miscarriage of his plot at the Tonicas, proceeded to join those of his nation who had escaped Perrier on the Black river, led them to Natchitoches, where De St. Denys was with but a few soldiers, and besieged him in his fort. St. Denys at once sent an express to the commandant general to ask relief, and on the 21st of October Mr. De Loubois set out from New Orleans at the head of 60 men to reenforce him. He had advanced 6 leagues up Red river, and was only seven or eight days' march from the Natchitoches, when the Sieur Fontaine, sent by De St. Denys to Perrier, informed him that the Natchez had been defeated; that the Natchitoches had at the outset wished to attack them, but being only 40 against 200, they had been compelled to retire, and even abandon their village after losing 4 of their men; that the Natchez had seized the village, and intrenched themselves there; that then De St. Denys, having received a reenforcement of Assinais and Attacapas, who were joined by some Spaniards, had attacked the enemy's intrenchments and killed 82, including all their chiefs; that all the survivors had taken flight, and that the Natchitoches were in close pursuit.[c]

This attack on Natchitoches seems to have been the last effort of the Natchez as a tribe, and it was at the same time the only really brilliant success that had crowned the French arms. For this, however, they were indebted less to the efforts of their own soldiery than to the personal qualities of their commandant, St. Denis, who possessed a deep knowledge of Indian character and was held in the utmost regard by all of the surrounding people, even including the Spaniards, to which nation his wife belonged. Particularly fortunate for the victors was the death of the Flour chief, who, after the capture and deportation of the head Sun's family, appears to have gathered round himself all that represented the distinct nationality of the Natchez. Although, as Charlevoix says, "there were enough left to harass the settlers of Louysiana, and to interrupt trade,"[d] they now acted rather as a band of Chickasaw with whom the French were next to deal. Of their condition in 1733, when he resumed the governorship of Louisiana, now under the Crown, Bienville says: "Since my arrival the Natchez have attempted nothing against the French nor against their allies, but they are not destroyed, although we are ignorant of their numbers. The Tunicas have assured me that these indefatigable enemies of the French are divided into three bands—one, the least numerous, has retired into an impracticable country, a little above their ancient villages; the second, which is more considerable, dwells on the banks of the Mississippi, near the Ouatchitas, and opposite the Yazoo river; the third, which is the most numerous, has been received among the Chickasaw, who have granted to these refugees lands on which to build a village."[a] He adds that he intends to have them harassed continually by his Indian allies,[a] and on the 10th of August of the same year he informed his government that this had been so effectually done that the smaller bands were retreating to join the largest division among the Chickasaw.[b] Their war parties were busy, however, from this time on, and about 1735 they and the Chickasaw fell upon a detachment of 10 men under an officer named Du Coder, which was convoying a supply of ammunition to D'Artaguette, then commandant of the Illinois, killed 8 and made the others prisoners. One was liberated by the Chickasaw, who were desirous of making peace, and the others subsequently effected their escape. The former told Bienville that the Natchez occupied a town by themselves and still numbered 180 warriors, although it is certain that some Natchez had already moved to other tribes.[c]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 300–302, and Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 439, give this as a Tunica disaster almost involving the destruction of that tribe, but Charlevoix is probably correct. They also place its occurrence before the Black river expedition.

[b] In this same month—April, 1731—Gayarré states that the Natchez attacked 4 boats which Governor Perrier had sent up to the Arkansas. Two men were killed, 2 others wounded, and the rest, although amounting to 70, forced to retreat.—Hist. Louisiana, I, 449.

[c] Shea's Charlevoix, Hist. Louisiana, VI, 114–118. Du Pratz, Dumont, and Gayarré place the fight at Natchitoches in the period immediately succeeding the massacre.

[d] Ibid., 118.

In a letter to the French minister from Quebec, dated October 9, 1735, Beauharnois states that he had received a letter from D'Artaguette to the effect that the Natchez had separated themselves from the Chickasaw "for fear that they might surrender them to the French to secure peace; that one-half had gone to Carolina and the other to Louischitas."[d] Presumably "Louischitas" means Washita, but if such a migration took place this year to the latter place it must have been temporary, for the Natchez village was close to those of the Chickasaw the year following. That part of them moved toward Carolina, however, seems very probable.

When Bienville launched his first expedition against the Chickasaw, in 1736, it was his desire to attack the Natchez town first, but the Choctaw dissuaded him on the ground that there were more provisions in the Chickasaw villages, and, perhaps in consequence of this advice, he suffered a bloody repulse.[e] This village had been the objective of the attack of D'Artaguette a short time before, whose force was assailed suddenly by 400 or 500 Indians led by 30 Englishmen and utterly routed, D'Artaguette himself, the Jesuit father, Sénac, and 15 others being captured and burned alive.[a] In 1739–40 a second expedition, grander than anything the French had yet attempted, was assembled on the Mississippi, but provisions running short, ignominiously dispersed. Céleron, however, an officer who along with St. Laurent had brought a company of cadets from Quebec and Montreal, marched against the Chickasaw with his company, about 100 Frenchmen and 400 or 500 Indians, and was greeted by them with an humble request for peace. Céleron accepted their proposals and sent some of their chiefs after Bienville, whom they overtook on his way to New Orleans. The latter made a treaty with them on condition that they should deliver up the Natchez in their possession and exterminate the rest, and in consequence of this treaty they actually did deliver over a few Natchez to Céleron, who passed them on to the Louisiana French.[b] This peace was extorted mainly by a fear that Céleron's force was simply the advance guard of the enormous armament the Chickasaw had seen assembling against them, and they shortly recommenced their depredations, attacking the Point Coupée settlements and killing and plundering French voyagers on their way up and down the Mississippi.[c] In the year following, Gayarré says the Chickasaw had become so hard pressed by their French and Choctaw foes that the Natchez, finding themselves an incumbrance, passed over to the Cherokee.[d]

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[a] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 459.

[b] Ibid., 460.

[c] Ibid., 463–465.

[d] Wisconsin Hist. Coll., XVII, 220, 1906.

[e] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 472–478.

That they did not all leave at that time, however, is shown by Adair, whose acquaintance with the Chickasaw began in 1744. He says:

> The Muskohgeh cave, out of which one of their politicians persuaded them [i. e., the Chickasaw], their ancestors formerly ascended to their present terrestrial abode, lies in the Nanne Hamgeh old town, inhabited by the Mississippi-Nachee Indians, which is one of the most western parts of their old-inhabited country.[e]

Although it is uncertain where the Nanne Hamgeh old town was, the general situation corresponds very well with that given on Bowen's map of 1764 in Schoolcraft,[f] where the "remainder of the Natches" are placed, in the Chickasaw country on the east bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas. We may imagine that these were the most implacable foes of the French, who elected this position with the obvious advantage it gave of cutting off parties of voyagers descending or ascending the river. Very likely they were drawn from the former villages of the Apple, Jenzenaque, and the Gris.

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[a] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 485–488.

[b] Ibid., 505–510.

[c] Ibid., 516–517.

[d] Ibid., 519–520.

[e] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 195.

[f] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, v. facing 253.

At a very early date, however, a large body of Natchez passed over from the Chickasaw to the Creeks. In fact this was probably the largest section of the nation. Their settlement among the Creeks antedated 1744, for Adair, in enumerating the Creek towns, says: "With them also is one town of the Sha-wa-no, and one of the Nahchee Indians;"[a] and further on he mentions "Ooe-Asah, the upper western town of the Muskohgeh, settled by the Chickasaw and Nahchee."[b] "Ooe-Asah" was probably more Chickasaw than Natchez, but the largest number of the Natchez immigrants into Creek territory ultimately formed a town of their own bearing their name on Tallahatchee creek, formerly called Natche creek, 10 miles above its junction with Coosa river, in the southeastern part of Talladega county, Ala. (pl. 6, *b*). They also formed a part of the population of Abikudshi, 5 miles below. Bouquet's estimate of 1764 gives the number of their warriors as 150.[c] Swan, who visited the Creeks in 1791, speaks of the Natchez as occupying more villages than one, and says of them: "The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out from Louisiana, and added considerably to the confederative body." He mentions their chief, Dog Warrior, as one of the most prominent in the confederacy.[d]

Hawkins, in his Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799, speaks of the Natchez town as follows:

> *Nau-chee*, on Nauchee creek, 5 miles above Au-be-coo-che, below the fork of the creek, on a rich flat of land of a mile in width, between two small mountains. This flat extends from the town three-quarters of a mile above the town house. The settlements are scattered on both sides of the creek for 2 miles; they have no worm fences, and but little stock. One chief, a brother of Chin-a-be, has a large stock of hogs, and had 90 fit for market in 1798.
>
> This town is the remains of the Nat-chez who lived on the Mississippi. They estimate their number of gun men at 100, but they are probably not more than 50. The land off from the mountains is rich; the high, waving country is very healthy and well watered; cane grows in the creeks, reed on the branches, and pea vine on the flats and hillsides. The Indians get the root they call "tal-e-wau" in this neighborhood, which the women mix with bear's oil to redden their hair.[e]

He says nothing of Natchez at Abikudshi except incidentally in referring to "Co-tau-lau (Tus-se-ki-ah Mic-co), an old and respectable chief, descended from Nau-che. He lives near We-o-coof-ke, has accumulated a handsome property, owns a fine stock, is a man of much information, and of great influence among the Indians of the towns in the neighborhood of this."[a]

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[a] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 257.

[b] Ibid., 319.

[c] In Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 140 *et passim*, 1802.

[d] Swan (1791) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, v, 260, 263, 1855.

[e] Hawkins's Sketch in Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 42.

In the Creek war of 1813-14 they were kept from joining the hostile Indians by the Talisi chief. In 1832 they accompanied the Creeks to the former Indian territory, now incorporated in Oklahoma. In 1885 John Leslie, or Lasley, of Abika, from whom Doctor Gatschet collected his vocabulary of Natchez, represented his tribe in the Creek "house of warriors," though practically without a constituency.[b] When Mr. James Mooney visited Eufaula, near Abika, five years later, "he was still alive at an advanced age, together with several other relatives, all speaking their own language,"[b] but in 1907 the present writer was told at Eufaula that he was dead and that no one remained at Abika who could speak the language consecutively.

It is a curious fact that there is a manuscript "History of the Creek Indians" among the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, written by a mixed blood Natchez living among the Creeks, named George Stiggins.

Most important of the Natchez fragments next to those who settled among the Creeks were the Natchez who went to live with the Cherokee. Mooney says "The Cherokee generally agree that the Natchez came to them from the Creek country,"[c] but if this applies to the first comers, they can hardly have stopped in the Creek country before moving again, for Bienville, in 1742, states that finding themselves an incumbrance to the Chickasaw, then closely pressed by the French, they had retired to the Cherokee,[d] and the Jesuit father, Vivier, writing in 1750, says of this nation: "Only a few remain scattered among the Chicachats and Chéraquis, where they live precariously and almost as slaves."[e] At a very early date, however, such as came directly from the Chickasaw or indirectly through the Creeks were joined by a band that had been living among the Catawba Indians, but had had a misunderstanding with them. In 1734 a delegation of 26 of these Indians had applied to the government of South Carolina for permission to settle their people on Savannah river,[f] and the request was evidently granted, for Adair mentions "Nachee" as one of the tribes making up the more than 20 dialects of the Catawba nation.[g] In 1744 the records of South Carolina note that "seven Catawbas had been barbarously murdered by the Notchee Indians, who live among them," the Catawbas, as it appears, being then drunk, but, if we are to accept the statement contained in Governor Glen's letter, they had been instigated to the deed by a storekeeper. He persuaded "the Notchee king" to punish the offenders, but the Catawbas, having set out to take revenge, the Natchez, along with the Pedee Indians, were forced to come farther down among the settlements for safety.[a] This separation seems to have been permanent, as they are mentioned in 1751 as one of the small tribes "that live among our settlements."[b] In October, 1755, two women of the Pedee tribe were killed and scalped and two boys carried away captive, and the deed was said to have been committed by some Cherokee and "one Notchee, which was called the Notchee doctor."[c] This Natchez was evidently already settled with the Cherokee, though whether he had belonged to the former Catawba band of Natchez or not can not be determined. It is, however, very likely that the Catawba Natchez had already joined those among the Cherokee, for we hear nothing further regarding them.

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[a] Hawkins's Sketch in Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 42.

[b] Mooney in *Amer. Anthrop.*, n. s., I, 521.

[c] Ibid., 516–517.

[d] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 519–520.

[e] Jes. Rel., LXIX, 214–215.

[f] Rivers quoted in Mooney, Siouan tribes of the East, 84.

[g] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., II, 225.

The Natchez appear in Cherokee tradition "under the name of Aníntsĭ, abbreviated from Ani-Ná'tsi, the plural of Ná'tsĭ. Mooney says, "They seem to have been regarded by the Cherokee as a race of wizards and conjurers, probably due in part to their peculiar religious rites and in part to the interest which belonged to them as the remnant of a broken tribe."[d] Mr. Mooney being an authority on everything connected with the Cherokee, we can not do better than subjoin his statements regarding that band of the Natchez which lived among them. He says:

> The venerable James Wafford, a prominent mixed-blood Cherokee who was born in 1806 near the site of Clarkesville, Ga., when it was all Indian country, and who afterwards removed with his tribe to Indian Territory, informed the writer in 1890 that the "Notchees" had their town on the north bank of Hiwassee river, just above Peachtree creek, on the spot where a Baptist mission was established by the Rev. Evan Jones about 1820, and a few miles above the present Murphy, Cherokee county, N. C. On his mother's side he had himself a strain of Natchez blood. His grandmother had told him that when she was a young woman—say about 1775—she had occasion to go to this town on some business, which she was obliged to transact through an interpreter, as the Natchez had then been there so short a time that only one or two spoke any Cherokee. They were all in the one town, which the Cherokee called Gwalgwâ'hĭ, "Frog Place," but he was unable to say whether or not it had a townhouse. In 1824, as one of the census enumerators for the Cherokee Nation, he went over the same section and found the Natchez then living jointly with the Cherokee in a town called Gû'lăníyĭ at the junction of Brasstown and Gumlog creeks, tributary to Hiwassee river, some 6 miles southeast of their

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[a] Gregg, Hist. of the Old Cheraws, 10–11. A letter preserved among the Public Documents of South Carolina states that this murder was performed by the Natchez and Wateree together.

[b] Ibid., 14.

[c] Ibid., 15.

[d] Mooney in *Amer. Anthrop.*, n. s., I, 517.

former location and close to the Georgia line. The removal may have been due to the recent establishment of the mission at the old place. It was a large settlement, about equally made up from the two tribes, but by this time the Natchez were indistinguishable in dress or general appearance from the others, and nearly all spoke broken Cherokee, while still retaining their own language. As most of the Indians had come under Christian influence so far as to have quit dancing there was no townhouse. Harry Smith, father of the late chief of the East Cherokee, and born about 1815, also remembers them as living on the Hiwassee and calling themselves *Ná'tsi*.

From Gansé'tĭ, or Rattling gourd, another mixed-blood Cherokee, who was born on Hiwassee river in 1820 and went west at the removal eighteen years later, it appears that in his time the Natchez were scattered among the Cherokee settlements along the upper part of that stream, extending down into Tennessee. They had then no separate townhouses. Some, at least, of them had come up from the Creeks, and spoke Creek and Cherokee as well as their own language, which he could not understand, although familiar with both the others. They were great dance leaders, which agrees with their traditional reputation for ceremonial and secret knowledge. They went west with the Cherokee at the final removal of the tribe to Indian Territory in 1838. In 1890 there were a considerable number on Illinois river a few miles south of Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, several of them still speaking their own language, among whom were Groundhog, John Rogers, and a woman named Kehaka. Some of these may have come with the Creeks, as by an agreement between the Creeks and Cherokee, before the time of the removal, it had been arranged that citizens of either tribe living within the boundaries claimed by the other might remain without question if they so elected. Among the East Cherokee in North Carolina, about 1890, there were several who claimed Natchez descent, but only one of full Natchez blood, an old woman named Alkĭnĭ, who spoke with a drawling tone said to have been characteristic of that people as older men remembered them years ago.[a]

In 1907 the writer found five persons who could still speak the Natchez language living close to Braggs, then in the Cherokee nation, but not far from the borders of the Creek nation. Most of them could speak Creek and Cherokee as well, and it is uncertain whether they were part of the original Cherokee band of Natchez or had moved over in later times from the Creeks. The latter view is, however, probably the correct one. These five persons were known to their white neighbors as Creek Sam, Wat Sam, Charlie Jumper, Lizzie Rooster, and Nancy Taylor. (Pls. 8, 9.) Farther south, on Illinois creek, is a settlement of Indians of Natchez descent called "Natchez town," but it is said that no one there now speaks the old language. As is the case with the Creeks, there are many Cherokee who have Natchez blood in varying degrees of purity, some perhaps in larger measure than those who retain the speech, but most of these no longer consider themselves of the Natchez tribe. In the spring of 1908 the number of speakers of Natchez was still further reduced by the death of Creek Sam, who is said to have been over 80 years old. In the fall of that year the writer visited his son, Wat Sam, and

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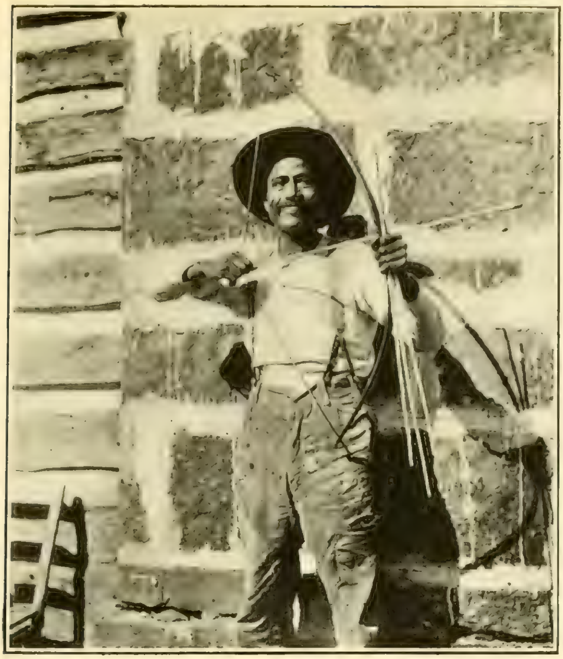
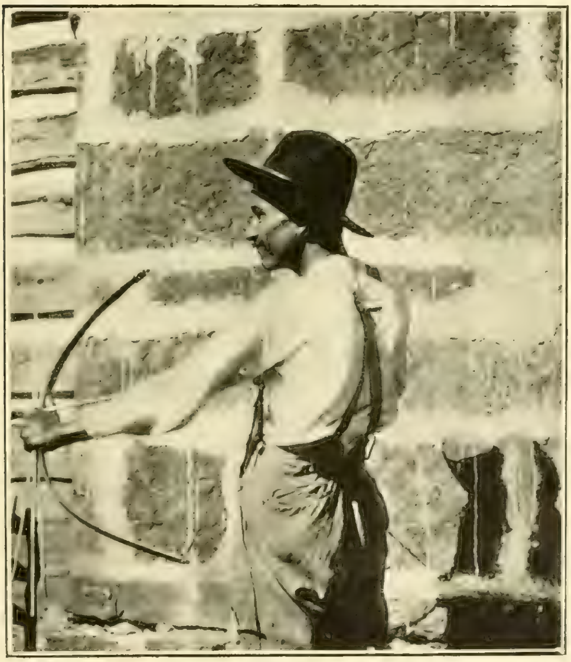
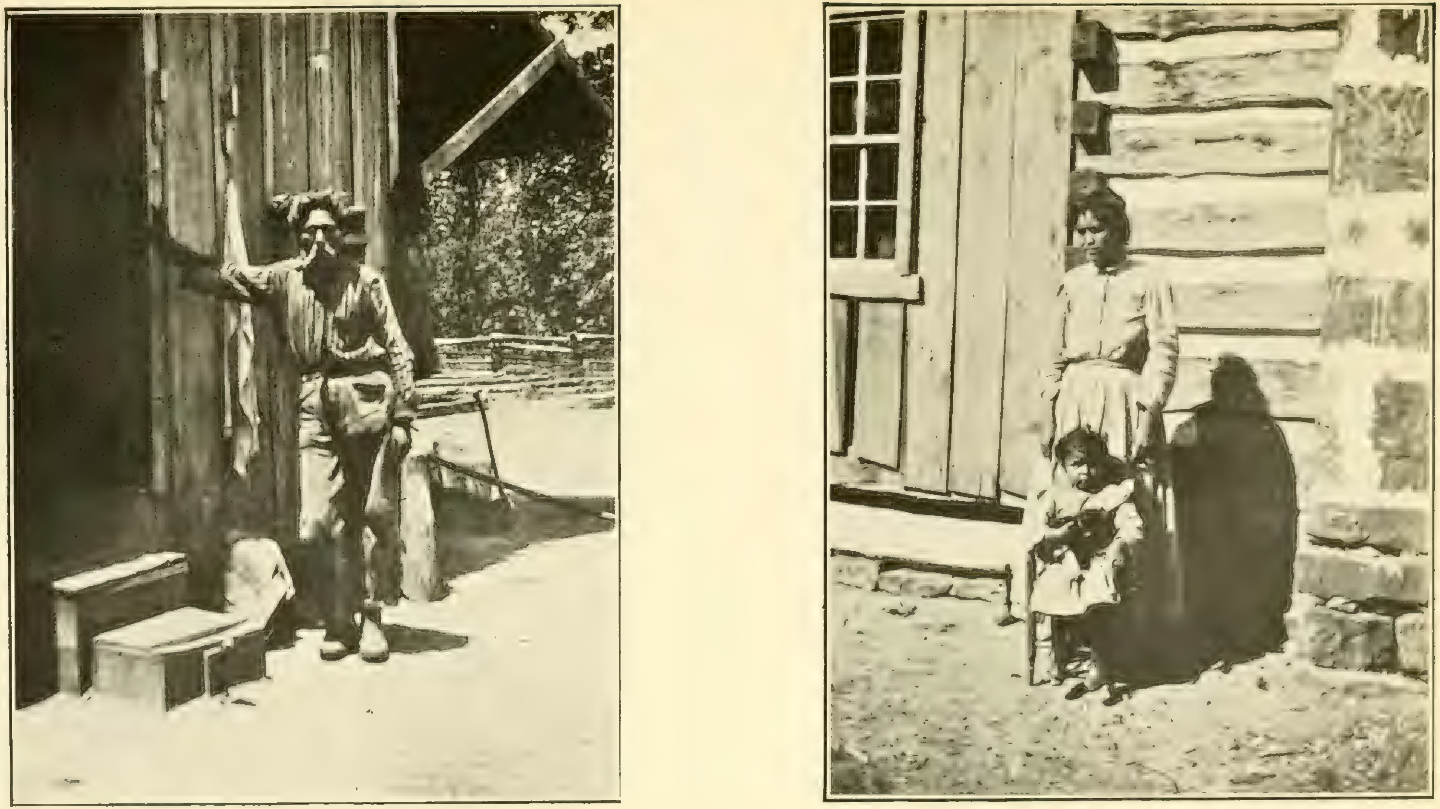
[a] Mooney in *Amer. Anthrop.*, n. s., I, 517–518.





"WAT SAM"

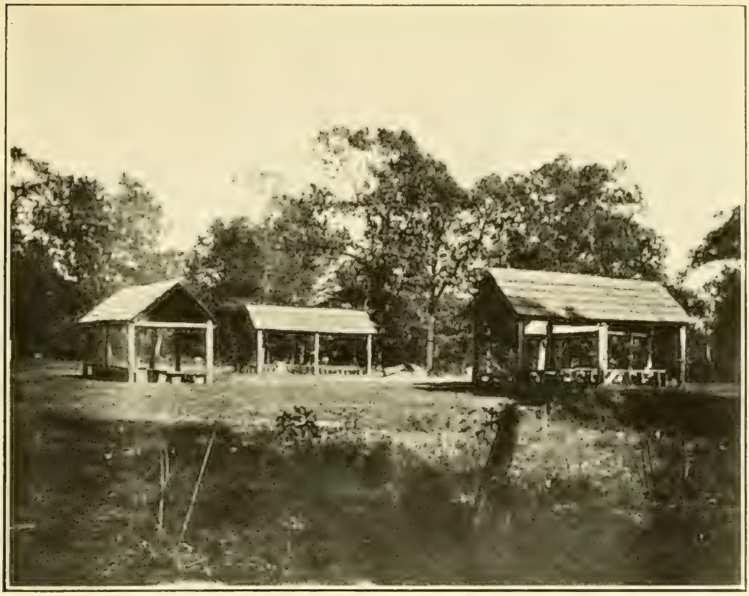
One of the four Indians living near Braggs, Okla., who still speak the Natchez language. He was the writer's principal informant, and is a conservative among the Indians, as indicated by his pose with the bow and arrow in these pictures—his own idea



a "Creek Sam," the father, the oldest of five speakers of the Natchez language living near Braggs, Okla., in 1907. He died in the winter of 1907–8

b Wife and child

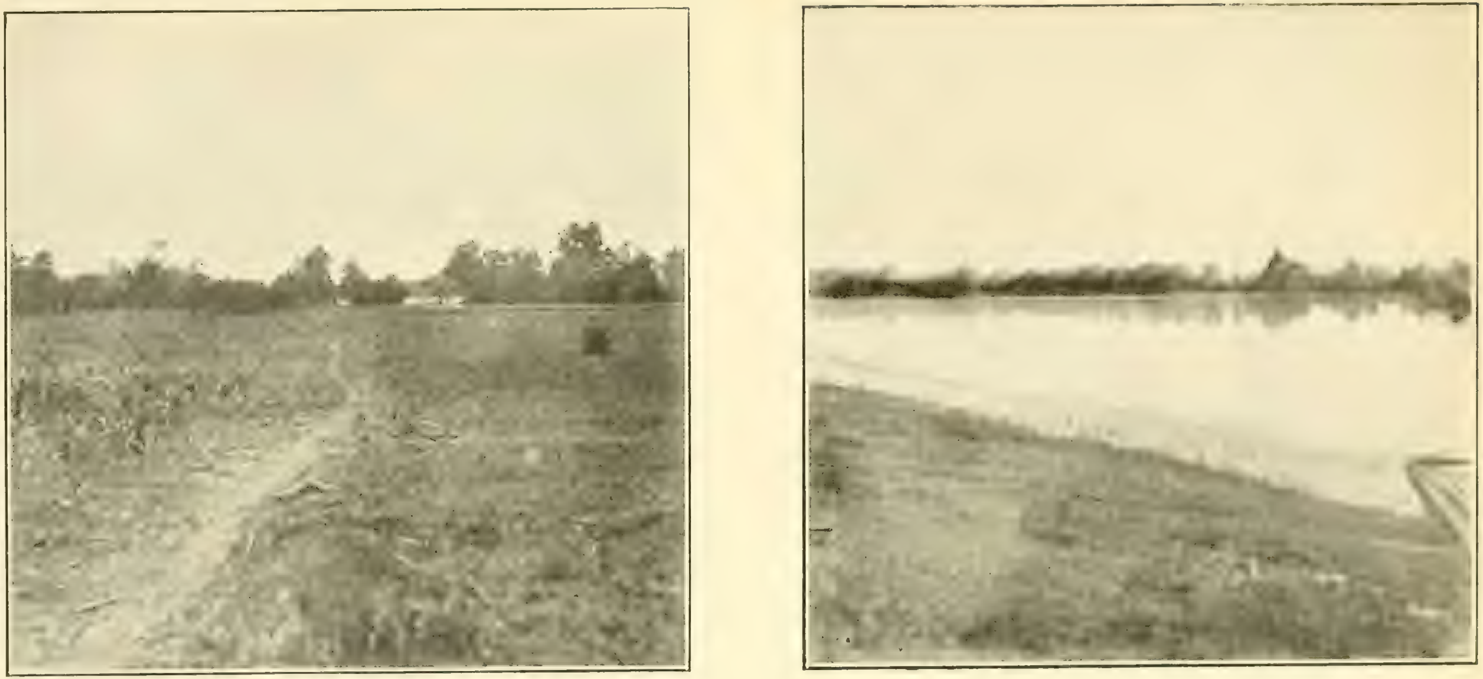
FAMILY OF "WAT SAM"



a Ceremonial ground or "Stomp ground" in the Greenleaf Mountains between Braggs and Illinois stations, Okla. Although in the territory of the former Cherokee Nation, it is arranged like the great squares of the Creek Indians. It is used by Creeks, Cherokee, and a few Natchez. The four cabins shown correspond to the four of the Creeks, and like the Creek cabins, each has four benches, but instead of two transverse partitions there is only one, poorly marked. The fire in the center was made by means of four logs, one end of each pointing inward. Unlike the usual Creek assignment, the south bench here is said to be the one occupied by the chiefs. The three others are assigned to male visitors indiscriminately, while the women sit on other seats on the edge of the square

b The ball ground back of the west cabin of the great square. The central pole has a fish at the top which rival bodies of players try to hit with the ball. Just back of this ball ground, on the opposite side from the square, is where the feast is prepared

FESTIVAL GROUNDS



a Probable site of the Taënsa villages near Newellton, La., now occupied by a sugar plantation. The light line among the trees is Lake St. Joseph

b The same locality viewed from across the lake

TAËNSA VILLAGE SITES

recorded a number of pages of Natchez texts, besides other material, which it is hoped, in connection with the vocabularies collected by Gallatin, Pike, Brinton, and Gatschet, will preserve a knowledge of this ancient speech for all time. Wat Sam is one of the conservative Indians, and is a leader in the dances held at their dance ground in the Greenleaf mountains (pl. 10).

The Natchez are, therefore, practically extinct; but thanks to their peculiar manners and customs and the romance and tragedy surrounding their last war with the French they have probably attained a fame which many existing tribes will never enjoy. By students of the American Indians they have often been given a position entirely apart from their neighbors, and at one time no theory attempting to account for the origin of our Indian races, whether based on supposed Phoenician, Greek, Norse, or Celtic voyages, on the existence of an island of Atlantis, or on migrations from Asia, was complete without some reference to them. They have figured more prominently, and with better reason, in hypotheses to explain the origin of the mounds of the southern States and Mississippi valley, particularly in endeavors to connect these with the civilizations of Mexico and Central America. We know that the Natchez were mound builders, at least to a limited extent, although they certainly can not be appealed to in order to explain the origin of the Mississippi mounds generally. Their value in this respect is rather as a standing proof that it was possible to weld the proverbially independent American Indians into states with unity of purpose sufficient to construct any work or set of works with which we are acquainted.

If the American Indian ever becomes a favorite theme for literary and artistic effort, it may be held as certain that the Natchez will receive abundant attention, and indeed a beginning was made long ago by Chateaubriand, who selected them for his idyllic story of Atala and his more pretentious effort which bears their name.

THE TAËNSA

The meaning of this name is unknown. There is a possibility that the tribe, or a portion of it, figures in the De Soto narratives under the name of Guachoya (Elvas),[a] Guachoia (Garcilasso),[b] or Guachoyanque (Biedma).[c] It was at the place to which these are given that De Soto died, and soon after that event the Fidalgo of Elvas records that "The chief, thinking within himself that he was dead [although the Spaniards pretended that he had ascended to the skies], ordered two well-proportioned young men to be brought, saying that it was the usage of the country when any lord died to kill some persons, who should accompany and serve him on the way, on which account they were brought; and he told him to command their heads to be struck off, that they might go accordingly to attend his friend and master."[a] This is a custom which in later times existed only among the Natchez and the Taënsa, and it is curious that, in the cabin of the Taënsa chief, Nicolas de la Salle states that he saw an old Spanish sword and three old guns.[b] With these two facts in mind the writer is tempted to find Guachoya in the Taënsa town recorded by Iberville as Conchayon,[c] in which it must be remembered that the n's are nasalized. If there were any truth in this identification we should also expect some relationship between the Natchez and De Soto's Quigaltam (Elvas),[d] or Quigaltanqui (Garcilasso),[e] but no real proof of this exists.

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[a] Bourne, Narratives of De Soto, I, 150, 1904.

[b] Shipp, History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 432, 1881.

[c] Bourne, Narratives of De Soto, II, 34,

When first encountered by the French the Taënsa dwelt on the shores of Lake St. Joseph, about 3 leagues from the eastern end and probably on the northern side in the places shown on plate 11. Tonti implies that there were nine villages,[f] but in the *procès-verbal* the number given is eight,[g] and in 1699 Iberville was told by a Taënsa Indian that there were seven, which he named as follows: Taënsas, Ohytoucoulas, Nyhougoulas, Couthaougoula, Conchayon, Talaspa, and Chaoucoula.[c] The ending *-ucoula* or *-ugoula* is the Choctaw word for ‘people,’ from which circumstance Gatschet inferred that the names were all given in the Mobilian jargon, and he attempts to interpret six of them, as follows: Taënsas, from Choctaw *ta*^{n}*'dshi*, ‘maize;’ Ohytoucoulas, perhaps from *u'ti*, ‘chestnut,’ cf. *uta'pa*, ‘chestnut eater;’ Couthaougoulas, from Choctaw *uk'ha'tax*, ‘lake;’ Conchayon, cf. Choctaw *ko'nshak*, ‘reed,’ ‘species of cane;’ Talaspa, probably from *ta'‘lapi*, ‘five,’ or *ta'‘lepa*, ‘hundred;’ Chaoucoula, from Choctaw *issi*, ‘deer,’ or *ha'tche*, ‘river,’ ‘water-course.’[h] Very little reliance can be placed upon these etymologies, however, for the Taënsa language was quite distinct from Choctaw, and even where the ending signifying ‘people’ occurs it is possible that the balance of the word is Taënsa. The word Taënsa itself is almost certainly native, for along the Mississippi, as we have seen, there is no instance[i] of a tribe called by any name other than that by which it designated itself. In spite of the number of villages this seems to have been a very small tribe, and was probably decreasing even before contact with Europeans.

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[a] Bourne, Narratives of De Soto, I, 162–163.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, I, 566.

[c] Ibid., IV, 179.

[d] Bourne, Narratives of De Soto, I, 153.

[e] Shipp, History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 437.

[f] Margry, Découvertes, I, 601.

[g] Ibid., II, 189, 1877.

[h] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., I, 31.

[i] Except possibly the Grigra.

The first appearance of this tribe in authentic history was, like that of the Natchez, in La Salle's expedition of 1682. The various accounts of this journey show unfortunate discrepancies, and it will be well to give all of the versions so far as they concern the tribe under consideration, especially as the Taënsa play a more important part in this voyage than ever afterward, interest being soon transferred to the more powerful Natchez.

Says Tonti:

> The 22d [of March] we reached the Taensa, after having voyaged for 80 leagues [from the Arkansas villages], and, as this nation was situated on a little lake, we camped 3 leagues from the village. I went to them, accompanied by Pierre Prud'homme, Chief Classe,[a] and the two other savages, our interpreters. We arrived at night, and the Arkansas having begun to sing, the Taensas recognized them as friends, and we entered their village in safety. I was never so surprised as on entering the cabin of the chief, because the other savages do not build in this manner. One recognized in this nation some of the qualities which civilized people possess. They first made us enter a cabin having a front of 40 feet; the walls of mud, 2 feet thick and 12 high. The roof is made dome shaped, of cane mats, so well worked that the rain does not pierce through them at all. On entering we saw the chief seated on a couch. There were more than 60 old men opposite him, covered with great white cloths resembling the hammocks which the savages of the islands of America make. There was a torch of dry canes in the middle of the cabin, which latter was ornamented with many brass bucklers hung on the four walls, with a quantity of paintings, with an alcove where the chief reposes, and with many camp beds, on which repose the chiefs of the eight villages which are situated on the lake and depend on him. All these old men who were near him in the aforesaid cabin had their hands on their heads and howled, all with one voice, like wolves, crying "Ho! ho! ho! ho!" And, after the chief had spoken to them, all seated themselves, and they had us sit on a delicately worked cane mat which was spread on the earth. Our interpreter rose to his feet, and after having made a speech he gave the chief a buffalo robe he wore, who reclothed him in his own; and, having let them know that we were come to make an alliance with them and that the one who commanded us had need of provisions, he commanded at once that they should tell all the women to make corn meal and pastry of a certain fruit which they call "paquimina," which is very good. I gave the chief a knife, which he received as a very considerable present. He regaled us in the best manner he was able, and I noticed that one of his little children, wishing to pass between the chief and the fire in order to go out, was withdrawn quickly by his mother and made to pass around; such is the mark of respect they show toward him. He was served by slaves. No one else eats out of his dishes. They are earthen, very well glazed, and made like cups. Their knives are of flint as well as their axes. I noticed that he had 16 fine pearls hung at his ears, and, having told our interpreter to ask where they had found them, he replied that it was at the sea, in shells, and that he had many of them.
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> I parted to give an account to M. de la Salle of all that I had seen, who got me to return, to endeavor to obtain the aforesaid pearls. There arrived this day a quantity of canoes loaded with provisions; one could obtain a hen for an awl or a needle. M. de la Salle, who had always believed that this river falls into the bay of the Holy Spirit, having taken the height [of the sun] with his

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[a] Given on p. 594 as Clance.

astrolabe, found himself in 31°, which made him believe we were in the river Abscondido, as he found to be true afterward. I returned then to the village with our interpreters, and, having given a bracelet to the chief, he made me a present of these pearls, which were tarnished, because they pierce them with red-hot iron. They were as large as peas. I gave them to M. de la Salle. Four of our savages, as well as our interpreters, did not wish to pass beyond, for fear of the nations they might find, for it must be noted that all the villages which are situated on the left of the river make war on those on the right. That did not prevent us from parting the 25th and camping on an island 10 leagues off.

I have forgotten to tell you that the Taensas have a divinity, because we saw a temple opposite the cabin of the chief, in which there was a kind of altar, and on top three eagles, which look toward the rising sun. This temple is inclosed in a kind of redoubt, where they put upon the wall the heads of their enemies who they have killed in war. They keep watch there day and night. This fort is not at all regular, but is very well flanked at each angle; there are sentry boxes of hard wood.[a]

In his memoir he tells of this as follows:

When we arrived opposite to the village of the Taënsas M. de la Salle desired me to go to it and inform the chief of his arrival. I went with our guides, and we had to carry a bark canoe for 10 arpens, and to launch it on a small lake in which their village was placed. I was surprised to find their cabins made of mud and covered with cane mats. The cabin of the chief was 40 feet square, the wall 10 feet high, a foot thick, and the roof, which was of a dome shape, about 15 feet high. I was not less surprised when, on entering, I saw the chief seated on a camp bed, with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than 60 old men, clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked. The women are clothed in the same manner; and every time the chief spoke to them, before answering him they howled and cried out several times "O-o-o-o-o-o!" to show their respect for him, for their chiefs are held in as much consideration as our kings. No one drinks out of the chief's cup nor eats out of his plate, and no one passes before him. When he walks they clean the path before him. When he dies they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house steward (*maître d'hotel*), and a hundred men to accompany him into the other world. They have a form of worship and adore the sun. There is a temple opposite the house of the chief, and similar to it, except that three eagles are placed on this temple, who look toward the rising sun. The temple is surrounded with strong mud walls, in which are fixed spikes, on which they place the heads of their enemies whom they sacrifice to the sun. At the door of the temple is a block of wood, on which is a great shell (*vignot*), and plaited round with the hair of their enemies in a plait as thick as the arm and about 20 fathoms (*toises*) long. The inside of the temple is naked; there is an altar in the middle, and at the foot of the altar three logs of wood are placed on end, and a fire is kept up day and night by two old priests (*jongleurs*), who are the directors (*maîtres*) of their worship. These old men showed me a small cabinet within the wall, made of mats of cane. Desiring to see what was inside, the old men prevented me, giving me to understand that their god was there. But I have since learned that is the place where they keep their treasure, such as fine pearls, which they fish up in the neighborhood, and European merchandise. At the last quarter of the moon all the cabins make an offering of a dish of the best food they have, which is placed at the door of the temple. The old men take care to carry it away and to make a good feast of it with their families. Every spring they make a clearing, which they name "the field of the spirit," when all the men work to the sound of the tambour. In the autumn the Indian corn is harvested with much ceremony and stored in magazines until the moon of June in the following year, when all the village assemble and invite their neighbors to eat it. They do not leave the ground until they have eaten it all, making great rejoicings the whole time. This is all I learned of this nation. The three villages below have the same customs.

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[a] Tonti's Narrative in Margry, Découvertes, I, 600–602.

Let us return to the chief. When I was in his cabin he told me, with a smiling countenance, the pleasure he felt at the arrival of the French. I saw that one of his wives wore a pearl necklace. I presented her with 10 yards of blue glass beads in exchange for it. She made some difficulty, but the chief having told her to let me have it, she did so. I carried it to M. de la Salle, giving him an account of all that I had seen, and told him that the chief intended to visit him the next day, which he did. He would not have done this for savages, but the hope of obtaining some merchandise induced him to act thus. He came the next day, with wooden canoes, to the sound of the tambour and the music of women. The savages of the river use no other boats than these. M. de la Salle received him with much politeness, and gave him some presents; they gave us in return plenty of provisions and some of their robes. The chiefs returned well satisfied. We stayed during the day, which was the 22d of March.[a]

Nicolas de la Salle says:

They embarked, and 6 leagues farther camped in a cove on the right. The Akansa said that there was a nation there allied to them called Tinsa. In this cove is a little rivulet which communicates with a lake perhaps a quarter of a league distant. This lake has the shape of a crescent. The village of the Tinsa is on this lake. M de la Salle sent thither three Frenchmen with the Akansa. They were well received. The chief of the village sent twenty canoes with provisions, such as corn, dried fruits, and salt. There were also figures of men, bison (*bœufs*), stags, alligators (*cocodrilles*), and turkeys, made of dough, with fruits. When asked if they had saline waters they motioned toward the setting sun and that it was necessary to go in that direction. When asked whether in descending the river one found salt water they replied by turning the head to indicate that they did not know, never having been there. They also indicated that there were evil nations there which would eat the French. Four Loups (Mohegans?) became frightened and remained in this village, and the two Akansa returned home. M de la Salle did not go to the village at all. Many of them had pearls, although small ones, on their necks and ears. M. de Tonti purchased in the neighborhood of a dozen. He also purchased a little slave, who cost him two knives and a small kettle. A village chief made a Loup a present of a slave he had taken in war. The Loup gave him a kettle. These were both Coroa.[b]

From the relation of La Salle's Voyage by Zenobius Membré, a Recollect priest:

We parted from them (the Akansa) the next day, March 17, and after five days' travel we arrived among other peoples, called the Taënsa, who dwell upon a little lake near the great river. The Akansa had given us two men to serve us as guides and interpreters. They spoke a little Illinois and understood Taënsa among these nations, where we were received and treated the same as among the others, because these two nations are united together and make war against more than twenty other sorts of people. I would not know now how to describe to you the dignity, the form, and the beauty of their faces, nor their manners and polish, only being able to tell you that from here to the sea the savages are very different, as much as to their clothing as to the form of their heads, which are flat, and their houses and public squares. They have temples where they preserve the bones of their dead chiefs, and what is noteworthy is that the chiefs have much more power and authority than among all our savages. They command and are obeyed. A person does not pass between them and the reed torch which burns in their houses, but makes a circuit with some ceremony. They have their servants (*valets*), who wait upon them at table. People bring them food from outside. They serve them drink in their cup after having rinsed it, and no one drinks before they [do]. Their wives and children are treated in the same manner. They distribute presents according to their will, to whoever among them it seems good. It is sufficient to tell you that the chief of the Taënsa coming to see M. de la Salle,[a] a master of ceremonies came two hours before with five or six flunkeys whom he made sweep with their hands the road over which he must pass, prepare a place for him, and spread out a rug, which consisted of a cane mat very delicately and artistically made. The chief who was coming was clothed in a very beautiful white cloth. Two men preceded him, in state, with fans of white feathers, as if to chase away the evil spirits; a third was loaded with a sheet of copper and a circular plaque of the same material. Never did a man comport himself so gravely as this chief on this visit, which was full of confidence and demonstrations of friendship. I can assure your reverence that these people may be called men in comparison with all that we have seen of barbarians.[b]

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[a] Memoir of the Sieur de la Tonti, French Hist. Coll. La., 61-62, 1846.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, I, 556, 557, 1875.

All manuscripts except those of Tonti and Nicolas de la Salle in Margry have little to say regarding the return journey of this expedition, although Tonti's memoir and Membré, in his story of the descent, speak of events which happened then. The two narratives excepted run as follows:

After having made about 3 leagues we discovered a Tahensa on a raft, who had escaped from the hands of the Coroa. M. de la Salle took him into his canoe. And the 30th of April, having arrived at the portage of the Tahensa, I conducted him into his village, where we renewed our friendship, and the chief knew by that that we were true friends. I admired for the second time their manner of proceeding. For this man did not speak of any news while there were people in the chief's cabin; and, after we had supped and everyone had retired, he had the door closed and, having made me approach him, he called the Taënsa whom I had brought, who recounted to him the news and then went to bed.

The next day a chief of the Mosopellea, who after the defeat of his village had asked the chief of the Tahensa to dwell with him, and dwelt there with five cabins, went to see M. de la Salle, and having said that he was a Mosopellea, M. de la Salle restored to him a slave of his nation, and gave him a pistol. The chief of the Taënsa, having learned of the good treatment he had received, sent to tell M. de la Salle that he was going to see him. The Frenchmen who slept at his village told us that people had sung all night at his door, and that the next day on embarking there were two bands of musicians, and that the canoemen came in cadence; that two men, one in front, the other behind, with fans very well made out of swan feathers, prevented the gnats from biting. We heard people say: "There is a chief coming," and we went to meet him. We noticed that two hundred of his people put themselves in line, and cleared the place over which he passed with their hands. He entered the cabin of M. de la Salle, who gave him a gun and many other presents, and after having given great marks of friendship, and when they had loaded us with all kinds of refreshments, they had the canoes put into the water in order to leave the 3d of May. The chief uttered a prayer to the sun in order to wish us a good voyage, and had tobacco thrown into the water in order that the river might be peaceful.[a]

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[a] This happened on their return.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, II, 209–210, 1878. He states that they found the Koroa a day's journey below, showing that the Natchez section has been dropped out by careless copying or printing or that he had himself omitted it, or had confused the Taënsa and Natchez, though the last supposition seems unlikely. The same fate has overtaken the manuscript published by French under the title, "Account of the Taking Possession of Louisiana, by M. de la Salle" (French, Hist. Coll. La., 47, 1846). The Koroa are there said to be "two leagues" from the Natchez, but there is no reference to any visit among the latter people.

The next day, after 3 leagues, they met a Taënsa on the river on a piece of wood upon a raft. He said that when the Coroa were hampered in laying ambuscades for the French he had escaped, three days before, and believing himself above his village he had let himself drift.

The 1st day of June, 1682, they reached the Taënsa; M. de la Salle sent four Frenchmen, of whom the little La Salle was one, to take back this Taënsa. When near he sang; it was at night, and two old men came with torches to the shores of the lake to see what it was. They led the Frenchmen to the cabin of the chief. The little La Salle says that this chief was in the corner of the cabin on a platform, on a mat as well worked as the wicker baskets which French nuns make; that he had seen in this cabin an old Spanish sword and three old guns. The chief had the Frenchmen give an account of their voyage; he showed joy at learning they had killed men. All those who entered the cabin saluted the chief, raising their hands above the head and saying: "Hou! Hou! Hou!" The chief replied: "Negoudez! Negoudez!" They had the Frenchmen eat, and gave them mats to sleep on. These people are very grave and respectful toward their chief. They carried the canoe of the Frenchmen into their temple, and the chief had refreshments sent to the other Frenchmen. Next day M. de la Salle sent a canoe with five Frenchmen in search of us. We entered all the cabins in the village, and they gave us many caresses and provisions, and great hampers into which to put these things, which consisted of maize and fruits. This village extends for 1 league along the lake. The temple, the cabin [of the chief], and seven or eight cabins of the old men are surrounded by stakes and make a kind of fort; on the stakes human heads are placed; the temple is dome-shaped, the door painted red, guarded day and night by two men. One of the Frenchmen entered it, almost in spite of the guards, one of whom followed him and wiped with his hands the earth on which the Frenchman had set his feet, and afterward rubbed his body with his hand.

The Frenchman said that this temple is oval, 30 feet long and 12 broad inside, ornamented with works made of canes and all painted red. The dome is covered with a very beautiful mat and the lower parts with earth. The pieces of wood which make the roof extend outside through the middle about 2 feet, crossing each other. Every night there are inside two lighted torches. We saw that the women presented their children to the sun and that they rubbed their bodies with their hands that they had also shown to the sun.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 609–610.

> We went to bid good-by to the chief, and he had the canoe returned to us and a quantity of provisions given to us. He came, accompanied by 30 canoes, to see M. de la Salle, and brought him so many provisions that it was necessary to throw some of them away, the canoes being overloaded. Savages swept the earth over which their chief was going to pass. He spoke with M. de la Salle, seated on a mat. M. de la Salle gave him an old dressing gown of calico and a little Mosopolea slave, which had been obtained from the Acansa; the chief gave him his robe or covering, similar to cotton.[a]

In 1686, on his second trip to the sea, Tonti again visited the Taënsa and they sang the calumet to him.[b] In 1690 he stopped there a third time and made the Taënsa villages his starting point in an expedition westward in search of La Salle. He states that 12 Taënsa started with him, but when he had come to the Natchitoches there were 30. "The chiefs of the three nations [Natchitoches, Ouasita, and Capiché] asembled, and before they began to speak the 30 Taënca who were with me got up and, leaving their arms, went to the temple to show how sincerely they wished to make a solid peace. After having taken their God to witness they asked for friendship. I made them some presents in the name of the Taënca. They [the Taënca] remained some days in the village to bargain for salt, which these nations got from a salt lake in the neighborhood."[c] We know from many other sources that the trade in salt between the Caddoan tribes and the tribes along the Mississippi was anciently a brisk one.

The next we hear of the Taënsa tribe is from the missionaries, La Source and De Montigny, who descended the Mississippi in 1698 along with Davion and St. Cosme, to establish missions among the tribes of the lower river. Their accounts are as follows:

> The next day we arrived at the portage of the Taënsa, which is a league long, where we slept. I had the fever as well as the rest of them. On the 21st [January, 1698] we arrived at the Taënsa. It is a league by land and [plus] two by water. They are on the shore of a lake [and are] 3 leagues from the Mississippi. They are very humane and docile people. Their chief died not long before we arrived. It is their custom to put to death [many] on this account. They told us that they had put to death 13 on the death of the one who died last. For this purpose they put a root in the fire to burn, and when it is consumed they kill him with tomahawks. The Natchez, who are 12 leagues lower down, put men to death on the death of their chief. It must be avowed that they are very foolish to allow themselves to be killed in this way; yet it is a thing they esteem a great honor and noble heartedness. They have a pretty large temple, with three columns[d] well made, serpents and other like superstitions. The temple is encircled by an inclosure made like a wall. It is almost covered with skulls. They would not let us enter, saying that those who entered died. We entered half by force, half by consent. The girls and women are dressed like those I have mentioned before, and even worse,

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 566–568.

[b] Ibid., III, 556, 1878.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 72, 1846.

[d] Probably the original was *colombe*, "dove," instead of *colonne*, reference being made to the three birds on the roof. See p. 269 and cf. p. 162.

for we saw some 25 and 30 years old quite naked. * * * The peach trees were in blossom at the Tonica in the month of January. They are so plentiful in the village of the Taënsa that they cut them down. There are also pearls which are very fine. I believe that they are precious, yet they pierce them to string them.[a]

About one day's journey lower down (that is to say, 20 leagues), are the Taënsas, who speak another language. They are only a short day's journey from the Natchez, who are of the same nation and speak the same language. For the present I reside among the Taënsas, but am to go shortly to the Natchez. This nation is very great and more numerous than the Tonicas. The Taënsas are only about 700 souls. * * *

I often speak of the Tonicas and the Taënsas, and of those who are on the banks of the Micissipi going down to the sea, for far inland the Indians are in great numbers. They have rather fine temples, the walls of which are of mats. That of the Taënsas has walls 7 or 8 feet thick on account of the great number of mats one on another. They regard the serpent as one of their divinities so far as I could see. They would not dare to accept or appropriate anything of the slightest consequence without taking it to the temple. When they receive anything it is with a kind of veneration that they turn toward this temple. They do not seem to be debauched in their lives. On account of the great heat the men go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of 12 years go entirely naked. They are so mild and have so much deference for what we told them that I persuade myself it will not be very difficult when I know their language a little to reform this abuse, which among them makes no impression, they being accustomed to it from childhood. They have also another abuse. When their chiefs are dead, as he has been more esteemed, the more persons they kill who offer themselves to die with him, and last year, when the chief of the Taënsas died, there were 12 persons who offered to die, and whom they tomahawked.[b] There is never any winter among them, they do not know snow, and have never seen it. There is always grass there, and at the end of January the peach and plum trees and violets were in blossom. I have seen about this time at the Taënsas as great heats as in midsummer at Quebec, and yet those who have spent the summer there affirm that it is no hotter than at Quebec. The soil is very good, the Indian corn grows sometimes 20 feet high, and a single grain will send out ten or twelve stalks almost as thick as your arm. There are a great many herbs and plants, and others that are unknown to us. If you have any wish to see the dress of our Indians, we send one to Mr. Leuisen, who will show it to you.[c]

As we have seen, Iberville met a Taënsa Indian in 1699 and was given the names of seven Taënsa villages, but he must have misunderstood his informant in some particulars since he places them on the "right going up" and a day and a half above "the river of the Chicachas"—i. e., the Yazoo.[d] Shortly after his return to France De Montigny and Davion came down the Mississippi a second time, reaching Biloxi July 1. On the 11th they parted for their missions among the Taënsa and Tunica, respectively. Soon afterward De Montigny was instrumental in making peace between the Taënsa and Natchez.[a]

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[a] Letter of Mr. Thaumur de la Source, in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 82–83, 86.

[b] In his letter of Aug. 25, 1699, he says merely that six persons were killed on the chief's grave.—Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 49.

[c] De Montigny's letter (1699), in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 76–78, 1861.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 179, 1880.

On his second voyage Iberville visited the Taënsa in person and gives the following account:

> The 12th [of March], at 6 o'clock in the morning, I left in a bark canoe with six men to go to the Taënsas, in order to prepare everything to go by land to the Cenis, leaving my brother with the rest of his people among the Nadchés to prepare corn flour for the journey, where it is made more conveniently than among the Taënsas. I now made about 8¾ leagues and passed two islands about half a league long. The country is like that which I have already passed, quite beautiful, which is flooded almost everywhere, as I saw on the bank of the river in passing. There are fewer canes than among the Oumas and the Nadchés.
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> The 13th I continued to ascend the river, finding the same country as the day before, the river straighter. At midday [Mar. 13, 1700] I reached the landing place of the Taënsas, six leagues and three-quarters from my sleeping place, where I left my canoe and baggage and two men to guard it, and went on with four to reach a little lake where one takes canoes to go to the village. My guides got lost and we were unable to reach this lake. We were obliged to sleep in the open air without supper, having brought with us nothing but our arms. I found that from the landing place of the Nadchés to this of the Taënsas, following the river, is about 15½ leagues, and in a straight line from one landing to another, I found the rhumb line east-north, a quarter from the northeast, taking 1° 15′ from the north, and the distance to be 11¼ leagues. I found the landing place of the Taënsas to be about 32° 47′ north.
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> The morning of the 14th we reached the border of the lake, where we found four savages, who brought us canoes, having heard our shots. We made on the lake about 2 leagues, and we arrived at the village at noon, where I found M. de Montigny, missionary, who has two Frenchmen with him. He has had a house built there and is preparing to build a church. There may be in this nation 150 cabins in the space of 2 leagues, on the edge of the lake. There is in this place a fairly handsome temple. This nation has been numerous formerly, but at present there are not more than 300 men. They have very large wastes and a very fine country, which is never inundated, on the borders of this lake, which may be a fourth of a league broad and 4½ leagues long, coming from the northeast and making a turn to the west. The main part of this village is about 2 leagues from the end, coming from the Mississippi river and opposite a little [inlet] or stream about a hundred paces wide, on the banks of which are some cabins of the savages.
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> The 16th and 17th it rained and thundered much; the night of the 16th to the 17th a thunderbolt fell on the temple of the Taënsas and set fire to it, which burned it entirely. These savages, to appease the Spirit, who they said was angry, threw five little children in swaddling clothes into the fire of the temple. They would have thrown in many others had not three Frenchmen run thither and prevented them. An old man of about 65 years, who appeared to be the principal priest, was near the fire, crying in a loud voice: "Women, bring your children to sacrifice them to the Spirit in order to appease him," a thing which five of these women did, bringing to him their children, whom he

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[a] See p. 190; also La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 16, 1831; Sauvolle in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 451, 452, 1880.

took and threw into the midst of the flames. The action of these women was regarded by them as one of the finest one could make, so that they followed this old man, who led them with ceremony to the cabin of the one who was going to be made chief of the nation, for the chief had died a short time before. They had the custom, at the death of their chief, of killing 15 or 20 men or women to accompany him, say they, in the other world and serve him. Many, according to what is said, are enchanted to be of this number. I doubt it very much. The old man of whom I spoke above said that the Spirit was angry, because at the death of the last chief no one had been killed to accompany him, and that he was angry himself, so that he had had the temple burned, accusing the French that it was they who had been the cause of this misfortune, because M. de Montigny, being at the village at the time of the death of this chief, had prevented them from killing anyone, at which all the people in the nation appeared very well satisfied except the grand priest. These women, sanctified and consecrated to the Spirit through the action which they had performed—this is how many of these savages name it—being led to the house of the heir to the crown, were caressed, much praised by the old people, and each one was clothed in a white garment, which they make of mulberry (*? meurier*) bark, and had a great feather placed on the head of each, and appeared all day at the entrance of the chief's cabin, seated on cane mats, intending this cabin to serve as a temple, where the fire was lighted as they are accustomed to do.

All night of the 18th to 19th and 20th these women and this old man passed to sing in the cabin of the new chief, and in the daytime they remained at the sides of the doorway, in sight of all passers. * * *

About 6 o'clock on the evening [of the 20th] the high priest of the savages continued to perform a ceremony before the new temple, which he did every day since the other was burned, which ceremony lasted eight days in succession. Three young people of about 20 years brought each a bundle of branches of dry wood, which they put before the door of the temple at a distance of 10 paces. A man about 50 years old, who had the guardianship of this temple, came with a reed torch and arranged this wood one piece upon another to make it burn easily. After that he went into the temple to light his torch at the fire which always burns there, and came out near the bundle of wood, where the high priest, who was 30 paces from there at the door of the cabin of the chief, seeing him, came with a sedate step, holding a rather large feather pillow covered with leather in his left hand, and a little baton in his right, with which he struck on the pillow as if to mark the cadence of a song which he was singing. He was followed by the five women who had thrown their infants into the fire of the temple, who carried in both hands a cluster of wet moss, which in that country is like tow. Having arrived near the bundle of wood, the one who had set it on fire and the old man, with the women, made the circuit of it three times, singing continually, after which they threw themselves on the fire, striking on it with their wet moss in order to extinguish it. Having done this the old man returned, and they went to bathe themselves in the lake before all who wished to look at them, and came back to the cabin of the chief, where, together with the old man, they sang all night during the eight days. Some of these women, walking around this fire, wished to laugh and to say something, for which the old man reproved them severely.

The 21st it rained a part of the day; my brother was not able to set out [for the Caddoan country]. I repaired to my canoes, whither I had all the effects of M. de Montigny carried, who is coming to establish himself with the Nadchés without abandoning the Taënsas, where he is going to place a missionary whom he expects from Canada.

> The 22d M. de Montigny joined me at noon, having seen my brother set out at 8 o'clock in the morning with a Shawnee, a Ouachita, who is his guide, and six Taënsas, whom he had had given him to aid him in carrying his baggage.[a]

Pénicaut, who accompanied Iberville on this trip, as was his tendency, "improves on the truth" in some particulars, especially as to the number of children sacrificed. His narrative is as follows:

> * * * Eight leagues higher up one finds the Grand Gulf, which we passed, and two gunshots distance higher up on the left we set foot to earth to go to a village which is in the interior 4 leagues from the bank of the river. These savages are called Tinsas. We were very well received there, but I have never seen a sadder and at the same time more frightful spectacle than that which happened the second day we were at this village. Suddenly a terrible storm arose; a thunderbolt fell on their temple, burned all their idols, and reduced their temple to ashes. Immediately these savages ran toward their temple, making terrible howls, tearing their hair, and elevating their arms. With faces turned toward their temple they invoked their great Spirit, crying like people possessed for him to extinguish the fire; then they took earth with which they rubbed their bodies and faces. The fathers and mothers brought their children and, after having strangled them, they threw them into the fire. M. d'Iberville was horrified at such a cruel spectacle, and commanded to stop this frightful spectacle and snatch the little innocents from them, which did not prevent them, in spite of all our efforts, from throwing 17 into it, and if we had not prevented them they would have thrown in more than 200.
>
> At the end of three days, during which they sang their calumet of peace, M. d'Iberville made them a present more considerable than he had given to the others and told them to abandon this place in order to come and establish themselves on the banks of the Mississippi; and, seeing that the time approached for him to return to France, and that the other nations were too distant, he determined to descend the river again.[b]

Yet another version is that of Father Gravier, who passed down the river late the same year:

> The Taensas, who speak the same language, have the same habits also; their village is 20 leagues from the river of the Tounika. It is 4 leagues inland. After 1 league's march you come to a lake where there are always a number of alligators. It must be crossed in a canoe to reach the village, which is more close set than that of the Tounika.
>
> The temple, having been reduced to ashes last year [1700] by lightning, which fell on a matter as combustible as the canes with which it is thatched, the old man, who is its guardian, said that the Spirit was incensed because no one was put to death in it on the decease of the last chief, and that it was necessary to appease him. Five women had the cruelty to cast their children into the fire, in sight of the French, who recounted it to me, or rather gave them to the old man, who cast them into the fire while making his invocations and chanting with these women during the cruel ceremony, and but for the French there would have been a great many more children burned. The chief's cabin, having been converted into a temple, the five unnatural mothers were borne to it in triumph as five heroines.[c]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 412–417.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, V, 397–398.

[c] Gravier in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 136, 137, 1861.

Perhaps because it was destroyed so early in the French period this Taënsa temple was afterward repeatedly confounded with that of the Natchez, leading to many accusations of falsehood where only a blunder had been committed. This error was made by Le Petit, among others, who describes the supposed Natchez temple thus:

> They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and of animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, 100 feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about 4 feet high and not more than 3 in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above on the outside are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the guardian of the temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.
>
> In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are inclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims, who had caused themselves to be strangled to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jawbones of large fish. In the year 1699 they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.
>
> In this temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent it ever blazing; they do not use anything for it but dry wood of the walnut [hickory] or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the inclosure of the palisade. The number of the guardians of the temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other for fear of their getting into a blaze.
>
> Of the women, the sisters of the great chief alone have liberty to enter within the temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relatives, whose bones repose in the temple. They give the dishes to the guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are the bones of the dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterward placed on the palisades which surround the temple and are abandoned to the fallow deer.[a]

The missionary expected from Canada was not sent, St. Cosme having advised against it on account of the great reduction in population suffered by this tribe,[b] and no missionary work appears to have been undertaken among them after De Montigny left except a visit or two from St. Cosme and such as took place in connection with the parish church of Mobile.

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[a] Le Petit in Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 122–125.

[b] In a quotation furnished the writer by Professor Gosselin, of Laval University, Quebec, from an unpublished letter of St. Cosme, written Aug. 1, 1701.

In 1706 the Taënsa were constrained by the Yazoo and Chickasaw to abandon their villages and withdraw southward. La Harpe gives the following account of this movement and its tragic sequel:

> The 25 [of August] it was learned that the Tainsas, after having been forced to abandon their villages by the Yasons and Chicachas, had retired among the Bayagoulas, who had received them well; but that a short time afterward, the Tainsas, wishing to become sole masters of the village, had surprised the Bayagoulas and massacred almost all the nation; a punishment which they justly merited for having destroyed the Mongoulachas, their allies, by a similar piece of treachery; that afterward the Tainsas, fearing lest the Colapissas, the Houmas, and the other nations which were friends to the Bayagoulas would wish to revenge them, had taken the determination to return to their ancient village; but that they had first invited many families of the Chitimacha and Yaguénéchiton nations, dwellers on the lakes, to come and eat the grain of the Bayagoulas, and that by this ruse they had surprised many of these savages, whom they had carried away as slaves.[a]

Pénicaut confirms this account in the main, but as usual gives an erroneous date, 1702.[b] It does not seem likely, however, that the Taënsa carried out their determination, indicated in the La Harpe narrative, of returning to their ancient village, and if they did so there is no record to that effect, for the next we hear of them they were at Manchac. This was in 1715[c] when M. de la Loire des Ursins was sent to apprehend an English trader supposed to have been sent thither to make alliances with the tribes of the lower Mississippi.[d] La Harpe does not mention the Taënsa, but Pénicaut, who accompanied the expedition, states that they found that tribe at the Manchac, they having "abandoned their settlement on account of the wars which the Oumas made against them continually,"[e] and enlisted them in their service. This "settlement" must have been the "ancient village of the Tinssas," on the south side of the Mississippi, 11 leagues above New Orleans, where the concession of the Sieur de Moeuve was subsequently placed (in 1718, according to Pénicaut).[f] It must have been somewhere in the vicinity of Edgard. If they abandoned this settlement on account of wars with the Houmas, however, it certainly seems strange that they should have moved directly past their enemies, the Houma village at this time being on the north side of the Mississippi in the present Ascension parish, near Burnside, between the old Taënsa village and the Manchac. Be that as it may, it is certain that they assisted in the apprehension of the

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 97-98, 1831.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 431, 1883.

[c] Pénicaut says 1713.

[d] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 118, 119, 1831; Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 508-509, 1883.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, v, 508, 1883.

[f] Ibid., 552.

Englishman, and afterward accompanied De la Loire to Mobile, where they were assigned a place about 2 leagues from the French fort, which had formerly been occupied by the Tawasa.[a] Before 1744[b] they had moved across to the Tensaw river, to which they gave their name, and where they remained until Mobile was ceded to the English. During this period they kept up their numbers very well, occupying, it is said, 100 cabins.[c] There is occasional mention of Taënsa in the church registers of Mobile from 1708, when some were brought as slaves, to 1761, but it would seem that they were too closely wedded to their native cult to be much affected by Christian teachings.[d] Another refugee tribe, the Apalachee, from northern Florida, moved to the eastern mouth of Tensaw river about the same time, and it is probable that a close intimacy sprang up between the two peoples, as their subsequent histories ran close together for a long time.

Soon after the cession of Mobile to England in 1763 many of the small tribes who had been living in its neighborhood, and who did not fancy the change of masters, determined to move across the Mississippi into Louisiana. Among these were the Taënsa, Apalachee, and Pakana, the last a tribe of the Creek confederacy, who jointly emigrated to Red river. Afterward the Taënsa appealed to d'Abbadie, French commandant at New Orleans, for permission to settle on the Mississippi at the point of separation of Bayou la Fourche. A copy of the document informing us of this affair was transmitted to Doctor Gatschet by Pierre Margry, compiler of the famous Découvertes, and was by him published in the *American Antiquarian* of September, 1891. The following is the translation made by Doctor Gatschet, and published at the same time, except that the original forms of the tribal names are substituted for those employed by him:

Mr. d'Abbadie at New Orleans, April 10, 1764

The village of the Taensas in the vicinity of Mobile, the inmates of which had to pass over to the Red river with the Apalaches and the Pakanas of the Alibamons, have called upon me to ask permission for settling upon the right-hand bank of the [Mississippi] river at the Chetimachas fork, which is distant from New Orleans about 30 leagues. I could not refuse to accede to their demand, and have countenanced their project to settle at that spot, so much more willingly as I consider it of advantage to the colony. The two villages comprehend nearly 200 persons. The Taensas are hunters and tillers of the soil and will be of great support to the city of New Orleans, whereas the Pakanas Alibamons will furnish the same help to us, though a more real advantage to us would be to oppose them to the Tchaktas should they attempt to make forays on our possessions. They are their natural enemies, and the Tchaktas are afraid of them.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 509, 1883.

[b] According to Hamilton (Colonial Mobile, 100), they are placed there in a French map of that date.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 213, 1758.

[d] Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, 99–100.

The proposed location must have been occupied for a very short period, if at all, by the Taënsa, for Hutchins, who ascended the Mississippi in 1784, and speaks particularly of the tribes on Bayou la Fourche, as well as those on the Mississippi, says nothing of them.[a] Moreover, Sibley, writing in 1805, states they had then been on Red river about forty years.[b] They were living beside the Apalachee and between Bayou d'Arro and Bayou Jean de Jean, their village standing at the head of a turn.[c] Subsequently both tribes sold their lands to Colonel Fulton and William Miller and moved 25 miles south to Bayou Boeuf.[d] Later still they parted with this land also and, while these sales involved considerable litigation at the time, they were finally confirmed.

From this time on the Taënsa disappear from written records, but on a recent visit to Louisiana, in 1907, the writer learned several particulars concerning their subsequent history. It appears that some time after the sales above mentioned the Taënsa remnant moved south to a small bayou at the northern end of Grand lake, still known on the local maps as Taënsa bayou, and lived near it for a considerable period. They were then on terms of intimacy with the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and Alibamu, with whom they intermarried to some extent, and the father of the oldest woman in the Chitimacha tribe at the present day was a Taënsa. Whether the Taënsa proper died out, scattered, or moved away, is not known, though the Chitimacha chief remembers some rumor of a quarrel which resulted in the separation of the hitherto friendly peoples. There are now no Indians on the bayou just mentioned.

THE AVOYEL

Avoyel perhaps means "People of the Rocks."[e] Nearly everything that is known of the tribe has been given in treating of their relationship. As there stated, they were probably a small branch of the Natchez, separated on account of internal disturbances. Iberville, in 1699, was given Tassenocogoula,[f] the Mobilian name of this tribe, as a name for Red river, and in 1700 he met about 40 Avoyel warriors, whom he speaks of as "little Taënsas."[g] St. Denis met them in 1714, when on his way to Mexico, and Pénicaut, who accompanied him, calls them "Tassenogoula (or Toux Enongogoula)," which he interprets "Nation of the Rocks."[a] The next reference is in La Harpe's journal of a voyage up Red river. He says:

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[a] Hutchins, Hist. Narr., 38–45.
[b] Ann. 9th Cong., 1087, 1852.
[c] Amer. State Papers, Public Lands, II, 796.
[d] Amer. State Papers, I, 218.
[e] See p. 25.
[f] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 178–179, 1880.
[g] Ibid., 408–409.

> The 21st we became aware of some savage hunters to the left of the river. I sent one of my pirogues to find them: they were of the Tamoucougoula Nation, otherwise called Anoy. They made us a present of some quarters of bear and deer. I kept them many days in order to hunt. They killed for me 10 deer and a bear, a quantity of bustards, ducks, some hares [rabbits], and many squirrels; they also caught many fish for me. I made them a present of two guns.[b]

The first use of Avoyel or Avoyelles, as it is later written, so far as the writer is aware, is in Du Pratz's enumeration of the tribes of Louisiana. He says of them:

> From the Oqué-Loussas as far as the Red river no other nation is found; but above the rapid in this river there is on its banks the little nation of Avoyels. It is they who have brought to the French of Louisiana horses, oxen [?], and cows; I do not know in what fair they purchased them, nor in what money they pay for them; the truth is that these beasts cost only 20 pounds [*livres*] apiece. The Spaniards of New Mexico have such a great quantity of them that they do not know what to do with them, and it gives them pleasure to relieve them of them. At present the French have more of them than they need and especially of horses.[c]

From this it appears that the Avoyel acted as middlemen in disposing to the French of cattle and horses plundered from the Spaniards by Caddoan and other tribes.

De Kerlérec, in 1758, mentions this as one of the tribes destroyed by the proximity of the French and trade in liquors.[d] In 1764, however, in conjunction with the Ofo, Tunica, and some Choctaw, they attacked a British regiment ascending the Mississippi, killed 8 persons, and forced the remainder to retreat.[e] The refusal of the British to return a runaway slave is said to have been the cause of this. Col. George Morgan, who descended the Mississippi in 1767, reports that "about 50 leagues up this river (i. e., Red river) is what they call the 'rapids,' and an Indian village of the Avoyelles tribe."[f] Baudry de Lozières, who claims to have obtained his information from travels undertaken between 1794 and 1798, but who seems to depend on much earlier authorities in many cases, says:

> On ascending [Red river] 6 leagues, there is to be found on the left a little arm of this river on which are established the Houjets. On descending this branch of the river one finds a little village composed of 40 men only of the finest kind. * * * They may be able to bring in in trade a thousand goat [deer] skins.[g]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 497–498; French, Hist. Coll. La., 116, 1869.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, vi, 249, 1886.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, ii, 241–242, 1758.

[d] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., i, 75.

[e] Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française, 182–183.

[f] Eighth Int. Geog. Cong., 1904 (Washington).

[g] Voy. à La Louisiane, 249, 1802.

"Houjets" is certainly intended for "Avoyels," though it is at the same time an awful example of the extreme to which misprinting can be carried, and *chèvre* is as evidently "adapted" from *chevreuil.* The last narratives would indicate a considerable body of Indians of this tribe still in existence at the end of the eighteenth century, but in 1805 Sibley thus remarks, in concluding his treatment of the Indian tribes of lower Louisiana:

> At Avoyall there did live a considerable tribe of that name; but, as far as I can learn, have been extinct for many years, two or three women excepted, who did lately live among the French inhabitants of Washita.[a]

In 1908 the writer found one Tunica Indian whose grandmother was an Avoyel, called in Tunica *Shî'xkạltī'ni*, 'Stone-arrow-point people,' but he knew nothing regarding them. He learned from others, however, that this tribe claimed to have issued out of the earth at a place now occupied by a certain lake. It is possible that the group of mounds just south of Marksville, one of which is shown in plate 12, *a*, was erected by them.

MUSKHOGEAN TRIBES PROPER

THE BAYOGOULA ("BAYOU OR RIVER PEOPLE")

Unless the Pischenoa, encountered by Tonti, in 1686, 49 leagues above the Quinipissa,[b] and which subsequently disappear entirely from history, were the above people, they were not seen by La Salle nor any of his companions, and must have come to the river between 1686 and 1699. At the latter date Iberville found them living on the west bank above Bayou la Fourche, at a place which still bears their name. The Mugulasha were then living with them. In February, 1699, shortly after Iberville's arrival in Biloxi bay, a Bayogoula and Mugulasha hunting party discovered his people and came to make an alliance with him.[c] The 13th of March, in ascending the Mississippi, he encountered two canoes, one of the Washa and the other of the Bayogoula, of which the latter went ahead to announce his arrival. One league below the landing place some Mugulasha came by canoe to offer him the calumet, and after his arrival both nations gave him food and sang and danced for him. The calumet which he had given them when they came to Biloxi had been planted on a forked stick placed in the middle of the assemblage, and was continually watched by a man appointed for this purpose. Next day, the 15th of March, he went up to the village, which he describes as follows:

> I found this village a quarter of a league from the river, near which there passes a little stream from which they get their drinking water. It was sur-

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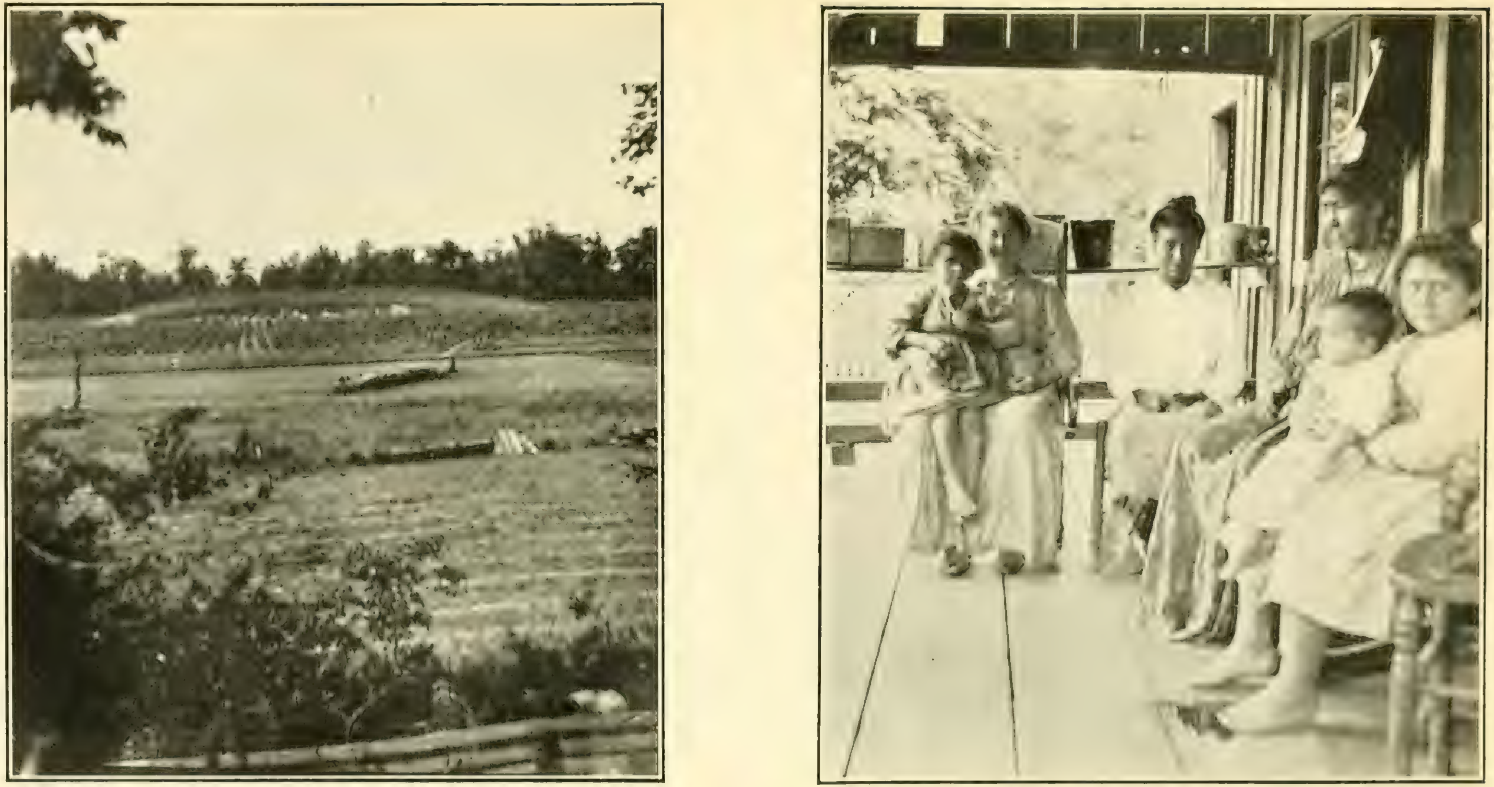
[a] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1087, 1852.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, III, 557, 1878; see also p. 37.

[c] Ibid., IV, 154, 1880.



a Low, flat-topped mound in a cornfield about one mile south of Marksville. The picture was taken from the top of a higher conical mound of the same group lying south of the above; one or two other low, flat mounds lie toward the east near the banks of Old river

b A group of mixed-blood Biloxi

INDIAN MOUND AND GROUP OF PRESENT-DAY INDIANS, LOUISIANA

rounded by a palisade made entirely of canes, 1 inch apart and 10 feet in height, without a door to close it. They came to receive me at the entrance of the village, and conducted me in front of the cabin of the [chief of the] Mugulasha, where they made us sit down in a very warm sun on cane wattles. There I made them a present—considerable, for them—of axes, knives, mirrors, needles, shirts, coverings. They made me one also of their greatest riches, which were 12 very large skins of deer, the greater part pierced, which I gave to my people to make shoes. They regaled us on hominy made of bread. While they made their distribution of presents, I went to walk in the village with the chief of the Bayogoulas,[a] who led me into their temple, on which there were figures of animals, like cocks, painted red. At the entrance was a shed 8 feet wide and 12 feet long, held up by two great pillars, with a crosspiece which served as a girder. At the side of the temple door were many figures of animals, such as bears, wolves, birds; on this side, that of one which they call choucoüacha [opossum], which is an animal with a head shaped like a sucking pig and as large, hair like a badger, gray and white, the tail like a rat, the feet like a monkey, which has a pouch under the belly in which it brings forth its young and nourishes them. I have killed 8 of them, which I examined closely. The door of the temple is 8 feet high and 2½ wide; the chief had it opened by a man and entered first. It was a cabin, made like all the others in which they are lodged, made of staves, 30 feet across and round, built with mud to the height of a man. In the middle were two logs of dry, decayed wood, placed end to end, which were burning; at the inner end there was a platform, on which were many bundles of deer, bear, and bison skins, which were presents offered to their god, under the form of this choucoüacha,[b] which was painted in many places in red and black. There was a double glass bottle (*bouteille de verre double*) which Tonti had given these people. That is all which I saw in this temple. From there I went into the village and saw the cabins, made like the temple, with the shed close to it (*comme le temple à l'appentis près*), some larger, others smaller, covered with canes split and joined together neatly, without windows. These cabins obtain their daylight from above, through an opening 2 feet in diameter, without pavement or flooring other than sand or dry earth. Their beds are on square posts, raised 2 feet from the earth, with crosspieces of red wood, as large around as the arm, and a mat stretched upon them, of small canes bound together in such a manner that they are very straight, but not very soft. They have for furniture only some earthen pots, which are quite neat and delicate and well worked. The men are all naked, without being conscious of the fact. The women have only a breechcloth made of the bark of a tree, usually white and red. The breechcloth is made of many bits of bark thread woven together to the height of 8 inches above, which takes in their buttocks; the lower part is made of cords a foot long, descending to a little above the knee. They are sufficiently concealed by that, the cords being always in motion. Many girls from 6 to 7 have no breechcloths at all; they cover themselves with a little bundle of moss, held by a thread, which passes between their thighs and is knotted to a belt which they wear. I have seen none that are pretty. They wrap their hair around their heads in a bundle. There are in this village 107 cabins and 2 temples, and there may be about 200 to 250 men; few women; the smallpox, which they still had among them, having destroyed a quarter of the village. They put their dead bodies on scaffolds around their village, very near, raised 7 feet from the earth, enveloped in cane mats and covered with one in the shape of the roof of a house, which stink much and gather many crows about. These savages are the most beggarly I have yet seen, having no comforts in their houses, nor any wares. Some have a kind of covering, made of the bark of a tree woven very neatly, as a coarse cloth made of blanched hemp might be in France. The men all have active bodies, well made, active figures, I think little hardened to war, keeping their hair short, and daubing their faces and bodies. It is a gratification to the women to blacken their teeth, which they do by means of an herb crushed in wax [putty]; they remain black for a time and become white again. The young girls are attentive to the face itself. Some have the body tattooed and marked with black on the face and breast. They have in their villages some cocks and hens. Their open country (*désrts*) is not large for their numbers; the land is sufficiently smooth in the neighborhood. The country is very beautiful, with great trees, of all kinds mixed together, except pines. I have seen some wild apple trees, some peaches; there are neither strawberries, nor raspberries, nor mulberries.[a]

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[a] His name as given by Sauvolle is transcribed Antobeteanea by French (Hist. Coll. La., 225, 1851) and Antobiscania by Margry (Découvertes, IV, 448, 1880).

[b] The tribal sign, or totem, left behind by a war party of this tribe after a raid was, however, an alligator, if we may trust Dumont. See p. 126.

The following information regarding this town is contained in the Journal of the frigate *Le Marin:*

So far as the others [besides the chief] are concerned, they are dressed only in a miserable deer or bear skin, which covers them from the knees to the shoulders, if the skin is very large. The most are entirely naked, not even their nudity being concealed except for a little patch about their privates, the reason for which I have been unable to discover. So far as the women are concerned, they have a large bearskin which covers them, besides a kind of breechcloth which covers them from the belt to the knees, leaving their breasts, belly, and throat uncovered. All have their hair cut and indeed pulled out around the forehead as well as the beard; they leave only a little handful of hair at the top of the head, where they fasten many bird feathers of different colors. They put others of these above their buttocks, which are like tails of horses, which hang behind with rattles and miserable little pieces of copper, like the ends of our chandeliers, but much thinner, in such a manner that when they dance that makes a noise so that one would say that a messenger had just arrived in the village. They have also a quantity of rings (*manilles*) around their arms; besides that they have the face entirely daubed red with vermilion around the eyebrows, the half of one cheek blackened and the nose pierced, to which there hangs a piece of coral of the size of the finger, as well as the ears, in which they put a certain piece of wood of the size of the little finger. As to their food, they live only on corn bread and very little meat, only eating it when they go to hunt bison and bear, which are sometimes distant from their villages more than 20 leagues at the lower end of the river (*au bas de la rivière*). The chiefs have their hunting grounds bounded, and when one goes upon their lands ahead of them wars break out. In the evening we shot off a swivel gun, which made them all fall down in astonishment. Their village may be 60 leagues from the mouth of the river. At every moment they say "*Affero*," which signifies their astonishment. * * * Then we went to see the village and the temple, in which they have a fire which they preserve continually; there are figures of beasts above, some marks of their sacrifices, two scalps of their enemies, which hang there as trophies. * * * I saw in the middle of the village, which is like a great parade ground, two great posts, 40 feet in height, before their temple, on which two scalps were placed. There is a chief who takes care of the fire in the temple. The village is composed of from 400 to 500 persons of both sexes, great and small, with large huts made dome shaped, in which they sleep most of the time on mats, which are raised on four posts to a height of 3 feet from the earth, under which they put fire during the night in order to keep their houses or cabins warm, because the nights are very cold there, and they have only some skins pieced together (*remplies de pièces*) to cover themselves. Their fields, where they make their millet, are near their villages, which they dig with bones of bison; they pass the greater part of their time playing in this place with great sticks, which they throw after a little stone, which is almost round like a cannon ball. When any of their people die they carry them 50 paces from their village to 4 posts, where they place the body, covered above and below with mats made like a coffin, 4 feet above the ground, whither they carry food. The village is composed of two nations, which are the Mougoulachas and the Bayogoulas, which have the same language and have two chiefs, of which that of the Mougoulachas appears the first. They are distant from the river only a quarter of a league.[a]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 169–172, 1880.

Next day Iberville left for the Houma village, taking some Bayogoula with him, including the chief, and afterward returned to his vessels through the Manchac, in two bark canoes, leaving his brother Sauvolle to conduct the heavier boats round by the mouth of the Mississippi.

Later the same year De Montigny visited the two tribes in this village and estimates their cabins at 100.[b]

When he returned to Europe Iberville took a Bayogoula youth along, and brought him back the following year, but he died of a disease of the throat before reaching his people. Iberville, who had made peace between the Bayogoula and Houma, found that during his absence war had broken out again and that the Houma had surprised the Bayogoula when at work in their fields, had killed several and captured 25 persons.[c] He renewed the peace between them, liberating the Bayogoula captives. In May of this year Bienville returned from Red river and brought Iberville word that the Bayogoula had killed all of the Mugulasha and had called in many families of Acolapissa and Tioux to take their places. Iberville anticipated making use of many of the houses left vacant by the slaughter of the Mugulasha.[d] The Jesuit priest who accompanied Iberville had remained among the Bayogoula to build a chapel, but he appears to have left again the same year, and the chapel was probably destroyed, perhaps in consequence of the massacre just referred to. At any rate things were found in this condition by Gravier in December, 1700, who speaks of the place in these terms:

I did not go up to the village, and it was only on my return from Bilocchi that I visited the Baiougoula, who massacred the chief of the Mongoulacha with more than 200 men of that nation, which was very friendly to the French

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 259–262, 1880.
[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.
[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 406, 408, 455–456, 1880.
[d] Ibid., 429, 1880.

> and which formed a village with the Baiougoula as the Pioüaroüa do with the Kaskaskia. The blood of so many innocent persons cries vengeance and God begins to punish them by famine and sickness, and they must be in fear lest the Houmas and Kolapissas avenge the murder of all their allies. I never saw anything so beggarly. I know some words of their language; but as more than two-thirds were absent from their village, whence they had been driven by hunger, I remained only four days. They promised to rebuild the chapel and do all that I asked, but unless the chief is very far from there, there is not much for a missionary to do.[a]

About five years afterward (i. e., in 1706)[b] the judgment which Gravier believed this tribe deserved fell upon them. This was their massacre by the Taënsa, spoken of in treating that tribe (p. 270).

The Bayogoula remnant fled to the neighborhood of the new French fort below New Orleans and were given a place by Bienville within two gunshots, where they made a new settlement.[c] The spring following they took part in St. Denis's expedition against the Chitimacha to avenge the death of St. Cosme, furnishing 20 warriors,[d] but we hear nothing more regarding them for several years.

Indeed, Charlevoix, who passed the site of their old village in 1721, says:

> The smallpox has destroyed a part of its inhabitants, the rest are gone away and dispersed. They have not so much as even heard any news of them for several years, and it is doubtful whether there is a single family remaining.[e]

As in so many other cases, however, the trouble was that the reverend father did not look in the right place.

In 1739 Bienville was assembling all the troops at his disposal for a finishing blow against the Chickasaw, a blow that ended in a fiasco. An officer of the troops under M. de Nouaille which ascended the Mississippi in September to the point of rendezvous has left an interesting journal, however, translated in Claiborne's History of Mississippi, from which we cull the following important information:

> On the 5th [of September, 1739], at daybreak, we decamped and dined that day at the Colapissas village [which was then 5 or 6 miles above a settlement of Germans]. We sailed at 1 o'clock and proceeded on our way to stop among the Bayagoulas, distant from the former about 6 miles on the right bank.
>
> On the 6th instant, we started at sunrise and dined at the first settlements of the Houmas, a distance of 4 leagues from the Bayagoulas. Thence we set out and slept at a small French habitation 1 league distant on the left bank. * * *
>
> On the 7th of September we decamped at daybreak, and at 9 o'clock arrived at the headquarters of the Houmas, where we procured 20 barrels of vegetables. * * *
>
> The Houmas, Bayagoulas, and Colapissas are but one and the same nation in different settlements, and may be all classified as Colapissas, the first two

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[a] Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 150–151, 1861; Jes. Rel., LXV, 156–159.

[b] Pénicaut says 1702; as usual, erroneously.

[c] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 431, 1883.

[d] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 102, 1831.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 176, 1851.

being distinct in but one respect, their chiefs being great-grandsons, the one of a Houmas, the other of a Bayagoulas, which accounts for their preserving these names, although the original tribes have long been extinct. The above united nations can furnish from 90 to 100 warriors; [there are] as many youths, and as many women.[a]

Taken with what we know of the previous history of these three tribes, this is tantamount to saying that they had become practically fused into one. This quotation will explain the appearance of the Bayogoula in Baudry de Lozières's Voyage à La Louisiane, which purports to contain the results of travels in the years 1794 to 1798, though there is evidence that considerable of the information contained in it applies to the year 1715. It is as follows:

The Bayagoulas.—They are reduced to 40 men, who inhabit a good land, but little suitable for hunting. They live 11 leagues above [the Washa], on the other side of the river; warriors industrious and brave; reduced to 40, from the 200 that they formerly were, through the treason of the Taënsas, whom they had received as refugees.[b]

The Houma village was then 12 leagues above this on the same side, from which it would seem that the Bayogoula included the Acolapissa, of whom no mention is made, but had not yet united with the Houma. By 1758 this union must have been consummated, however, for De Kerlérec in his report for that year speaks of them as one of the tribes destroyed by the proximity of the French and trade in liquor.[c] Their subsequent history is that of the Houma.

The Quinipissa and Mugulasha

Quinipissa is undoubtedly from Choctaw *kana*, 'a person,' 'some one,' 'persons,' and *pissa*, 'to see,' and is therefore almost identical with Napissa, *kana* being merely a lengthened form of *na*. Both may be translated "those who see," or "scouts," perhaps meaning "outposts." The Napissa are spoken of by Iberville as living close to the Chickasaw, with whom they were later incorporated. There is a remote possibility that the tribes bearing these names and the Acolapissa were fragments of one ancient branch of the Muskhogean stock, bearing the same relation to the Choctaw and Chickasaw as the Chakchiuma and Houma, but this is mentioned only by way of suggestion. Mugulasha is a corruption of Imongolasha, which means "people of the other side or phratry."

The Quinipissa were encountered by La Salle and his companions in their descent of the Mississippi in 1682. Advancing to reconnoiter them, the explorers were received with flights of arrows, and on their return the people of this place pretended to make peace, but instead made an assault upon them during the night, which was thwarted by the vigilance of La Salle. Afterward they sent messengers to the Koroa and Natchez, who appear to have been their allies at the time, to incite them also against the strangers.[a] On his descent of the river in 1686 Tonti found no one at the Quinipissa landing, but on his return the chief met him with a calumet and made peace.[b]

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[a] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 64–85.

[b] Voy. à La Louisiane, 246–247, 1802.

[c] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75.

Thirteen years later, when Iberville ascended the Mississippi from the sea, he hunted in vain for them, and on this and other grounds was disposed to accuse the chroniclers of the earlier expeditions of mendacity. He ultimately learned, however, that the tribe in question was identical with the Mugulasha, whom he had found occupying one town with another tribe called Bayogoula, about 20 leagues above their ancient settlement.[c] The account of this event obtained by Sauvolle through one of Tonti's companions and confirmed in part by the Mugulasha chief was, however, somewhat different. It was to the effect that the Quinipissa tribe had become so reduced by disease that the remnant had united with another tribe known as Mugulasha, who had accepted their chief as their own on account of his prominence.[d] This seems a rather unlikely proceeding, though it is supported to some extent by the different names of the tribe before and after joining the Bayogoula. Of the identity of the Mugulasha chief with that of the Quinipissa there can be no doubt, and that he had formerly lived nearer the sea is indicated by Iberville's statement that the chief of the Mugulasha had made him master of all his village and sold the other places toward the sea where he had formerly had villages.[e] One of these was probably the site occupied by the Quinipissa in Tonti's time, and its location agrees very closely with that of "a place where the Quinipissas formerly had a village," which Iberville describes as "one league and a half" from the place where he reached the Mississippi in crossing from Lake Pontchartrain. This must have been in the vicinity of Hahnville.[f]

In May, 1700, shortly after Iberville's second visit, the existence of this tribe as a nation was put to an end by their fellow-townsmen, the Bayogoula, who rose upon them and killed many.[g] Gravier would have us believe that more than 200 were destroyed, but this hardly appears probable.[h] The majority of the women and children were undoubtedly spared and adopted and the warriors alone could not have numbered nearly 200. Be that as it may, we never hear them mentioned again, and it is probable that the few families that may have escaped to the woods united with the Houma, or even ultimately with their conquerors.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 560, 563, 564, 604–606; II, 210; French, Hist. Coll. La., 63–65, 1846.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 68, 1846.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 10, 1831.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 453, 1880.

[e] Ibid., 429, 430.

[f] Ibid., 399.

[g] Ibid., 429.

[h] Jes. Rel., LXV, 157.

The Acolapissa

The name of this tribe has been derived from *háklo-pisa*, "those who listen and see," or from *okla pisa*, "those who look out for people." When first visited by white men the Acolapissa were living on Pearl river, about 4 leagues from its mouth. Iberville was told that there were six villages and that the Tangipahoa had constituted a seventh, but the six were evidently only parts of one great settlement. The same explorer confused them for a time with the Quinipissa and gave them the name of that tribe, somewhat to the annoyance of the historian.[a] They are not mentioned among the tribes which came to make an alliance with Iberville when he first reached Louisiana, but after his departure Bienville visited them and was well received, although at first they were terrified, since two days before they had been attacked by some English in quest of slaves at the head of 200 Chickasaw.[b] The chief also sent two peace calumets to Sauvolle, who was in command at Biloxi.

Sauvolle states that they did not number more than 150 men,[c] but in his estimate of 1702 Iberville places the number of their families at 250.[d] Some pearls were discovered on the river of the Acolapissa, which attracted Iberville's attention temporarily, but there seems to have been no great effort made to set up fisheries, though the river was afterward known as Pearl river from this circumstance. A few years later, in 1705 according to Pénicaut, who alone mentions the event, but from other facts recorded for that year perhaps in reality 1702, the Acolapissa moved from Pearl river—called in the native language *Talcatcha*, 'rock river'—and settled on a bayou on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain called *Castembayoque*. Six months afterward the Natchitoches, whose crops had been ruined, came to St. Denis, at the French fort on the Mississippi, asking assistance and a new place in which to settle. St. Denis sent them under charge of Pénicaut to the Acolapissa, who welcomed them and assigned them a place close to their own village.[e] In 1706 (?) Pénicaut and several companions passed the greater part of one winter with the Acolapissa and Natchitoches, and besides an amusing account of their life there Pénicaut records several interesting matters concerning the ethnology of the people. He says:

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 167, 168, 174, 1880.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 14–15, 1831.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 449, 1880.

[d] Ibid., 602.

[e] Ibid., V, 459. Cf. Bulletin 48, B. A. E., p. 2.

> The Nassitoches are handsomer and better formed than the Colapissas, because the latter, as well men as women, have the body entirely tattooed. They tattoo themselves almost all over the body with needles, and rub these punctures with charcoal from the willow crushed very fine, which does not poison the puncture. The women and girls of the Colapissas have the arms and face thus tattooed, which disfigures them villainously; but the Nassitoches, as well men as women and girls, do not provide themselves with these tattooings, which they hate. This is why the women are more beautiful, besides the fact that they are naturally lighter.
>
> With regard to their religion they (the Acolapissa) have a round temple, before which they present themselves evening and morning, rubbing their bodies with white earth and raising their arms on high; they mutter some words in a very low voice during a quarter of an hour. There are at the door of the temple wooden figures of birds; there are in the temple a quantity of little idols, as well of wood as of stone, which represent dragons, serpents, and varieties of frogs, which they keep inclosed in three coffers which are in the temple, and of which the great chief has the key.
>
> When a savage dies they prepare a kind of tomb, or rather scaffold, raised 2 feet from the ground, on which they place the dead body. They cover it well with rich earth and put over it the bark of trees, for fear of the animals and birds of prey; then, underneath, they place a little pitcher filled with water, with a dish full of meal. Every evening and morning they light a fire there beside it and go to weep there. The richer hire women to perform this latter office. At the end of six months they unwrap the body of the dead; if it is consumed, they put the bones into a basket and carry them to their temple; if it is not consumed, they remove the bones and bury the flesh.
>
> They are quite neat (*propres*) in their eating. They have particular pots for each thing they are going to cook—that is to say, the pot which is for meat is not used for fish; they dress all their food with bear fat, which is white in winter, when it is coagulated, like hog's lard, and in summer it is like olive oil. It has no bad taste; they eat it with salad, make of it pastry, fried dishes, and all that that suits them generally.
>
> With regard to fruits, few are found. They have, however, peaches in the season which are even larger than in France and more sugary; strawberries, plums, and a grape which is rather small (*maigre*) and not at all as large as that of France. There are also nuts which they crush, of which they make flour in order to make porridge for their children with water; they also make of them hominy, or bread, by mixing it with cornmeal.
>
> These savages have no other hairs than those of the head. They pull them out as well from the face as elsewhere; they take off the hair by means of the ashes of shells and hot water, as one would do to a sucking pig, as well the men as the women and girls.
>
> They have an extraordinary manner of lighting a fire. They take a little piece of cedar wood as large as the finger and a little piece of mulberry (*muret ?*) wood, which is very hard; they put one against the other between their hands and by turning them together as if they were going to stir chocolate, there comes out from the cedar wood a little piece of moss [or perhaps a little dust], which takes fire. That is done in an instant.
>
> When they go to hunt they are dressed in skins of deer with their horns, and when they see one of these animals at a distance in the woods they make the same gestures as it does, which, as soon as it perceives them, runs up, and when

> it is within easy reach of their guns, they fire and kill it. They kill many of them in this manner, and it must be admitted that they are more skillful than the French as well in the chase of the wild buffalo as in that of the bear and deer.[a]

In 1714 St. Denis was dispatched to Texas to examine the Spanish settlements in that quarter, and in order to aid him in the undertaking Pénicaut was sent to the Acolapissa to bring back the Natchitoches and reestablish them in their former seats. This removal after so many years of intimacy, perhaps owing to the loss in fighting strength that it involved, or perhaps because they saw a chance of possessing themselves of the Natchitoches women and children, moved the Acolapissa to fall upon their long-time friends, slay 17, and capture 50 women and girls. The remainder scattered and rejoined Pénicaut during the night, who led them to St. Denis. That officer was much angered by this action and promised at some future time to take vengeance on the Acolapissa and restore the captives.[b] Whether any active steps were taken in this direction does not appear, but it is probable that the Natchitoches women were recovered without open rupture, for the Acolapissa are numbered among those tribes which came to sing the calumet before M. de l'Epinay in 1717,[c] and in 1718, according to Pénicaut, they followed the example of the other friendly tribes by coming over to the Mississippi and settling on the east side, 13 leagues above New Orleans.[d] Perhaps Pénicaut is slightly mistaken in giving this date, as they are not mentioned in La Harpe's account of his ascent of the Mississippi and Red rivers in 1719.[e] At any rate, they were met there in 1722 by Father Charlevoix, who has the following to say of them:

> The 4th we arrived before noon at the great village of the Colapissas. It is the finest village of Louisiana, yet they reckon in it but 200 warriors, who have the character of being very brave. Their cabins are in the shape of a pavilion, like those of the Sioux, and they seldom make any fire in them. They have a double roof; that in the inside is made of the leaves of the palmetto (*lattanier*) interwoven together; that on the outside is made of mats.
>
> The cabin of the chief is 36 feet in diameter. I had not before seen one so large, for that of the great chief of the Natchez is but 30 feet. As soon as we appeared in sight of this village they beat a drum, and we had scarcely landed before the chief sent his compliments to me. I was surprised, in advancing toward the village, to see the drummer dressed in a long gown, half white and half red, with a white sleeve on the red side and red sleeve on the white. I inquired into the origin of this custom, and they told me it was not ancient; that a governor of Louisiana had made a present of a drum to these savages, who have always been our faithful allies, and that this kind of beadle's habit was their own invention. The women are better shaped here than in Canada, and their way of dressing themselves is also somewhat more becoming.[f]

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[a] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 467–469.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 496. Pénicaut dates this two years too early.

[c] Ibid., 547.

[d] Ibid., 558.

[e] Ibid., VI, 243 *et seq.*

[f] Charlevoix's Journal in French, Hist. Coll. La., 177, 1851.

A little farther up the river he notes that there had formerly been a small village of Acolapissa, which did not last long. It was where M. le Marquis d'Ancenis, afterward Duke of Bethune, had vainly tried to start a settlement, and lay 6 leagues below the town of the Houma.

The Acolapissa appear again in the journal translated by Claiborne and have been referred to in treating of the Bayogoula.[a] From what is said there and their subsequent disappearance, it is evident that they united with the Houma. In 1758 De Kerlérec refers to them as one of the tribes destroyed by the neighborhood of the French and trade in liquor.[b] In 1907 an old Houma woman interviewed by the writer seemed to remember this tribe, but possibly she did not understand the question.

THE TANGIPAHOA

In 1682, 2 leagues below the Quinipissa town, but on the opposite—i. e., eastern—side of the Mississippi, La Salle passed a town that had been plundered and burned not long before, and contained three cabins full of dead bodies. Some of the relations give the name of this town as Tangibao,[c] and some as Maheouala or Mahehoualaima.[d] Perhaps the latter was the name of the town and the former that of the tribe. The perpetrators of this deed appear to have been the Houma, and Iberville was informed that all who had not been killed in the fight had been carried off prisoners by that tribe.[e] At the same time there is uncertainty as to the tribe that he and the Indians were referring to, since he states that they denied the Tangipahoa ever to have had a village on the Mississippi. At any rate, we know that the Tangipahoa river was so called by the neighboring Indians in his time,[f] and it appears probable that a part at least of the people dwelling there had moved across to the Mississippi and finally come to this tragic end. Pénicaut interpreted the name to mean "white maize,"[f] and Allen Wright translated it to Gatschet, "those who gather maize stalks," but Mr. Bushnell was told by the Choctaw living in that country that it means "corn cob."[g] Gatschet is certainly wrong, however, in identifying them with the little Taënsas referred to by Iberville.[h] It is most likely that, as stated by Iberville on Indian authority, they had formed a seventh town of the Acolapissa, since they lived in the immediate neighborhood of those people.[i]

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[a] See pp. 278–279.

[b] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, I, 604; French, Hist. Coll. La., 63, 1846.

[d] French, Hist. Coll. La., 48, 1846; Margry, Découvertes, II, 190, 198.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 168, 169, 1880.

[f] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, V, 387, 1883.

[g] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., I, 34, 1884.

[h] Gatschet's Int. to the Taensa Language, IX, Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XVIII.

[i] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 168, 1880.

THE HOUMA[a]

This tribe, when the French first descended the Mississippi, was located on high ground in the extreme southern part of Wilkinson County, Miss., or in the northern edge of West Feliciana Parish, La. The river at that time made a grand sweep to the westward in front of them to meet Red river, so that there were two Houma landing places, one below and another, the principal one, above the bend.

In 1682 La Salle and Tonti were informed of the existence of a tribe of this name, but passed without stopping, nor did they visit it on their return.[b] Four years later, however, on his ascent, the latter made an alliance with them and notes that they were "the bravest savages of the river."[c]

The next visitor was Iberville, who describes his sojourn among them as follows:

> The 20th [of March, 1699] I reached the landing place of the Ouma village, at half-past 10 in the morning, distant from my camp about 3 leagues, where I found five men, three Oumas and Quinipissas (Acolapissas), who awaited me with the peace calumet, having come from the village when they heard the report of the swivel gun. As far off as they discovered us they sang, and the Bayogoulas whom I had sang for me. Landing, we embraced and caressed each other after their manner, and smoked together. At 11 I set out for the village, the Bayogoulas and these people escorting us the entire way. The deputies of the Oumas walked in front, singing continually, although we had to pass along a very bad road, filled with very steep hills or little mountains for almost the whole distance. One hour after midday we came in sight of the village, where, at 400 paces, I met three men deputed to bring me the calumet. It was necessary to smoke in form, seated on a mat, which fatigued me much, I never having smoked. These three new singers conducted me up a height, where there were three cabins, at 300 paces from the village, where they had me stop and sent to inform the chief of my arrival, waiting a reply as to what we should do. A man came to tell us to enter. On entering the three singers walked in front, singing, presenting to the village the calumet of peace, raised as high as their arms would reach. The chief and two of the most important persons came before me at the entrance of the village, each bearing a white cross in the hand, and saluted me in their manner, taking me by the arms, leading me to the middle of their square [and placing us] on mats, where all the village was assembled, where they smoked anew, and showed me many marks of friendship. I made them a little present in advance of what I wished to give them from my boats. At 4 o'clock in the evening they gave a formal ball for us in the middle of the square, where the entire village was assembled. They brought into the midst of the assembly drums [and] chychycouchy, which are gourds, in which there are dry seeds, and with sticks for holding them; they make a little noise and serve to mark the time. A number of singers repaired thither. A short time afterward there came 20 young people of from 20 to 30 years old, and 15 of the prettiest young girls magnificently adorned after their manner, entirely naked, having only their breechcloths on, which they wore above a kind of belt a foot broad, made of feathers and skin or hair painted red, yellow, and white, the face and the body daubed or painted

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[a] For the meaning of this word, see p. 29.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, I, 559, 604, 1875.

[c] Ibid., III, 556, 1878; French, Hist. Coll. La., 68, 1846.

with different colors, bearing feathers in their hands, which served them as fans or to keep time, their hair neatly plaited with bunches of feathers. The young men were naked, having only a belt like the girls, which concealed them in part, they being well daubed with paint and their hair well provided with bunches of feathers. Many had pieces of copper in the form of flattened plates, two and three together fastened to their belts, and hanging as far down as the knee, which made a noise and assisted in marking the time. They danced like that for three hours in a very active and sprightly manner. Night having come, the chief made us lodge in his cabin or house which he had prepared. After having supped on hominy made of Indian corn, they brought in and lighted a torch of canes, 15 feet long, bound together, 2 feet in circumference, which they planted in the middle, afire at the top, and which lighted sufficiently well. All the youth of the village repaired there with their bows and arrows, war clubs, and warlike instruments, and some women and girls, where they began to dance anew until midnight war dances which I found very pretty, and then all retired except the chief, who remained and slept with us in his cabin along with all the Bayogoulas, to whom they paid the same honors as to ourselves, regarding them as French, having brought the latter to their homes. These two chiefs harangued each other; the Bayogoula harangued the Ouma for me. This village is on a hill, where there are 140 cabins; there may be 350 men there at most, and many children. All the cabins are on the edge of the hill, in a double row in places, and arranged in a circle. There is a square 200 paces across, very neat. The cornfields are in the valleys and on the other hills in the neighborhood. This entire country is nothing but hills of quite good black earth; no rocks; I have seen none since leaving the sea. This village is 2½ leagues from the river toward the north; the woods there are open, a mixture of all kinds of oaks; above all there are many canes in the bottoms. I did not see any fruit tree there. They gave me two kinds of nuts; one, like those of Canada, hard nuts, and the other, little, made like olives and no larger. They have not yet cultivated anything else except melons and have sowed tobacco.[a]

The next day Iberville returned to his boats, and the Houma provided him with bread, flour, and corn for the continuance of his journey. Being convinced, however, by the renewed testimony of a Taënsa Indian that there was no fork in the Mississippi such as had been represented by Membré, he soon decided not to attempt to ascend higher that year and returned to the Houma landing. Here he procured more corn, along with pumpkins and chickens, and after some difficulty induced the Bayogoulas who had remained at the village to join him. When he embarked, he says: "The chief of the Oumas and one of the most important personages of his people led me to my shallop, holding me under the arms to aid me in walking, for fear that some accident would happen to me on their land. The chief of the Oumas," he adds, "is a man 5 feet 10 inches in height and large in proportion, having a very flat forehead, although the other men of his nation do not have it, at least very few of the old men. This custom is changing among them. He is about 70 years old, having a son of about 25 to 30, well formed, who succeeds to his crown. The chiefs are no more masters of their people than are the chiefs of the other nations in the direction of Canada. I have only noticed among them more civility."[a]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 174–177, 1880.

Another narrative of this visit is given in the journal of the frigate *Le Marin.* It is practically the same as Iberville's narrative, but contains a few interesting details not found there. Thus, when the French had given presents to these people, it states that "they raised themselves to thank him, crying three times, '*Hoû! hoû! hoû!*' and extending the arms, which they never omit when they give presents back and forth. The chief distributed the presents, thanking him at the same time." The visitors were led into the temple on account of the rain, placed on mats, made to smoke, and then given corn and pumpkins. When they returned to their boats the savages followed, and "the chiefs, each holding a wooden cross in his hand, made a circuit processionally of the cross which we had planted, throwing tobacco upon and around it, and singing after their manner. Then they presented the calumet to our messieurs; one of the principal men harangued M. d'Iberville for an hour, when everyone appeared very attentive, although we did not know what he was saying. All the young people danced by the light of a torch, which illuminated them until midnight, to the noise of two pieces of wood which they struck against each other." The next day the Bayogoula chief spoke in his turn, addressing both the Houma chief and Iberville, after which they sang around the cross and threw tobacco upon it from time to time "as if they wished to offer incense to it." The 23d, when Iberville was on his return, the chief of the Houma and two of his principal men came with a little wooden cross and sang about the great cross for the third time, after which provisions were brought and axes, knives, mirrors, etc., given in exchange. "This village," the narrative goes on to say, "is composed of from six to seven hundred persons, who are much more civilized and honest than the first (i. e., than the Bayogoula). M. de Tonti passed there when he descended in order to find M. de la Salle, in the month of April, of the year 1686. They put their dead on posts, like those of the other (i. e., the Bayogoula) village, and when anyone falls ill there are two men who sing to chase away the evil spirits."[b] Later the same year De Montigny and Davion stopped here and, learning of the French settlement of Biloxi, proceeded thither, after which they returned to their missions. De Montigny estimates the number of their cabins at 100.[c]

March 4, 1700, Iberville again reached the Houma landing place, and found that half of the tribe had been destroyed by what he calls

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[a] Iberville in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 174–184.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 265–271.

[c] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

"an abdominal flux." He was accompanied by a Jesuit priest, who, on their return journey, left his servant here to build a church.[a] This priest was probably the Father du Rut referred to by Gravier as having built the Houma church in the spring of 1700, and which was already completed when he visited the place. This account of Gravier's is one of the best we have, and is as follows:

> We left that village of the Natchez on the 24th, and on the 25th of November we discovered the hills of the Houmas to the south of the Mississippi, which forms a bay that one enters by leaving the main channel to the right. There is a good league and a half from the point of disembarkation to the village of the Houmas, over a very bad road, for one has to ascend and descend, and walk half bent through the canes. The village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides. There are 80 cabins in it, and in the middle of the village is a fine and very level space, where, from morning to night, young men exercise themselves. They run after a flat stone, which they throw in the air from one end of the square to the other, and try to make it fall on two cylinders, which they roll wherever they think the stone will fall.
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> There is nothing fine about the temple except the vestibule, which is embellished with the most pleasing and best executed grotesque figures that one can see. These are four satyrs, two of which are in relief, all four standing out from the wall, and having on their heads, their hands, and their legs—for fillets, bracelets, garters, baldrics, and belts—snakes, mice, and dogs. The colors are black, white, red, and yellow, and are applied so well and with such absence of confusion that they constitute an agreeably surprising spectacle. The old man who keeps up the fire—the name of which, he told us was *louak* or *loughé*, the 'sacred fire'—showed us the bones of the woman chief who died last year. That woman had so distinguished herself by the blows that she inflicted upon their enemies, having in person led several war parties, that she was looked upon as an Amazon and as the mistress of the whole village. Greater honor was paid to her than to the great chief, for she occupied the first place in all councils, and when she walked about was always preceded by four young men, who sang and danced the calumet to her. She was dressed as an Amazon; she painted her face and wore her hair like the men. In this village they know nothing of all the yells that are usually uttered among the Natchez when they pass before the temple, opposite which is a chapel 50 feet long that Father du Ru caused to be built last spring, also a great cross 35 or 40 feet high, that he caused to be erected in the public place of the village. Father de Limoges had arrived there three days before, in order to settle there and to labor for the conversion of the Houmas, who seemed to me to be very docile. The great chief is very reasonable, and says that he acknowledges but one Spirit who has made all. I counted 70 cabins in the village, which I visited with Father de Limoges, who chose to give me the first fruits of his mission in the baptism that I administered to a child 3 days old. I gave him the name of St. Francis Xavier, the patron of the mission. God took him to paradise a few days afterward, there to labor for the conversion of his parents and of his countrymen.
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> On the 3d of December we celebrated the festival of that great saint as solemnly as we could, and I chanted the first high mass that was ever heard in the village. I was surprised at the little curiosity that they manifested. If the Mississippi country be settled, and this mission be not taken from us, there is reason to hope that we shall do well there on account of the docility

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 418.

of those poor people. The women and girls are more modest than among the neighboring tribes. May God be pleased to convert them and make the road to their village impracticable for certain French libertines. All that they do for their sick is to suck them until blood comes. I saw one in the hands of the old medicine men; one whistled and played on a gourd, another sucked, while the third sang the song of the alligator, whose skin served him as a drum. As they are satisfied with their squashes and their corn, of which they have an abundance, they are indolent and hardly ever hunt. They have, nevertheless, the reputation of being warriors and are feared by the neighboring tribes. They are not cruel; and, far from putting to death any slaves whom they may capture, as soon as the latter enter the village the women weep over them, pity them for having been taken, and afterward treat them better than their own children.[a] When any of their people go out hunting the women begin to weep as if they were about to lose them, and when they return from hunting they weep with joy at seeing them once more. There are very few villages in France where there are more hens and cocks than in that of the Houmas, because they never kill any and will not even eat any of those that their dogs quite often kill. When one wishes to obtain chickens from them he must not say that he intends to kill or eat them. They would give them with reluctance; but they willingly sell these fowls when they are not killed in their presence, or when they are told that they will be taken away to be reared as with them. The hens have little chickens at all times, and in the month of December there were some in all the cabins, since they keep warm in the cabins, which the people are careful to keep clean, and which they sweep out two or three times a day. The children, the men, and the young men are dressed like the Tounika. The women wear a fringed skirt, which covers them from the waist to below the knees. When they go out of their cabins they wear a robe of muskrat skins or of turkey's feathers. Their faces are tattooed with figures and they wear their hair plaited like the Tounika and Natchez, and blacken their teeth as those tribes do. Although all savages have a great dread of cold, when there is the slightest frost (for there is no winter here) they all bathe, both great and small, and come out of the water quite chilled with cold. An old man calls out at daybreak when it freezes. This kind of bath sometimes brings on a bloody flux, which carries off many of them. However, Father de Limoges is beginning to make himself understood and will do good in this mission.[b]

The ingenuousness of this good father in describing the kind treatment accorded prisoners will elicit a smile from one familiar with Indian customs, but he is correct in speaking of their warlike prowess, which, as we shall show presently, they came rightly by. The next event of consequence in their history was the settlement of the Tunica among them and their subsequent massacre of their hosts in 1706. This is La Harpe's account and is probably correct,[c] though Pénicaut, who dates the occurrence in 1709, merely states that the Houma moved farther down the river, while the Tunica came later to take their places.[d] The surviving Houma, who appear to have been still a considerable body, settled first on bayou St. John, back of New

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[a] Evidently a case of adoption.

[b] Jes. Rel., LXV, 145–153; Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 143–147.

[c] Given in full on p. 311; La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 100–101, 1831.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, v, 483.

Orleans, as stated by La Harpe, but a few years later moved to the southern part of what is now Ascension parish. A small village called the Little Houmas was on the Mississippi, 2 leagues below the head of Bayou La Fourche, while the Great Houma village was half a league inland from this point.[a]

La Harpe, who stopped at the town in 1718 on his way to Red river, says of this village: "It is situated in a level country; the houses or cabins surround a large open space; they number 60, which may contain 200 men. This nation busies itself in raising hens and in the culture of maize and beans."[b]

Charlevoix mentions the place in 1721, but made no stay there.[a] Poisson, who stopped a day in 1727 on his way up the Mississippi, calls it a French settlement and makes no mention of the Indians.[c]

For their condition in 1739 see pages 278–279.

De Kerlérec, in 1758, says of this tribe:

> The Houmas were formerly very numerous, but they are, like the Tonikas, very much reduced on account of the amount of liquor that has been sold to them. This nation is also still able to furnish about 60 men able to bear arms. It is very lazy and debased by drink. As it is only 22 leagues from New Orleans and 23 from Point Coupée, it serves as an advance post and barrier against the incursions which enemies might wish and be able to make upon our establishments; in consequence of this they are treated with much consideration. It performs some knavish tricks on us from time to time, but it is easy to reduce when we demand satisfaction.[d]

It appears from all the records extant that the Houma continued to live here at least until 1776. In that year we learn from a volume of Laws of the United States Relating to Public Lands, published in 1828, that Alexander Latil and Maurice Conway, evidently French creoles, purchased 96 arpents of land from the Houma Indians "in the district of the parish of the Ascension, or La Fourche, on the left bank of the Mississippi, about 22 leagues above the said capital (New Orleans)." This is plainly the site they had occupied immediately after leaving the mouth of Red river, and although it is not actually said that they were living at the place when the land was sold, such is a fair inference; otherwise the title would not have been good, according to Spanish law. The chief of the Houma at that time was named Calabe. Before this time, as already noted, their numbers had been swelled by the remnants of the Bayogoula and Acolapissa. If the date of the above sale of land is reliable, however, it would seem either that all of the land was not sold or that they continued to live on the ground for some time longer, for Hutchins, in 1784, locates them here and places the number of their warriors at 25. One of their chiefs was then named Natchiabe.[a] In a work by President Jefferson, entitled "An Account of Louisiana, being an Abstract of Documents in the Offices of the Departments of State and of the Treasury," it is stated that on the east bank of the Mississippi, 25 leagues above New Orleans, lived the remains of the "Houmas or Red Men," not exceeding 60 persons. Sibley (1805) says: "There are a few of the Houmas still living on the east side of the Mississippi, in Ixsusees Parish, below Manchack, but scarcely exist as a nation."[b] "Ixsusees" must be a very bad misprint for Ascension. Even as late as the time of publication of Gallatin's classification of the Indian tribes of the United States (1836) he is enabled to say that a few Houmas remained in the vicinity of Manchac. He adds the information, however, that others were found in the vicinity of the Atakapa,[c] and Sibley declares that Tunica and Houma had both intermarried with the Atakapa, increasing the number of men in the tribe from 50 to 80.[d] The records leave us in doubt when the bulk of the tribe moved from Ascension into Terre Bonne parish, and possibly it was a drift rather than a regular migration.

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[a] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 176, 1851.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 244–245.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 296–297.

[d] De Kerlérec in Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75.

At any rate, the remnant of the tribe, mixed with other Indian peoples and white and negro blood, now live along the coasts of Terre Bonne and La Fourche parishes, where they were visited by the writer in April, 1907, and the following facts learned regarding them:

They occupy six settlements on as many bayous, and are principally engaged in hunting the otter, mink, and such other animals as occur in their country, and in fishing and gathering shellfish. During the sugar season some of them work on the plantations, especially at crushing, and some cattle are raised, particularly by Bob Verret, the leading man among them. Mr. Verret gave the following estimate of their population: On Point au Barrée, 28 houses and 165 people; Lower Point au Chien, 36 houses and 160 people; Champs Charles, 13 houses and 117 people; Lower Bayou La Fourche, about 25 houses and 175 people; Bayou de Large, 12 to 14 houses and 84 to 98 people; Bayou Salé, below Bayou Grand Caillou, at least 25 houses and 175 people; total, 139 to 141 houses and 876 to 890 people. For Point au Barrée and Point au Chien this was a house-by-house statement, and is nearly complete. The Champs Charles band was estimated by Mr. Verret on a basis of 9 to the family and the others on a basis of 7. In view of the fact that the average for the two first mentioned is 6 and 4½, respectively, this may seem high, but, in any event, the average is above the normal for an Indian tribe. According to tradition, moreover, these are the descendants of only a part of the ancient Houma. When they first came across from the Mississippi, it is said that they located near the city that bears their name, but, being driven out by the whites, moved to their present situation. Being followed down by the settlers, all except three families, or possibly bands, went back north about one hundred and twenty years ago (?) and were never heard of again. The three families, which were known by the French names "Couteaux," "Billiout," and "Verdine," held their ground, and it is from them that all the Houma of Terre Bonne and La Fourche are descended. In spite of mixture with whites and negroes, they form a distinct class of the population, and prefer to be called "Indians." The rate at which they have increased in recent years shows either that they have been protected by their isolation or that the mixture has chanced to be a very virile one (pls. 13, 14, 15).

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[a] Hist. Narr. La., 39–40.

[b] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1088.

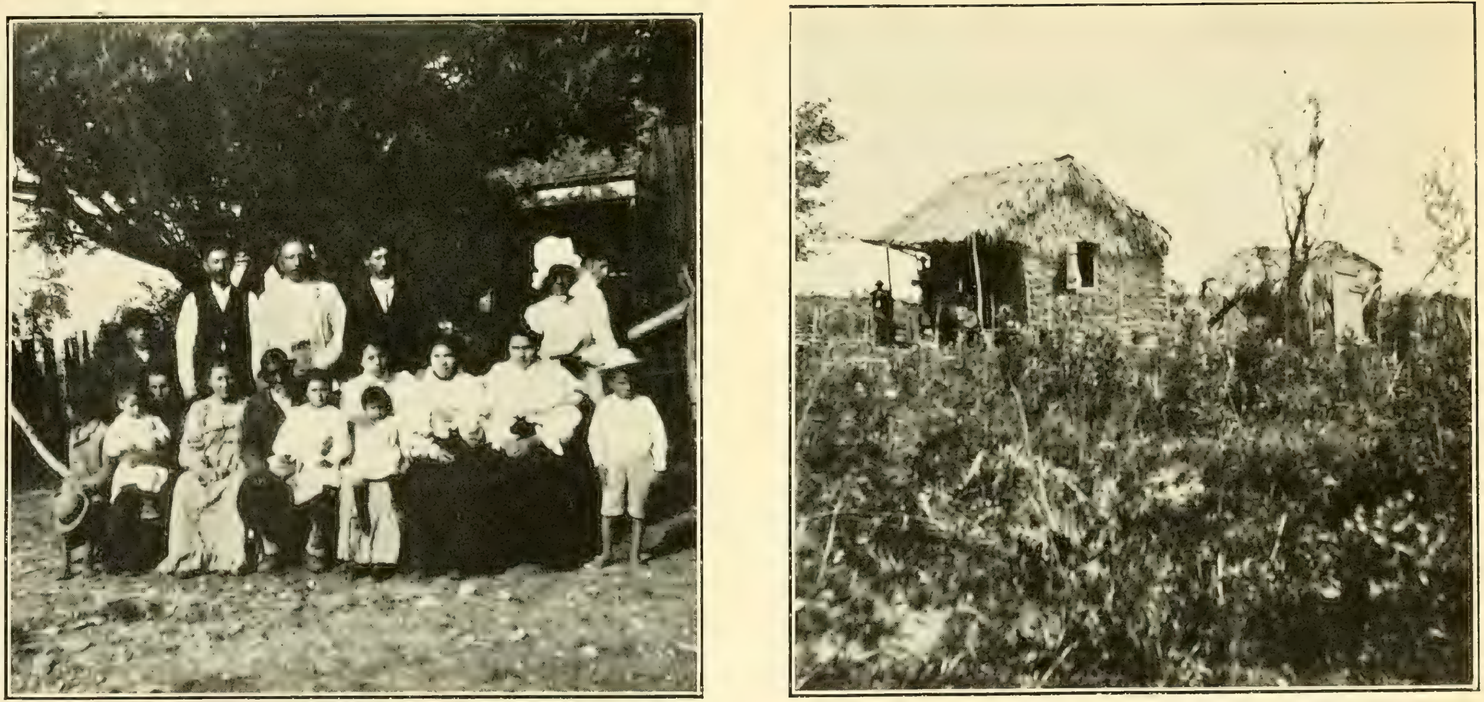
[c] Gallatin in *Amer. Antiq.*, II, 1836.

[d] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086.

Although they call themselves "Houmas," or, rather "Hômas," it has been intimated above that remains of several other tribes, such as the Bayogoula and Acolapissa, have been incorporated with them. To these must be added Biloxi and Chitimacha (pronounced by them "Sitimasha"), who were often introduced in the capacity of slaves, and probably the remnants of the Washa and Chawasha, besides individuals from a number of other Louisiana and Mississippi peoples. The family history of the writer's oldest informant, Félicité Billiout, will serve to illustrate this tribal complexity. Her grandmother, whose Indian name was Nuyu′n, but who was baptized "Marion" after her removal to Louisiana, was born in or near Mobile; her grandfather, Shulu-shumon, or, in French, Joseph Abbé, and more often called "Couteaux," was a Biloxi medal chief; and her mother "an Atakapa from Texas." In addition, she said that Cherokee ("Tsalaki"), Choctaw, and Alibamu had all married with her people. Among other tribes she had heard of the Chickasaw ("Shikasha"), Tallapoosa ("Talapush"), and Tunica. Her grandmother, whom, she said, had moved successively to the Mississippi, "Tuckapaw canal," Bayou La Fourche, Houma, and the coast of Terre Bonne, was evidently among the Indians who migrated from the neighborhood of Mobile after 1764, in order not to remain under English rule. It is plain that remnants of all sorts of tribes joined the Houma before and at this period, though it is certain that most of these were Muskhogean, and that the Houma was always the dominating element.

THE CHAKCHIUMA

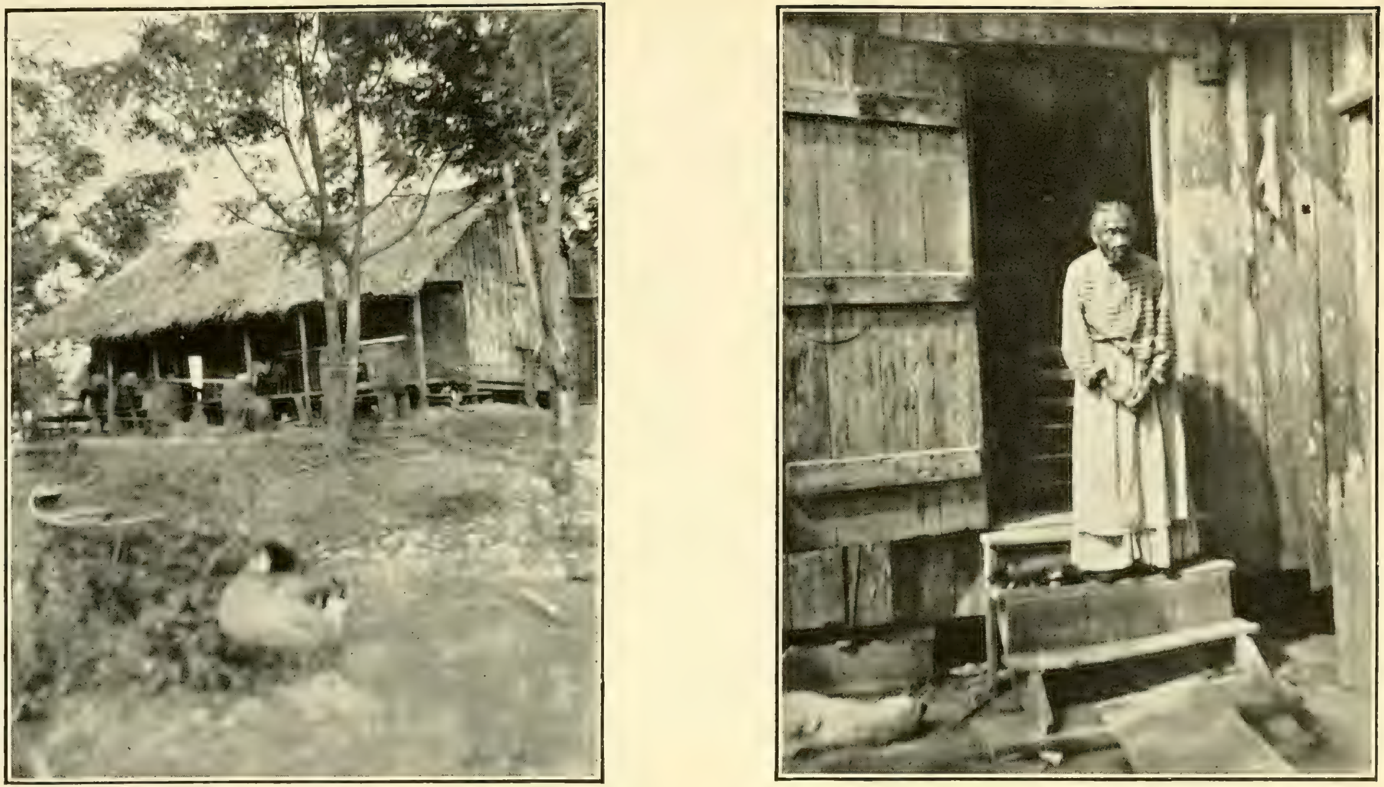
This was the most important tribe on the upper Yazoo, and one of the few which can be satisfactorily identified in the De Soto narratives. The name, written in full, *Sa′ktcihuma*, signifies "red crawfish," evidently referring to the tribal badge or totem. Adair says of



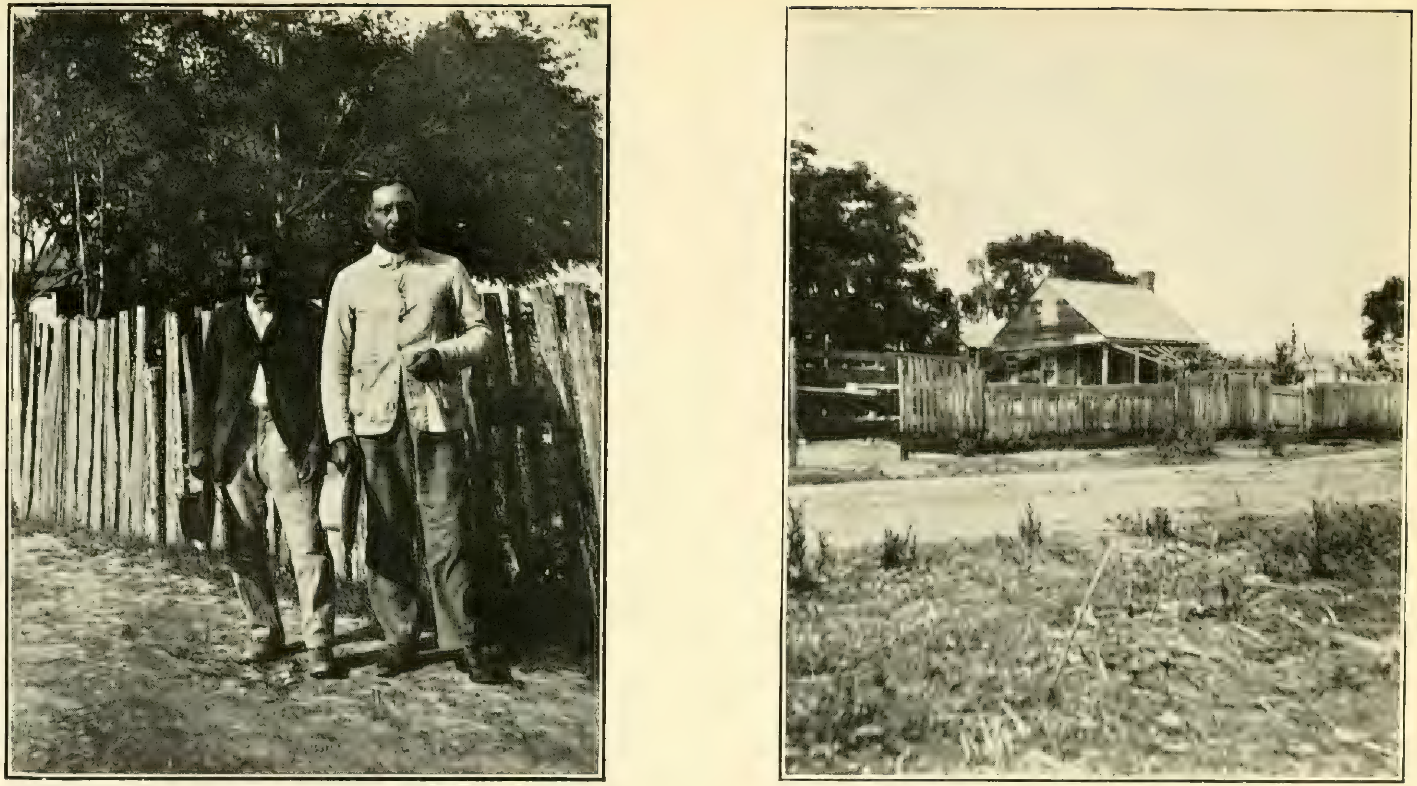
a Group of Houma

b Modern Houma houses thatched with palmetto

PRESENT-DAY INDIANS AND THEIR DWELLINGS, TERRE BONNE PARISH, LOUISIANA



HOUMA HOUSE AND OLD WOMAN



a Bob Verret, the leading man among the Houma Indians, and an old Houma, Barthélemi Billiout, whose sister, Felicité Billiout, is one of the last to remember any portion of the Houma language

b Home of Bob Verret below Montegut, La.

BOB VERRET AND HIS DWELLING

them: "The Chicasaw, Choktah, and also the Chokchooma, who in process of time were forced by war to settle between the two former nations, came together from the west as one family," and states that the Tallahatchie river, a large eastern affluent of the Yazoo, was called "the Chokchooma river" on its lower course because this tribe settled upon it first after they came from the west.[a]

H. B. Cushman gives the tradition as follows: "Many years after the Choctaws and Chickasaws had established themselves east of the Mississippi river a Choctaw chief named Shakchi Humma (Crawfish Red) recrossed the Mississippi river with his family and a large number of adherents, and established a colony (under the name of their chief, Shakchi Humma) in the present State of Arkansas. In the course of years this colony became greatly enlarged by constant accessions, and with increasing numbers and strength also became insolent and overbearing to that extent that a war arose between them and another tribe, in which they were defeated and driven back over the Mississippi to their former country."[b]

The Ranjel narrative of De Soto's expedition speaks of them as follows: "In Chicaça the governor ordered that half of his army make war on Sacchuma; and on their return the chief Miculasa made peace."[c] The Elvas narrative records the affair thus: "The governor, taking 30 cavalry and 80 infantry, marched to Saquechuma, the province of the chief whom the Cacique said had rebelled. The town was untenanted, and the Indians, for greater dissimulation, set fire to it; but the people with the governor, being very careful and vigilant, as were also those that had been left in Chicaça, no enemy dared to fall upon them."[d] The "Niculasa" presented to De Soto just before this event was evidently the Chakchiuma chief whose name is recorded more correctly by Ranjel as Mikulasa, evidently Miko lusa, "Black Chief."

In the Tonti narrative in Margry the destruction of the village of Tangibaho, which they found burned, was said to be due to the "Chouchoumas,"[e] but reasons have already been given for believing that the tribe spoken of was not the Chakchiuma proper.

In 1690, while Tonti was encamped "opposite the river of the Taencas, which runs from Arkansas," his Shawnee companion went hunting on the opposite side of the river, where he was attacked by three Chacoumas. "He killed one of them and was slightly wounded by an arrow in the left breast."[f] The wording appears to place this encounter on the west side of the Mississippi, but perhaps there is confusion in the manuscript, since members of that tribe were more likely to be encountered on the eastern side, their home being near the junction of the Yazoo and Yalobusha. In 1699 De Montigny states that the Tabougas [Taposas] and Taxoumans [Chakchiumas] numbered "only 70 cabins."[a] In 1700 Iberville relates that English traders had induced the Quapaw to make an expedition against this tribe in order to obtain slaves from them, but that the Quapaw were beaten off.[b] In 1702 Iberville wrote Father Davion, missionary to the Tunica, of the peace he had made with the Choctaw and Chickasaw, and told him to inform the Chakchiuma, who had retired into the Tunica country, that they might return to their own village.[c] Later De Richebourg quotes Bienville as reminding the Natchez chiefs "that in 1704 the Chacchoumas murdered a missionary and three other Frenchmen; that on their refusal to deliver the murderers to us all our allied nations had been let loose upon them, who made war upon them in such a manner that from 400 families which they had formerly numbered they were reduced in less than two years to 80."[d] The authority for this event appears to be excellent, yet it is strange that it is referred to by neither La Harpe nor Pénicaut. In the course of the same speech Bienville recalls that in 1715 the Chakchiuma had had satisfaction from the Choctaw for killing one of their men.[e] Du Pratz, whose information applies to the period between 1718 and 1730, gives the number of cabins in this tribe at "not more than 50."[f] In 1722 La Harpe states that the total population was 150.[g] Later the same year he says that the Chakchiuma chiefs had sent two of their people to inform the commandant of the Yazoo fort that five parties of Chickasaw had set out to make war on the Yazoo, Koroa, and Ofo.[h] Pénicaut mentions them among the tribes that sent representatives to the commissary, Hubert, about the same time, when he arrived at Natchez to sing the calumet.[i] On the outbreak of hostilities with the Natchez this tribe appears to have allied itself with the French, for Le Petit relates that some Choctaw and a band of Indians belonging to this tribe set upon the Koroa and Yazoo, took 18 scalps and delivered some French women and their children. In 1739 the "Grand Chocchocima," presumably the head chief of this tribe, was leader of those Indians friendly to the French in the attack designed by them upon the Chickasaw.[j] It was probably on account of the hostility of the Chickasaw which they then aroused that their ultimate destruction as an independent tribe took place.

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[a] Adair, Hist. Amer. Ind., 66, 352, 1775.

[b] History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians, 242–245.

[c] Bourne, Narratives of De Soto, II, 132–133.

[d] Ibid., I, 101, 102.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, I, 604.

[f] French, Hist. Coll. La., 72, 1846.

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[a] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 430, 1880.

[c] Ibid., 520.

[d] French, Hist. Coll. La., 245, 1851.

[e] Ibid., 246.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226, 1758.

[g] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311, 1831.

[h] Ibid., 331, 1831.

[i] Margry, Découvertes, V, 575.

[j] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 64–85.

Light regarding this event is given us by Mr. H. S. Halbert in an article on "The Small Indian Tribes of Mississippi."[a] He says:

> About 1770 the tribe was almost exterminated by the combined forces of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. In 1836 this remnant was incorporated into the Chickasaw Nation. At the time of their subjugation they occupied a narrow territory between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws and extending from the mouth of the Yalobusha on the west to the vicinity of the present town of West Point on the east. We here quote a few lines from a letter received several years ago from Mr. H. B. Cushman, of Texas, who in early life had conversed with several aged Choctaw warriors who had served in the Chocchuma war:
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> "The Chocchumas built many forts in this territory, several of which were in Oktibbeha County. In the center of their forts they erected tall poles, on which they suspended scalps, beads, bones, and other savage paraphernalia. When the wind blew through these trophies it made a peculiar noise, which their prophets interpreted as the voice of the Great Spirit, informing them that some Choctaw or Chickasaw was killing a Chocchuma. Forthwith a party of young braves would go on the warpath, and the first Choctaw or Chickasaw they met, whether old or young, male or female, they would kill, return home, hang the scalp on the instructive pole, and await another oracular response." According to Choctaw tradition, it was these hostile acts of the Chocchumas, together with their frequent horse-stealing inroads into the Choctaw and Chickasaw countries, that aroused the warlike wrath of the latter tribes and caused the war that terminated in the destruction of the Chocchuma nationality. I here append the following traditions regarding this war. The most noted stronghold of the Chocchumas was built on Lyon's Bluff on the south side of Line Creek, about 8 miles northeast of Starkeville. The creek here makes a bend to the north, forming a horseshoe containing about 8 acres. In the center is an artificial mound. A rampart, some traces of which could still be seen a few years ago, extended across this neck of land, connecting, as it were, the two ends of the horseshoe. This inclosure, known as Lyon's Bluff, strongly fortified, was occupied by a large band of Chocchuma warriors with their women and children. The place was besieged by the allied tribes. The Choctaws occupied the south, in front of the rampart, while the Chickasaws were posted on the north side of the creek, so that there was no chance of escape for the Chocchumas. For several days and nights was the siege kept up, until the last Chocchuma warrior fell and the women and children yielded to the mercy of the conquerors.
>
> The late venerable Mr. Howell Peden, of Clay County, from whom several years ago I received many Chocchuma traditions, informed me that in 1830 there was living near Plymouth, on the Tombigbee, an old Chocchuma woman who was a girl or young woman during the Chocchuma war, and who was the last survivor of the massacre on Lyon's Bluff. She had been a cook in Jackson's army during the Creek war of 1813. This fact is noted, as it gives a clue to the approximate date of the Chocchuma war. A woman over 50 would hardly be apt to serve as an army cook. Assuming this woman to be 7 in 1770, she would have been 50 in 1813; 1770, then, may be accepted as the approximate date of the Chocchuma war.

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[a] Pubs. Miss. Hist. Soc., v, 302–308.

> After the destruction of this Chocchuma stronghold the Choctaws next captured a Chocchuma fort, situated some 3 miles northwest of Starkeville, on the spot afterwards occupied by the residence of Dr. Calvin Cushman, the missionary. Tradition has failed to preserve any details of the capture of this place.
>
> About 6 miles west of Bellefontaine, on the old Grenada road, is the site of a Chocchuma village. The chief who lived there, Chula Homma (Red Fox), is said to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of this tribe. The village was captured and burned by the Choctaw. Chula Homma and his warriors were all slain, and the women and children became the slaves of the conquerors. When the whites first visited that region, about 1833, they found living on the site of the village an Indian, Coleman Cole, who claimed to be a grandson of one of the captive women. From him a party of surveyors learned the tradition of the village.
>
> According to tradition, the animosity of the Choctaw and Chickasaw toward the Chocchuma was so fierce and unrelenting in this aboriginal war that they killed every dog, cat, and chicken found in the Chocchuma villages.

The Mr. Cushman referred to in this quotation gives a longer account of the war, which he represents as having taken place in 1721, and as lasting three years.[a] He adds that a descendant of the last survivor, named Coleman Cole, "became a chief of the Choctaw and died in 1884 at his home a few miles east of Atoka, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory." As may be seen by the foregoing quotations, his date must be far too early, and the bloody protracted struggle he described is neither true to Indian life nor possible when the tribe so destroyed did not count more than a hundred and fifty souls. Very likely a bitter struggle, though a short one, took place before the Chakchiuma were finally absorbed into the Chickasaw, but the importance of that particular struggle was probably magnified by memories of the numberless other contests we know to have taken place between the same combatants during the ages preceding.

The Taposa

The Taposa were on Yazoo river some distance—according to La Harpe, 8 leagues—above the tribe just considered.[b] They are spoken of as allies of the Chickasaw,[b] and Du Pratz states that their language lacked the *r* sound,[c] but most accounts give nothing more regarding them than the name. In 1699 De Montigny estimated the number of their cabins and those of the tribe just considered at 70,[d] while Du Pratz (1718–1726) assigns them 25 by themselves.[c] Ultimately they were probably absorbed into the Chickasaw.

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[a] H. B. Cushman, Hist. of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians, 242–246.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311, 1831.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.

[d] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

THE IBITOUPA

This name perhaps means "People at the source" (*Ibetap*, "the fountain, source, head"). On a map made by Lieutenant Ross, of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, the "Oiatoupou" are placed on Yazoo river some distance above the mouth of the Yalobusha; and below the latter, apparently between Abyatche and Chicopa creeks, in the present Holmes county, Miss., is the legend "antient land of the Ibitupas."[a] There can be little doubt that the "Oiatoupou" and "Ibitupas" are the same, and this would indicate that anciently they lived below the Yalobusha, but in later times had moved above it. If such was the case, this movement must have occurred before 1722, for in that year La Harpe states that they were 3 leagues above the Chakchiuma, who were near the mouth of Yalobusha river.[b] It has been suggested elsewhere that the "Choulas," placed by him 25 to 30 leagues above the lower Yazoo tribes and a short distance below the Chakchiuma, may have been a band of Ibitoupa left behind temporarily at the time of the migration.[c] They then numbered but 40 and are never heard of again, a fact which would tend to strengthen this suggestion. The Ibitoupa were only a small tribe as far back as 1699,[d] numbered only 6 cabins in 1722,[b] and they were probably united with the Chickasaw soon after the Natchez war, though they may first have combined with the Chakchiuma.

THE WASHA

The Washa are first mentioned by Iberville as one of four nations west of the Mississippi which came to make an alliance with him in 1699, shortly after his arrival on the Louisiana coast.[e] On his ascent of the river the same year he encountered two canoes, one belonging to the Bayogoula, living farther up the river, and the other (containing five men and a woman) to the Washa. These latter soon left him to proceed to the village of the Washa, on Bayou La Fourche.[f] Bayou La Fourche was called by Iberville's Indian guide "the river of the Washas," though afterward the French called it "the river (or fork) of the Chitimacha," owing to the greater prominence of the latter tribe. This name, as well as the later occupancy of Bayou La Fourche by Chitimacha Indians, has led Gatschet and other writers to consider that bayou as one of the original seats of the Chitimacha. From Iberville's statement, however, as well as others to be noted presently, it would appear that the tribes of Bayou La Fourche were properly the Washa and Chawasha, with possibly some other small bands, the real seats of the Chitimacha being farther west. Undoubtedly the members of these small tribes also hunted and camped throughout the territory embraced between La Fourche and the Mississippi, or even crossed to the eastern side of the latter stream, and from this circumstance and their later removal to the neighborhood of New Orleans it has been too readily assumed, as by Sibley,[a] that they always belonged to that district. In July, 1699, after Iberville's departure for France, his brother, Bienville, made a vain attempt to place himself on a friendly footing with them. La Harpe gives the following account of his expedition:

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[a] Jefferys Amer. Atlas, 26, 1776.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 311, 1831.

[c] Ibid. See p. 30.

[d] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 155, 1880.

[f] Ibid., 166, 255.

> The 24th M. de Bienville left in two bark canoes with 5 men, provisions for three weeks, and merchandise destined for the savages, with the intention of visiting the west pass of the Mississippi and to learn if it was navigable, to go up afterwards as far as Bayagoula, in order to obtain guides there who were acquainted with Red river. He crossed lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and on the 27th he arrived at the portage of Manchac, and the 3d of September at the Bayagoula village. There he took a guide to conduct him to the Ouacha nation, situated in the west fork of the river. He left on the 8th for this exploration. Having advanced 4 leagues he entered this canal and found only 5 feet of water there. The 9th he arrived at the landing place of the Ouachas, 12 leagues within the fork; he went to the village a quarter of a league inland; he found this nation fierce and difficult to approach, and by their actions he perceived that they had evil designs, a fact which induced him to retire to his pirogues.[b] These Ouachas were allied to the Chaouchas and Onquilouzas, wandering people of the seacoast, counting together 200 men. That night these savages wished to surprise the French; but their sentinel having perceived them cried "*Alerte!*" They were obliged to fire several volleys into the woods in the places where they heard them coming and then to embark and take their way to the Mississippi. This event prevented them from descending the fork to the sea, although it would have been entirely useless to do so, since 6 leagues below the Ouachas this fork separates into two branches, and lower still into many rivulets, so that there remains only enough water in it for the passage of a pirogue.[c]

From the topographical information given in this narrative it would seem that the Washa village was in the neighborhood of the modern Labadieville.

Although the Chaouasha, a related tribe, are mentioned, we hear nothing more of the Washa until 1718, after the founding of New Orleans, when they moved to the Mississippi and settled 11 leagues above on the south side, three-quarters of a league above the concession of M. de Moeuve.[d] Pénicaut states that their old village was

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[a] Ann. 9th Cong., 1087, 1852.

[b] Unless Bienville had changed his bark canoes for dugouts La Harpe has made a mistake here in using the word "pirogues."

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 17–19, 1831.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, v, 557.

25 leagues from the banks of the Mississippi.[a] If we accept this statement and suppose that he counted the distance up Bayou La Fourche we would have to suppose that they had moved farther south after the time of Bienville's visit.

From this time on the few notices which are found place them in the same general situation, which they certainly maintained until after the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1739 the officer under M. de Nouaille (quoted on pp. 278–279) has the following information regarding this tribe and the Chawasha: "Before falling in with these [the Acolapissa, Bayogoula, and Houma] we had encountered two other nations near the post 'les Allemands,' on the left bank of the river, being the Ouachas and Chaouachas, numbering together 30 warriors or thereabout. These and several others are called the 'small or petty nations,' owing to their very small number and the character of their settlements, which they are ever transferring from one spot to another distant 60 to 75 miles, according to their caprice or the wars which they are forced to carry on."[b]

It is to be suspected that the following account, given by Baudry de Lozières, really applies to an earlier date than his own explorations of 1794–1798:

> *The Ouachas.*—They are allied with the former [i. e., the Chawasha], established 2 leagues above New Orleans. They have the same character. They could easily [formerly] put 200 men under arms, but in 1715 counted barely 50.[c]

Strikingly different is the account of Sibley, written in 1805:

> *Washas.*—When the French first came into the Mississippi this nation lived on an island to the southwest of New Orleans, called Barritaria, and were the first tribe of Indians they became acquainted with, and were always friends. They afterwards lived on Bayau La Fosh, and from being a considerable nation are now reduced to five persons only, two men and three women, who are scattered in French families; have been many years extinct as a nation, and their native language is lost.[d]

As we have already seen, Sibley is probably in error in assigning their original habitat to Barritaria, but they at least camped in that neighborhood sufficiently to give their name to a body of water, also called "Lake Salvador." Nor is it certain that the five persons he mentions were all that were left of the tribe, for it is very likely that some of them united with the Houma Indians and shared their fortunes. The name Washa is applied on most maps to a lake near the coast of Terre Bonne parish in the country which the Houma remnant now occupies, though the people in that vicinity can not explain it and indeed call the body of water by a different name.

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 557.

[b] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 64–85.

[c] Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 246, 1802.

[d] Message from the President of the United States, 84, 1806; Ann. 9th Cong., 15th sess., 1087, 1852.

THE CHAWASHA

The history of this tribe ran almost parallel with that of the one just considered. According to Du Pratz, quoted by later writers, they attempted, in conjunction with the Washa, to attack the vessel of the English captain Bank or Barr when he entered the Mississippi in 1699.[a] There is no other authority for this statement, and, though there may be some truth in it, the original home of this tribe, like that of the Washa, was probably farther inland on Bayou La Fourche.

In March, 1707, forty Chawasha warriors took part in an attack upon the Chitimacha to revenge the murder of St. Cosme, and constituted more than half of the native contingent. To them was also intrusted the guidance of the party, they being most familiar with the country traversed.[b] Among his entries for the year 1713, which is believed to be two years too early, Pénicaut includes the following:

> I found among the Natchez [on returning from Natchitoches] some slaves who were of the nation of the Chorouacha. They had been taken by a strong party of Chicacha, Yasou, and Natchez, who had entered the village of the Chaouacha under pretext of singing their peace calumet there; but these traitors, on the contrary, had gone there to make war; and they killed the grand chief first of all, with many persons of his family; they took 11 persons prisoner, among whom was the wife of the grand chief, whom they carried away to the Natchez.[c]

Their object is said to have been to sell the prisoners as slaves to some English traders.

Shortly before the migration of the Washa above referred to this tribe settled 3 leagues below New Orleans, on the west side[d] just below English turn. Their former village is placed by Pénicaut 20 leagues from the bank of the Mississippi and therefore 5 leagues nearer than that of the Washa.[e] By 1722, when Charlevoix passed their village, they had moved to the other side of the Mississippi, half a league lower down, transporting everything with them, "even to the bones of their dead." Speaking of the abandoned town he says:

> I found nothing entire but the cabin of the chief, which was pretty much like the house of one of our peasants in France, only with this difference, that it had no windows. It was built of branches of trees, the vacancies between which were filled with the leaves of the latania; the roof was of the same structure. The chief is very absolute, as are all those of Florida. He never hunts or shoots but for his diversion, for his subjects are obliged to give him part of their game.[f]

The Chawasha continued to live at or near this place until the Natchez uprising. At that time it is commonly reported, indeed on the authority of Governor Perrier himself, that the latter in 1730 allowed a band of slaves to destroy the 30 people then composing the tribe. Perrier excuses himself for this action on the ground that it was necessary in order to allay the panic terror into which the white settlers had fallen, and that it prevented the Indians and negro slaves from entering into a combination against them.[a] The actual result was to bring about a conspiracy on the part of the negroes themselves.[b] It is evident, moreover, that this massacre was very far from complete, since there are three distinct references to the tribe subsequent to this period. Dumont, the only writer who dissents from the usual statement regarding their absolute destruction, is therefore probably correct. He says that the negroes were instructed to kill adult males only, and actually destroyed only seven or eight, the rest being absent on a hunting expedition.[c]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 277, 1758.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 102, 1831; Margry, Découvertes, v, 434.

[c] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 506.

[d] Pénicaut says the east side, but he is thinking of their later position; cf. Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 182, 1851.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, v, 557.

[f] Charlevoix in French, Hist. Coll. La., 182, 1851.

A reference to this tribe and the Washa in the year 1739 has already been given.[d] De Kerlérec's report of 1758 regarding the tribes of the Mississippi and Missouri contains the following rather disordered note:

> THE OUACHA
>
> *The Chaouacha.*—*The Cotapissa* [Acolapissa] as well as the *Avoyelles* and the *Bayagoulas* were so many different nations which the vicinity of the French and trade in liquors have equally destroyed. There remain only some *Chaouachas*, who form a little village 3 or 4 leagues from New Orleans and are very few, not numbering more than 10 or 12 warriors.[e]

This is remarkable in two respects—first, in the fact that the very tribe we should suppose extinct is the one noted as still in existence, and, second, that the Washa, who are mentioned in the title of the paragraph, are not even alluded to in its substance. It might be thought that the two tribes had become confused and that Ouacha should be substituted for Chaouacha, but the position assigned to the latter agrees closely with the position they are known to have occupied only a short time before.

We have still another late reference to the Chawasha, from Baudry de Lozières, but, as mentioned in a previous section, the date to which this applies is by no means certain. It is as follows:

> *The Tchaouachas.*—Reduced to 40 warriors. A wandering, indolent, and lazy nation, settled near the French in 1712. Corn is the only assistance one can expect of them.[f]

It would seem certain that a remnant of this tribe lasted into the latter half of the eighteenth century, when it must have declined slowly and disappeared.

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[a] Charlevoix, Hist. of New France (Shea's ed.), VI, 90; Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 244–247.

[b] Gayarré, Hist. Louisiana, I, 284; Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 202–204; Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, III, 304–317.

[c] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, II, 205.

[d] P. 299.

[e] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 75–76.

[f] Baudry de Lozières, Voy. à La Louisiane, 246, 1802.

THE OKELOUSA ("BLACK WATER")

There are but two references to this tribe. The first of these is by La Harpe in the quotation given on page 298, simply to the effect that they were allied with the Washa and Chawasha. The second is by Du Pratz, and is as follows:

> The Oqué-Loussas form a little nation which is concealed to the west of and above Pointe Coupée, of which the French did not even know the name. I one day encountered a man of this nation who informed me that they lived on the shores of two little lakes, whose water appeared black on account of the quantity of leaves which cover the bottoms of these lakes, from whence they receive the name of *Oqué-Loussas*, which signifies "Black Water."[a]

If this tribe was Muskhogean, as the writer supposes, it probably united with some better-known tribe of the lower Mississippi, such as the Houma or the Acolapissa.

THE PASCAGOULA ("BREAD PEOPLE")

This small tribe was heard of by Iberville in 1699 at the same time as the Biloxi,[b] but he did not visit the Pascagoula village until his second expedition. Sauvolle, however, who had been left in charge of the new post at Biloxi, sent Bienville thither some time in the summer of 1699. If we were to judge from his own letter this was late in June. On their return the explorers reported to him that "the villages of the Pascoboulas, Biloxi, and Moctobi" were 16 leagues inland on Pascagoula river and that they did not number 20 cabins in all.[c] "The 13th [of July]," he notes—

> the chief of the Pascoboulas came to sing the peace calumet to us. He had in his following seven men of the same nation. I have never seen savages less embarrassed. They embraced us, a thing I have never seen the others do. They only pass the hand over the breast on their arrival, after having raised their arms to heaven. They brought me a present of deer skins, which I at once gave to our hunters in order to make Indian shoes (i. e., moccasins), a little dried meat, and part of a deer. They parted after having received their presents, like the others.[d]

On the 21st four other savages of this nation came,[e] and on the 8th of August seven more,[e] on errands which were really begging expeditions. Of this latter party Sauvolle says:

> There arrived on the 8th a pirogue, in which there were seven savages of the Pascoboula nation, among whom was the chief of this same nation, whose name is Chenoua. They are established on the river of the Mobile. I had it in my instructions to treat these nations kindly if any of them came, and to give them a gun, which I did. They undoubtedly go to visit the Spaniards, for this chief had one of their muskets; besides the gun, I gave him a saber, an embroidered hat, a hooded cloak, a plume, and other presents for his peo-

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 241, 1758.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 154, 155, 1880.

[c] Ibid, 451.

[d] Ibid., 453.

[e] Ibid., 454.

ple; they are so well treated among us that there are no savages who, having been here, have not returned many times.[a]

He had still another visit from these pertinacious people October 17,[b] and in March of the following year the Pascagoula chief came in company with the chief of the Mobile and some Choctaw.[c] Pénicaut, the historian, or romancer, of early Louisiana, accompanied some of these expeditions. In speaking of one of them he gives a short description of the Pascagoula village, which has some value as the only particular account of this tribe that has come down to us.

> Some days after [returning from an exploring expedition to the westward], the savages who had guided us informed M. de Sauvole that they wished to return to their villages, and that they desired that we should go with them. M. de Sauvole made them understand that that would please him. We parted then to the number of ten Frenchmen, with a long boat, and we camped, on leaving our fort, at the mouth of their river, named, like them, Pascagoulas, which is in the bottom of the bay of the same name. We mounted this river 20 leagues from its entrance into the ocean, and we arrived the third day at their village. As it was toward the end of August and was very warm, all the savages there were bare as the hand, the men and the boys; the women and the girls had only a little moss, which was passed between their legs and covered their nakedness, they being as to the rest of the body entirely naked. * * * We were very well received by their great chief and all the savages of the village. They gave us food and drink, among other things bison, bear, and deer flesh, and all sorts of fruit in abundance, such as peaches, plums, watermelons, pumpkins, and all of an exquisite flavor. The pumpkins are much better than in France; they are cooked without water, and the juice which comes out of them is like sirup, so sweet is it. In regard to the watermelons, they are almost like those in France. The peaches are better and larger, but the plums are not so good; there are two kinds, white and red. They served us also with their hominy (*sagamité*), which is a kind of porridge made with corn and beans which are like those in France. Their bread is of corn and a grain which comes from the canes. They have plates made of wood and others of earthenware; they are very well made, although by the hand of savages. The women of the savages also make large earthen pots, almost like big kettles, which hold perhaps 40 pints, in which they have their hominy cooked for two or three families. This is the way in which they arrange among themselves in order not to have the trouble of doing the same thing every day, each doing it in his turn for their cabins. These pots are of clay (*terre grasse*) and of a round shape, almost like windmills. The coverings of the roofs are for the most part of bark of trees; there are others which are made of leaves which are called in this country *latanier*, which is a tree peculiar to the country. An observation which I have made regarding savages is that whatever abundance of provisions they have, they never take an excess of it, for they take only as much as they need; but very inconsistently eating the greater part only with the fingers, although they have spoons made of buffalo horn. Their meat is ordinarily smoked or otherwise bucaned, as they say in that country. They have, however, a kind of gridiron on which they put it, but very little fire under it, scarcely enough to dry it, the smoke contributing to this as much as the heat of the fire. The chief orders his savages to hold dances in the evening. This dance takes place to the sound of their little drum and their rattle; they dance in a circle to the number of 20 or 30 without grasping each other. The master of the dance

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 454–455, 1880. [b] Ibid., 456. [c] Ibid., 460.

is at their head. At a whistle they break their circle and mingle together, always keeping time. Then, on a second whistle, they reform their circle with astonishing accuracy. They have other dances besides, of which I will speak later more fully. [See pl. 4, *a*.]

We slept at the house of the great chief on beds of canes which are plaited and tied, like beds of sacking (*lits de sangles*), interlaced with each other and covered with buffalo skins. The next morning we went to walk in their fields where they sow their corn. The women were there with their men, working. The savages have flat, bent sticks, which they use to hoe the ground, for they do not know how to work it as is done in France. They scratch the soil with these crooked sticks and uproot with them the canes and the weeds which they leave on the earth in the sun during fifteen days or a month. Then they set fire to them, and when they are reduced to ashes they have a stick as large as the arm, pointed at one end, with which they make holes in the earth 3 feet apart; they put into each hole seven or eight grains of corn and cover them with earth. It is thus that they sow their corn and their beans. When the corn is a foot high they take great care, as in France, to get rid of the weeds which get into it, and repeat it two or three times a year. They make use even now of their wooden hoes, because they find them lighter, although we have given them hoes of iron.

We remained some days in this village, and then we returned to our fort.[a]

Like Pénicaut, Iberville speaks of this village as if it belonged to the Pascagoula tribe alone:

The 29th [of April, 1700] I repaired at 7 in the morning to the village, in which there are about 20 families. This nation has been destroyed, like the other [i. e., the Biloxi], by diseases; the few who remain are well-formed people, especially the women; they have the best figures of any I have seen in this country. Having known that I was going to come to their village they made me a cabin entirely new. One can go from this village to the fort [Biloxi] in a day by land. * * * [The Choctaw] are five days' journey from this village, straight to the north. The village of the Mobile is three days [journey] from here, to the northeast. * * *[b]

After this time, however, French endeavor was divided between Mobile on one side and the Mississippi on the other, little attention being paid to the small tribes intervening. The only reference to them in La Harpe is to the effect that the Pascagoula declared war against the Tawasa in March, 1707, but Bienville reconciled the two.[c] This probably had something to do with the first settlement of the Tawasa at Mobile. Unlike the Biloxi, the Pascagoula appear to have remained near the place where we first find them. Dumont gives an account of their temple and mortuary ceremonies as if, in his time, they constituted one village with the Biloxi,[d] in which case he probably visited them just after the return of the latter from the neighborhood of New Orleans.

Du Pratz (1718–1726) has the following to say of them:

Returning toward the sea and to the west of Mobile is the little nation of Pacha-Ogoulas, which the French call Pascagoulas. This nation is situated on the shores of the bay which bears their name, which signifies Bread Nation. This nation is composed of but one village, containing at most 30 cabins. Some Canadians have established themselves near them, and they live together like brothers, because the Canadians, being naturally peaceful, and understanding, besides, the character of the natives, know how to live with the nations of America; but what contributes principally to this durable peace is that no soldier frequents this nation. In speaking of the Natchez I have shown how the presence of soldiers destroys the good understanding which ought to be preserved with these people in order to obtain the advantages hoped for.[a]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 388–391, 1883.

[b] Ibid., IV, 427, 1880.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 101, 1831.

[d] To be published in the introduction to a forthcoming bulletin on the Biloxi language.

This was one of the tribes that in 1764 moved from Mobile to Louisiana. From Hutchins's narrative it appears that they settled first on the west side of the Mississippi not far from Red river, where they had a village counting 20 warriors,[b] but in 1787 permission was granted them to locate at the confluence of the Rigolet du Bon Dieu and Red river, a permission confirmed in 1792.[c] Their territory was bounded above by Bayou de la Coeur and below by Bayou Philippe, which falls into Red river from the left in descending.[c] Louis de Blanc, their chief, occupied an eminence at the upper end of this territory, but their principal village was on a point called Mount Pleasant.[c] In 1795 the Baron de Carondelet desired that the Pascagoula should be assembled, elect a chief, and form a new village on Catahoula bayou,[c] but instead they determined to move to Bayou Boeuf, and settled on the Choctaw land there the same year.[d] Land was granted them by a body of Choctaw, who had been the first to make this bayou their home.[d] Just below them were the Biloxi, who had preceded them by a year or two. Early in the nineteenth century the Pascagoula and Biloxi sold their lands to Miller and Fulton, two of the early settlers of Rapides parish, and the sale was confirmed May 4, 1805. The Pascagoula signers were the chiefs, Big Bread, La Culotte, Ajadonah, Cosauh, Ningo, and Big Head.[e] At that time the two tribes and the Choctaw near them numbered "not less than 500 souls."[e] Sibley, writing at about this time, but basing his statements on information gathered prior to 1798, has this to say of them:

PASCAGOLAS, live in a small village on Red river, about 60 miles below Natchitoches; are emigrants from Pascagola river, in west Florida; 25 men of them only remaining; speak Mobilian, but have a language peculiar to themselves; most of them speak and understand French. They raise good crops of corn and garden vegetables; have cattle, horses, and poultry plenty. Their horses are much like [those of] the poorer kind of French inhabitants on the river and [they] appear to live about as well.[f]

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 214–215, 1758.

[b] Hutchins, Hist. Narr. La., 45.

[c] Am. State Papers, Public Lands, II, 781.

[d] Ibid., 782.

[e] Ibid., 794.

[f] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1087, 1852.

Morse, in his statistical tables of 1822, gives three bodies of Pascagoula Indians, one numbering 80, on Red river, 160 miles from its mouth and close to the Apalachee; a second of 60 persons, 160 miles higher up; and a third of 100 on Biloxi bayou, 15 miles above its junction with the Neches.[a] In 1829, 111 Pascagoula are reported living with 65 Biloxi in eastern Texas on Red river.[b] For their later history see pages 31–32. They now appear to be entirely extinct, but a group of Biloxi, their close companions, is shown in plate 12, *b*.

THE MOCTOBI

This tribe is scarcely referred to later than Iberville's first expedition, and there is some reason to think, since individuals belonging to it make their first appearance in company with the Biloxi, that the name may have been that by which the Pascagoula were known to their neighbors. At any rate they must have been a very small group. In some places they are called Capinans, and Capinans was the name of a plantation or small settlement in their neighborhood. References to them occur in Margry, Découvertes, IV, 154, 155, 193, 195, 311, 451, 602; V, 378, 547.

THE MOBILE BAY AND APALACHICOLA RIVER TRIBES

These have been enumerated, so far as it is now possible to do so, in the first part of this paper, and their linguistic affinities have been carefully inquired into.[c] Their history, however, is interwoven with the histories of the Apalache and the Creeks and requires a study of those peoples to bring out its full significance; therefore it will be well to postpone it until a later occasion.

THE TUNICAN GROUP

THE TUNICA

The name of this tribe signifies simply "men" or "people" in their language, but they prefer to call themselves as a nation by another term, *Yoron*. They are perhaps referred to as the town of "Tanico" of the Elvas De Soto narrative,[d] encountered somewhere in northeastern Louisiana or southeastern Arkansas, where the Indians made salt. This is considerably north of their location in 1682, but Chickasaw and Choctaw tradition places "Tunica oldfields" on the Mississippi river near Friar point, not many miles below the present Helena, Ark., which would indicate that they had formerly lived in that neighborhood.[a] When first encountered by Europeans, however, they occupied several small villages on the south side of Yazoo river, about 4 leagues from its mouth. The name appears on Marquette's map, based on his expedition of 1676, under the form "Tanik8a,"[b] but he places them inland west of the Metchigamea and Arkansas along with the "Akoroa" and several other tribes.

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[a] Morse, Rep. on Indian Affairs, 373.

[b] Porter in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, v, 596.

[c] See pp. 32–33.

[d] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, I, 135, 1904. Cf., however, p. 307.

Since they were enemies of the Arkansas and Taënsa, La Salle did not visit the Tunica villages in his famous voyage of 1682, although on the 19th of March he was aware that he was in their neighborhood.[c] In a short account of the route from the Illinois country to the Gulf of Mexico Tonti mentions the "Ionica" along with the "Yazou, Coroa, and Chonque,"[d] but he does not appear to have visited them in person either at this time or in his subsequent expeditions of 1686 and 1690. Possibly they are the "Tanico"[e] referred to by Joutel in his list of tribes allied with the Cenis, but this is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that later, when his party came into the neighborhood of these people, he spells their name "Tonicas."[f] If, as he was given to understand by some Caddoan Indians of the Cahinnio tribe who were with him, they passed near two Tunica towns we must suppose that at least hunting camps of these Indians were scattered through northeastern Louisiana at certain seasons. One day two Indians joined him loaded with salt which they said they had obtained at one of these Tunica towns,[f] and it may very well have been that Tunica were encamped there at the time, since Du Pratz mentions a place near the Ouachita whither tribes from all parts assembled at certain seasons to make salt.[g] A large part of the salt obtained by the Mississippi tribes, however, appears to have been purchased from Caddoan bands, for French travelers several times encountered Natchitoches bringing salt to the great river for sale. The first white men to visit the Yazoo river villages of this tribe of whom we have any record were missionary priests from Canada, who came in 1698, and one of whom, Father Davion, soon afterward established himself among them as missionary. Two of his companions, Fathers De Montigny and La Source, have the following to say regarding their experiences:

> The first among whom we thought of establishing [a mission] are the Tonicas, who are 60 leagues lower down than the Akanseas. Mr. Davion has stationed himself there. The spot where he is is quite fine. * * * As we do not know the language, we have not yet made any great conversions, neverthe-

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[a] Corr. on the Emigration of Indians, IV, 437–441, 1835.

[b] Shea, Disc. and Expl. of the Miss. Valley, 1852; map.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, II, 189.

[d] French, Hist. Coll. La., 82, 1846.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, III, 409.

[f] Ibid., 424.

[g] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 307–308.

> less we have the consolation of having baptized several dying children and a very distinguished chief of the Tonicas, whom we instructed by interpreters. We were surprised to see such judgment in an Indian and dispositions as Christian as he had. As he was *in extremis* we baptized him and gave him the name of Paul. He died the next day, after performing acts of religion that greatly edified us.[a]

> On the 11th we arrived at the Tonicas, about 60 leagues below the Akanseas. The first village is 4 leagues from the Mississippi inland, on the bank of a quite pretty river; they are dispersed in little villages; they cover in all 4 leagues of country. * * * The village of the great chief is in a beautiful prairie. Sickness was among them when we arrived there. One of their chiefs being about to die, M. de Montigny asked him through an interpreter whether he wished to be baptized, to which he replied that he desired to be. Having given also some tokens of his desire, he was baptized, and died the same day. They were dying in great numbers.[b]

In 1699 Iberville was informed by a Taënsa that the "Tonicas" occupied the first village which one encountered in ascending "the river of the Chickasaw" (i. e., the Yazoo), and that the Yazoo and Koroa occupied a village by themselves on the other side of the Mississippi.[c] But neither in this year nor on his expedition the year following did he ascend as far as the Yazoo, and it is evident that his informant was somewhat mistaken regarding the position of these peoples unless Iberville misunderstood him or a considerable change took place between March, 1699, and April, 1700. Under date of April 14, 1700, Le Sueur, in recording his ascent of the Mississippi river, says:

> I sent to beg M. Davion, a missionary priest at the Tonicas, 7 leagues up the river, to come and say mass for us. The first settlements of the savages are 4 leagues up the river, and M. Davion is established 3 leagues higher up, on the branches (*bras*) of the same river.[d]

Pénicaut, who accompanied him, mentions six nations living on the right in ascending, 4 leagues from its mouth. These he gives as "the Yasoux, the Offogoulas, the Tonicas, the Coroas, the Ouitoupas, and the Oussipés."[e]

Father Gravier, the first Jesuit to descend the Mississippi to its mouth, left the Arkansas tribe November 1, and reached Yazoo river, which he calls "the river of the Tounika," on the 14th. He speaks of his experiences as follows:

> I left the five canoes of French at the mouth [of the Yazoo]; it is on the south of the Mississippi. I embarked in my canoe to go and visit Mr. Davion, missionary priest, who was sick; I left my canoe 4 leagues from the river, at the foot of a hill, where there are five or six cabins. The road, which is 2

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[a] Letter of De Montigny in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 75–78.

[b] La Source, Ibid., 80–81.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 179, 180.

[d] Ibid., V, 401.

[e] Ibid. Pénicaut appears to have confused Ûshpī, a Tunica name for the Ofo, with the Taposa of other writers who lived on the upper Yazoo not far from the Ibitoupa (Ouitoupas).

leagues by land, is quite pretty. I found piakimina trees loaded with fruit and many copal trees exuding gum. We passed in the roads canes 40 feet high and as thick as your arm. The stalk of the corn, which we call Indian corn, is over 15 to 20 feet high, and so are the sunflowers, and thick in proportion. We saw five or six hamlets of a few cabins, and I was surprised that the Indians, who so rarely see Frenchmen, showed so little curiosity. There was none except at Mr. Davion's village, where all the people escorted me to the house of that fervent missionary, whom I found in bed with the fever. He arose the next day to receive at my mass, and [went] out for the first time with me to visit some cabins. He conversed with me with great frankness on the mission which he is beginning to establish, and God blesses his zeal and the study which he makes of the language, which he begins to speak better than could be naturally expected from a person of his age. There are three different languages in his mission—the Jakou [Yazoo], of 30 cabins; the Ounspik [Ofo], of 10 or 12 cabins; and the Toumika [Tunica], who are in 7 hamlets and who comprise in all 50 or 60 small cabins. He devotes himself only to this last language, and the Tounika, being the most numerous, give name to the mission.[a]

From this time until he abandoned his charges in despair the history of the Tunica is closely bound up with the life of Davion, who bears the distinction of having maintained his mission much longer than any other missionary on the lower Mississippi. Many stories and legends have grown up around him, and these have been woven together in beautiful language by Gayarré in the first volume of his History of Louisiana. Unfortunately, like so many romantic stories, there is very little basis for any of them, and the majority are directly contradicted by authoritative documents, but it is certain that he must have been a man of unusual force of character, or his influence over this tribe would never have been what it was. His efforts to Christianize them resulted for the most part in failure, but the allegiance which they refused to the faith was granted to the man, and he is probably responsible for the unswerving fidelity of his charges to the French interest, although the Yazoo and Koroa, their neighbors and presumably close relations, were always in sympathy with the Chickasaw and the English.

About 1702 Davion fled from his mission for reasons given differently by different writers, and was absent a year or more before he returned, at the earnest solicitation of the Indians. Pénicaut states that he one time entered their temple, overthrew the "idols" there, and broke them in pieces. Those which he was unable to break he carried into his house. Next morning, when the Indians discovered what had been done, they ran to his house to kill him, but his life was saved by the great chief, who was particularly fond of him.[b] Pénicaut does not say that Davion was driven away at this time, and, besides, he appears to place the occurrence among the Yazoo instead of the

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[a] Gravier's Letter in Shea's Early Voy. Miss., 132–136.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 438, 439.

Tunica. This, however, is because the Tunica were then living near the Yazoo on the river that was named after them, while the date given for the event is 1703, only a year after that in which he is known to have retired to Mobile. Then, again, Charlevoix appears to be referring to the same circumstance when he says that Davion had been driven away because in a fit of zeal he had burned down the Tunica temple.[a] The idea that the Tunica temple had been burned was probably founded on the fact that after they had emigrated from the Yazoo to the mouth of Red river, where Charlevoix found them, the tribe had not put up a new sacred edifice. It is possible that Davion made some overt act against the Tunica religion, but the statement rests on second-hand information of Pénicaut and Charlevoix. In view of these facts it will be wisest to accept La Harpe's account of what took place. He notes:

> On the 1st of October [1702], M. Davion, missionary, and Father Limoge, a Jesuit, arrived from the Mississippi, to give notice that one of their brethren, along with three Frenchmen, had been killed 40 leagues up the river of the Yasons by two young Courois, who had acted as guides in their pirogue. Displeased at being ill treated they had surprised them asleep and killed them with arrows.[b]

One is led to infer that an act of hostility so near the seat of his mission had determined Davion that his position was unsafe, though it is possible that he had also made some attack on the native rites at about the same time. The murder of this missionary, M. Foucault, is placed by Pénicaut three years later,[c] but his chronology is usually wrong. On the 21st of December, 1704, La Harpe records that—

> The chiefs of the Tonica nation came to the fort to solicit the return of M. Davion, the missionary, to their village, which he abandoned only after M. Foucault, the priest, had been killed by the Courois, in concert with the Yasous among whom there had been some English trading to Carolina. M. de Bienville told them that he could not grant them their request until the French blood was avenged; that as they dwelt in the same village M. Davion would not be at all in safety; that if they wished to have him and remain allies of the French they must strike a blow upon the Courois and Yasous; and that they should bring him the English that might be found among them after having plundered their storehouse; that to facilitate their enterprise he would send a detachment of his warriors with them; and that he would give them the arms and merchandise of which they had need. The chiefs were delighted with this proposition, and promised to engage their allies in the undertaking. It was agreed to send thither M. de Saint Denis with 12 Canadians, who would join M. Lambert, company ensign from Canada and brother of M. de Mandeville, *officier bleu*, who was descending to the sea, according to information which had been received, with 40 Canadians coming from the Ouabach, where he had been commanding since the death of M. de Juchereau. The Tonica chiefs, after having received presents, repaired to the lower Mississippi, where they agreed upon a rendezvous with M. de Saint Denis at the Natchez.

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 174, 1851.

[b] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 73, 1831.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, v, 457, 458.

> After their departure pirogues were armed, and the detachment found itself reenforced by more than 30 Canadians. All was prepared for this war when M. de Saint Denis changed his mind.[a]

Nevertheless, it appears from De Richebourg's memoir that the Koroa chiefs had the murderers of the three Frenchmen killed in payment for the injury,[b] and Davion soon afterward resumed his missionary labors, probably in 1705, and continued them uninterruptedly for about fifteen years.

Soon after occurred one of the principal events in Tunica history, their migration from the Yazoo to the mouth of Red river. La Harpe places this in October, 1706, the same year as the Taënsa migration, and states that it was occasioned by an English trader whom they had captured and who took revenge by assembling the Chickasaw, Alibamu, and other nations allied with Carolina to war against them. He says:

> The Tonicas, not feeling themselves strong enough to resist, abandoned their villages and collected again among the Houmas, who received them trustingly. While [the latter] were reposing on their good faith the Tonicas surprised them and killed more than one-half of their nation.[c]

Pénicaut places the Tunica migration in 1709 and represents it as a simple occupancy of the Houma village after its abandonment by the former owners.[d] The Houma evidently suffered less than the Bayogoula at the hands of the Taënsa, for they have continued their autonomy in some degree to the present day.

From this time on the Mobile church registers show that Davion was often at Mobile, but he continued to make his headquarters among the Tunica.[e] In 1714 St. Denis persuaded the Tunica chief to accompany him on his expedition through Texas with 15 of his warriors. It is probable that the chief himself went no farther than Natchitoches, but the rest continued to the Rio Grande, returning the same year.[f] The English trader Hughes[g] visited the Tunica in 1715, and they sang the calumet to him, from which it would appear that they had not as yet adopted all the animosities of the French along with their friendship.[h] When the first war with the Natchez broke out, however, in 1716, this tribe furnished an asylum to the La Loires and Pénicaut after their escape, and according to the latter their great chief was barely restrained by Davion from killing three Natchez who arrived soon afterward to induce him to kill the missionary and all the Frenchmen in his town.[a] Nevertheless, Davion warned Bienville a little later not to trust the Tunica too much, as they had gone so far as to receive presents to kill him. Therefore, although they offered him their services, they were declined.[b]

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 86–88.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 246, 1851.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 100–101.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, v, 483.

[e] See Hamilton, Colonial Mobile (1st ed.), 53.

[f] Margry, Découvertes, v, 497–505. The date he gives, 1712, is erroneous.

[g] Spelled by various French writers You, Youx, and Huchi.

[h] Margry, Découvertes, v, 508.

A glimpse of Davion's mission and the Indians among whom it was established is given us by La Harpe in 1719, when on his way to the Caddoan tribes beyond Natchitoches. Having missed their way his party proceeded 7 leagues above the Tunica landing place before they discovered their error. He says:

> The 12th [of January] we descended the Mississipy; at 10 o'clock we entered the lake of the Tonicas, to the right of the river going up; at 11 o'clock we arrived at the village and proceeded to the cabin of M. Davion, of the foreign missions, who was pastor there. He is a native of Saint-Omer, a very godly man, who has lived in the colony for twenty years, having passed a part of his time among the Yazou nation.[c] Since he has been at the Tonicas he has made these people abandon the greater part of their idolatry. * * * They have two grand chiefs of the united nations speaking the same language. The first is named Cahura-Joligo; he repairs every day with his family to the prayers and exhortations which M. Davion makes to them, who is very much revered in this village, although he opposes their feasts and the plurality of wives.[d]

The next visitor who has left any considerable account of the Tunica is Father Charlevoix, the historian of New France. He says:

> The 28th [of December, 1721], after having gone 2 leagues, we arrived at the river of the Tonicas, which appeared to me at first to be but a brook; but at a musket-shot distance from its mouth it forms a very pretty lake. If the Mississippi continues to throw itself as it does on the other side, all this place will become inaccessible. The river of the Tonicas has its source in the country of the Tchactas, and its course is very much obstructed by falls. The village is beyond the lake on a pretty high ground, yet they say that the air here is bad, which they attribute to the quality of the waters of the river; but I should rather judge that it proceeds from the stagnation of the waters in the lake. The village is built in a circle, round a very large open space, without any inclosure, and moderately peopled.
>
> The cabin of the chief is very much adorned on the outside for the cabin of a savage. We see on it some figures *in relievo*, which are not so ill done as one expects to find them.[e] The inside is dark, and I observed nothing in it but some boxes, which they assured me were full of clothes and money. The chief received us very politely; he was dressed in the French fashion, and seemed to be not at all uneasy in that habit. Of all the savages of Canada there is none so much depended on by our commandants as this chief. He loves our nation, and has no cause to repent of the services he has rendered it. He trades with the French, whom he supplies with horses and fowls, and he understands his trade very well. He has learned of us to hoard up money, and he is

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 519.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 243, 1851.

[c] As in another place already noted, this is an error, due to the fact that the Tunica had formerly lived on Yazoo river. He was always with the Tunica, never with the Yazoo, except accidentally, as the two tribes were near neighbors.

[d] La Harpe in Margry, Découvertes, vi, 246–248.

[e] This, however, may have been the work of the Houma referred to by Gravier.—Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 144.

reckoned very rich. He has long left off the dress of a savage, and he takes a pride in appearing always well dressed, according to our fashion.

The other cabins of the village are partly square, as that of the chief, and partly round, like those of the Natchez. The open space round which they all stand is about 100 paces in diameter, and notwithstanding the heat of the weather was that day suffocating, the young people were diverting themselves at a kind of truck, much like ours.

There are two other villages of this nation at a little distance from this and that is all that remains of a people formerly very numerous. I said before that they had a missionary whom they greatly loved; I have learned that they drove him away not long since, because he had burned their temple, which nevertheless they have not rebuilt, nor lighted their fire again; a certain proof of their little attachment to their false religion. They even soon recalled the missionary, but they heard all he had to tell them with an indifference which he could never conquer, and he has forsaken them in turn.[a]

An opinion regarding the effect Davion's preaching was producing strikingly different from that of La Harpe is expressed here, and that it is truer is vouched for by the action of Davion himself in abandoning the mission. Since La Harpe found him there in January, 1719, and he had left before Charlevoix's visit in December, 1721, while his name occurs in the church register of Mobile in the year 1720, which it is fair to assume was after his withdrawal from the mission field,[b] we must date his retirement as having taken place in 1719 or early in 1720. Poisson, missionary to the Arkansas, states that Davion returned to France shortly after the arrival of the Capuchin fathers in Louisiana.[c] That brotherhood was placed in charge of the Louisiana missions in 1725, but the first Capuchin appeared in Mobile in January, 1721,[d] and this is the date the above writer probably had in mind. Very likely Davion set sail the same year. He did not long survive his return, for Poisson, writing in 1727, states that he was then dead.[d]

In 1723 the Tunica accompanied Bienville on his second expedition against the Natchez, and the great chief was severely wounded in an exchange of shots with one of the Suns, whom he killed.[e]

In 1727 the missionary Poisson, just referred to, passed the Tunica on his way from New Orleans, and gives us the information regarding Father Davion just recorded. He says that the great chief of the Tunica on hearing of Davion's death expressed regret "and seemed to wish for a missionary." He says of him, further, "He bears no mark of being a Christian but the name, a medal, and a rosary."[c]

When the French first came to Louisiana the Mississippi bent far around to the westward opposite the place where these Tunica villages were then located, but where were then the Houma, leaving a narrow neck of land, which, from the circumstance of a cross having been erected there by Iberville (see p. 287), was called "the portage of the cross." In time the river cut partly through this, sending a narrow, rapid stream directly across, and this was the condition of affairs in Poisson's time. At the lower end was a landing and village called "the little Tonicas," and at the upper end the landing and village of "the great Tonicas."[a] Subsequently this neck was cut entirely through and the old channel abandoned by the river.

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[a] Charlevoix's Journal in French, Hist. Coll. La., 173–174, 1851. See pp. 309–311.

[b] Hamilton, Colonial Mobile (1st ed.), 126, 1897.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 309.

[d] Ibid., and note.

[e] See p. 214.

In 1729 the great Natchez war broke out, and, as usual, this tribe stood firmly by the French, furnishing them with their first base of operations against the enemy. The Tunica, headed by their chief, also accompanied both expeditions and assisted immensely as scouts and in following up the retreating foe. In this way they drew upon themselves the peculiar wrath of the implacable Natchez, who finally formed a plot for their destruction, which well-nigh succeeded. The account of this affair, as told by Charlevoix, has been given in recounting the history of the Natchez,[b] and this is probably the most correct, although it was for Perrier's interest to underrate the damage done by the enemy, and other French writers speak of it as a disaster which almost destroyed the Tunica nation. There can be no doubt that this was a severe blow, one of the most severe the little tribe had ever sustained, especially that in it they lost their farsighted, if selfish and mercenary, great chief, Cahura-Joligo, the most consistent Indian friend the French in America ever had.

From now on the Tunica, along with the other tribes of Louisiana, sink into insignificance and play little or no part in the history of the country. We only learn from the accounts of travelers that they continued to live near the same place, although at one time somewhat nearer Pointe Coupée.

In 1739 an officer under M. de Nouaille states that they were then the first nation of any considerable size "which is found in stemming the river, being capable of furnishing from 90 to 100 warriors. They have been at all times," he adds, "much attached to the French, although they had been compelled four months before to send us the heads of their two principal chiefs, who had been accomplices in the assassination of two of our travelers. We observed that this nation had much degenerated in the qualities which they had originally possessed for war."[c]

In 1758 De Kerlérec states that their village was 7 leagues above the fort at Pointe Coupée, and contained 60 warriors.[d] On March 22, 1764, in company with the Ofo, Avoyel, and some Choctaw, to the

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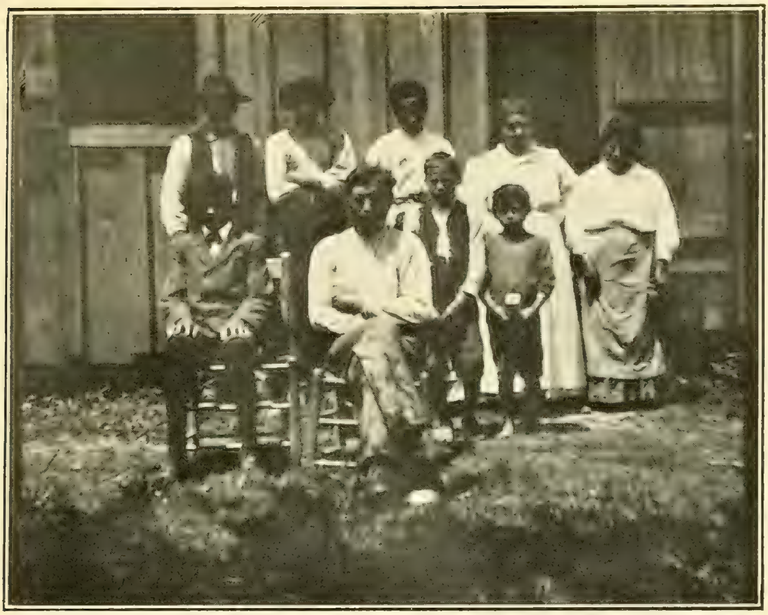
[a] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 309.

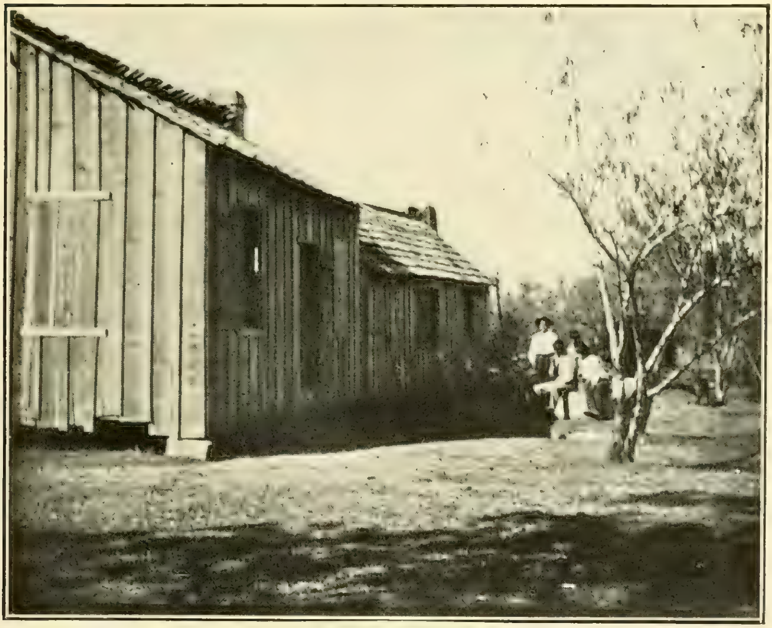
[b] See pp. 249–250.

[c] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 67.

[d] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 74–75.

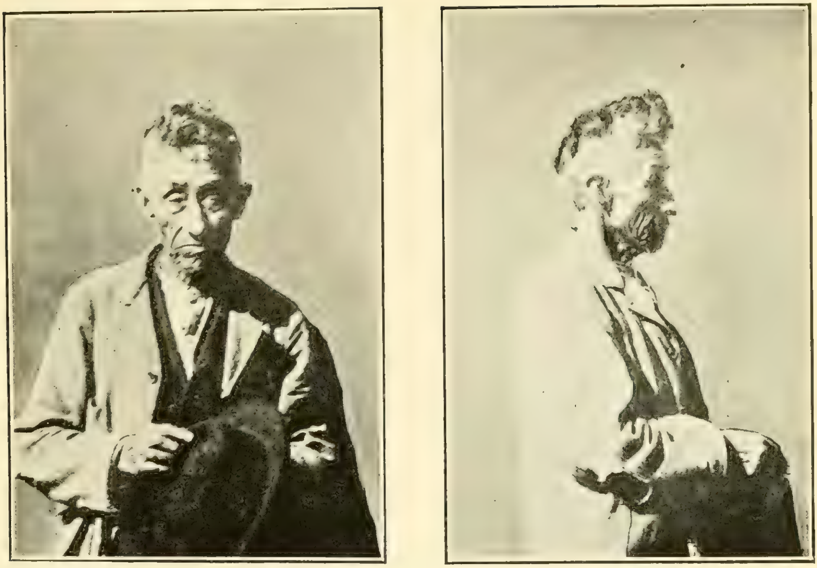


a Some members of the Indian village south of Marksville. All are much mixed descendants of Tunica Indians except the woman in the middle of the rear row, who is a negress, wife of the man seated in front, and the woman next to her, who is the last of the Ofo tribe



b Modern Tunica house

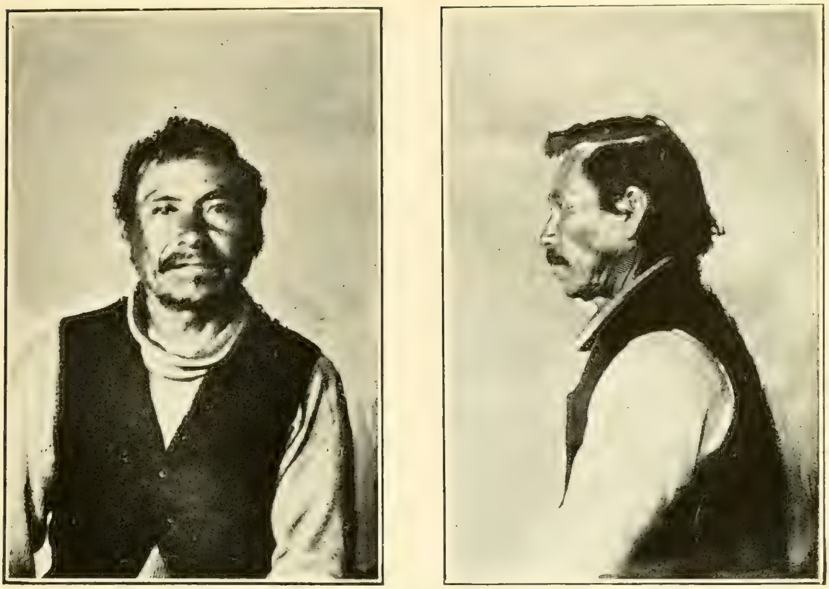
PRESENT-DAY INDIANS AND DWELLING, LOUISIANA



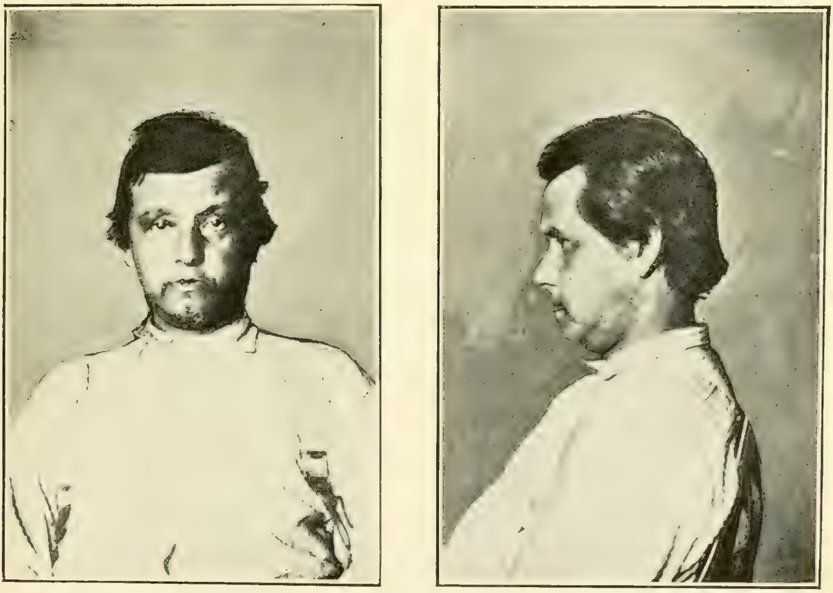
a Volsine Chîkî who is considered chief of the Tunica remnant, and was one of the writer's principal informants

b A Tunica man

PRESENT-DAY INDIANS OF LOUISIANA

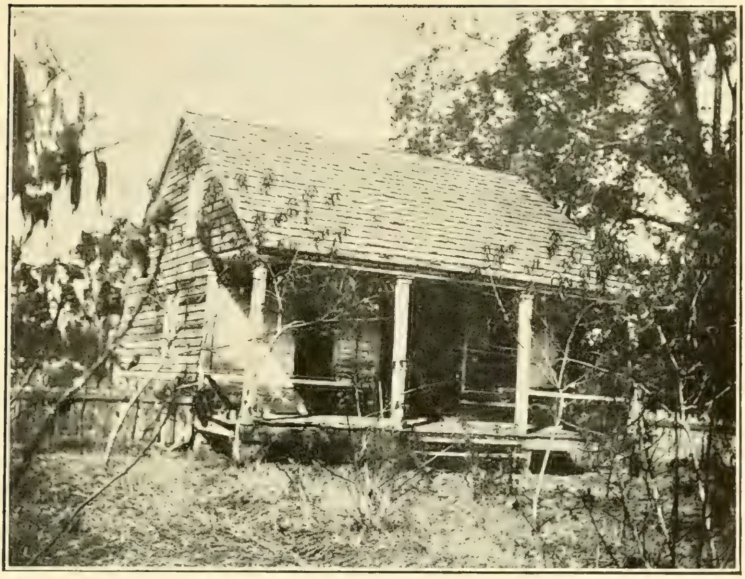


a William Ely Johnson, a Tunica Indian, one of the few who still speak the old language. It was from him that the late Dr. A. S. Gatschet obtained the greater part of his information regarding this tribe

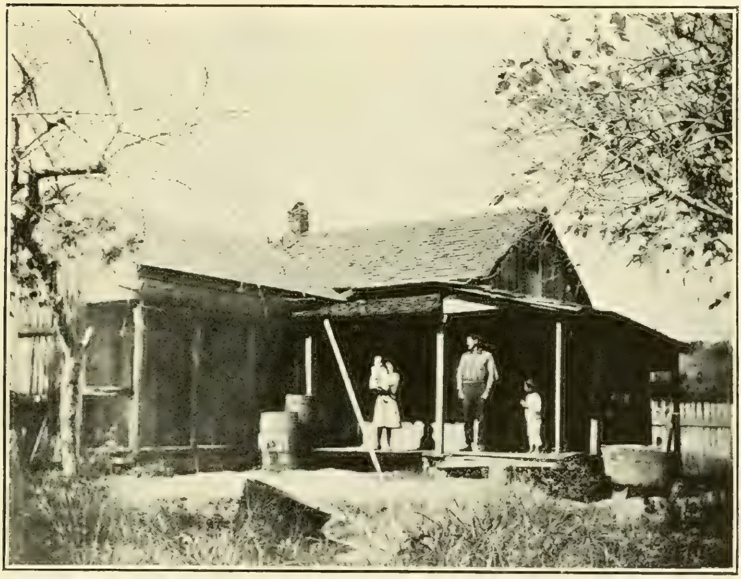


b Benjamin Paul, the present chief of the Chitimacha Indians, and principal Chitimacha informant of the writer

PRESENT-DAY INDIANS OF LOUISIANA



a Home of Benjamin Paul, the present chief of the Chitimacha Indians, and the writer's principal Chitimacha informant



b Home of Armojean Reon, one of the last of those speaking the Atakapa language (see pl. 32, *b*)

DWELLINGS OF PRESENT-DAY LOUISIANA INDIANS

number of 30 men, they attacked a fleet of English pirogues ascending the river, and in two, which were in advance of the rest, killed 6 men and wounded 7, whereupon the boats retreated and the expedition was abandoned. This attack is said to have been provoked by the refusal of the English to give up a slave who had fled to them.[a]

Some time between 1784, when Hutchins ascended the Mississippi, and the annexation of Louisiana to the United States (1803), occurred the final Tunica migration to Marksville prairie on lower Red river. The reason for this movement is unknown, but Gatschet's Tunica informant stated that his people had purchased the site of their new village from the Avoyel (called in Tunica *Shī'xkạl-tī'ni*).[b] Here they obtained a grant of a small tract of land where 7 families are still to be found, numbering about 32 persons. About twenty-three years ago Gatschet heard of some Tunica Indians near Beaumont, Tex., perhaps the descendants of those mentioned by Sibley (1805) as having intermarried with the Atakapa,[c] but in 1908 the writer was unable to learn anything about them. Mooney also reports a small band in the southern part of the Choctaw Nation, Okla., but states that they did not speak their own language. Plates 16, 17, and 18 show some of the present survivors and the kind of house they inhabit.

The arts, sciences, and daily life of the Tunica were evidently little different from those of the Natchez. Their houses consisted of the same framework of slender poles covered with palmetto leaves, corn husks, mud, grass, and mats. On this point La Source says:

> Their houses are made of palisades and earth, and are very large; they make fire in them only twice a day, and do their cooking outside in earthen pots.[d]

Gravier says:

> Their cabins are round and vaulted. They are lathed with canes and plastered with mud from bottom to top, within and without, with a good covering of straw. There is no light except by the door; it is as hot as a vapor bath. At night a lighted torch of dried canes serves as a candle and keeps all the cabin warm. Their bed is of round canes, raised on 4 posts, 3 feet high, and a cane mat serves as a mattress. Nothing is neater than their cabins. You see there neither clothes, nor sacks, nor kettles, nor hatchets, nor guns; they carry all with them, and have no riches but earthenware pots, quite well made, especially little glazed pitchers, as neat as you would see in France; their granaries are near their cabins, made like dovecotes, built on 4 large posts, 15 or 16 feet high, well put together and well polished, so that the mice can not climb up, and in this way they protect their corn and squashes.[e]

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[a] Villiers du Terrage, Les Dernières Années de La Louisiane Française, 182–183.

[b] The present Tunica chief seems to have confused this occurrence with traditions of the last Nachez war. He said that in moving to Marksville Prairie his people had been opposed by the Natchez (Shī'xkạl-pā'xka, "Stone-pilers") and had been unsuccessful against them until the Spaniards came to their aid.

[c] See p. 43, note.

[d] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 80, 1861.

[e] Ibid., 155.

Charlevoix, who visited the tribe after it had moved to the mouth of Red river, says that their houses were partly round and partly square, and states that "the cabin of the chief is very much adorned on the outside for the cabin of a savage. We see on it some figures *in relievo* which are not so ill done as one expects to find them."[a]

This village, however, had been formerly occupied by the Houma, and it is quite likely that some of the houses had been built by them; the carvings being, perhaps, the same that Gravier noted on the Houma temple. It would appear from a statement of Dumont that circular houses were used more by the Yazoo river tribes and the Arkansas, and square or rectangular ones by the Natchez and the tribes farther down the river. At the present time rude baskets are made, which retain very few traces of aboriginal workmanship. Photographs of these are shown in figure 1.

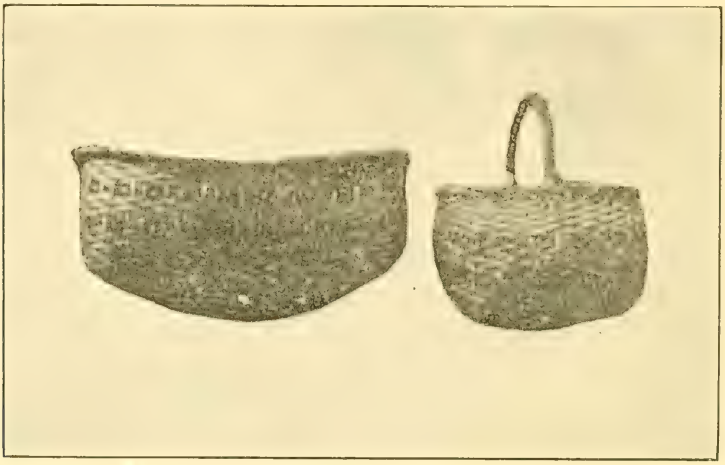

FIG. 1.—Modern Tunica baskets.

Of their clothing, La Source says:

> The married women are covered from the waist to the knees, and the girls are naked up to the age of 12 years, and sometimes until they are married, and they wear clothes which scarcely cover them, being made after the fashion of fringes, which they simply place in front. As for the men, they are dressed in their skins.[b]

Gravier says:

> The women have a dress of mulberry cloth which they spin like hemp and flax; it is a strong, thick cloth. Their petticoat is very decent, from the waist to below the knees; there is a fringe very well worked, as is their mantle, either all uniform or worked in lozenges or in squares or in ermine, which they wear usually as a sash, and rarely on the two shoulders. Neither men nor women grease or oil their hair like all our Canadian Indians, but this is perhaps from lack of both [grease and oil], bear and deer meat being very rare in their village as well as [the flesh of] all other beasts. The women have a great tress

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 173–174, 1851.

[b] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 80–81, 1861.

> of hair on the back which hangs down below the waist; they also make a crown of it around the head. Their head, like the men's, is flat. Most of the men have long hair and no dress but a wretched deerskin. Sometimes they, as well as the women, also have mantles of turkey feathers or of muskrat skins well woven and worked.
>
> Mothers carefully put the heads of both boys and girls under pressure from birth to render them flat.[a]

The diet of the Tunica was more vegetarian than that of American tribes generally. La Source states that they lived entirely on Indian corn, which they gathered only as they needed it, and spent all their time in their fields, to the entire exclusion of hunting.[b] This is, of course, an overstatement, as Gravier mentions the dressing of deer and buffalo skins, and it is not likely that these were all obtained in trade.[c] Their vegetarian diet was also much more extensive, embracing, besides the corn and squashes raised by them, wild fruits and probably roots.

Of fruits, Gravier says:

> There are no peaches in this village as there are at the Akansea; but such an abundance of piakimina that they go into the woods with their families to harvest them, as the Illinois go with their families to hunt the buffalo, which is very rare in this country, where they live on this fruit in the woods for a month, besides which they pound and dry great quantities, which they preserve for a long time.[d]

Salt was obtained at certain places west of the Mississippi, whither the river tribes resorted at certain seasons to boil it down. They also obtained it from the Caddoan tribes in trade.[e]

If we may trust the last-named writer, a larger share of labor fell to the men than was usual among Indians. He says:

> The men do here what peasants do in France; they cultivate and dig the earth, plant and harvest the crops, cut the wood and bring it to the cabin, dress the deer and buffalo skins when they have any. * * * The women do only indoor work, make the earthen pots and their clothes.

Skins, he declares, were dressed better than he had seen done elsewhere, which would mean better than along the upper Mississippi or in Canada.[f]

Of the moral condition of the tribe Gravier adds:

> They are very docile; polygamy is rare among them, but their caprice and the custom of the country authorizes repudiation for next to nothing, for which reason the village is thinly peopled, and I saw hardly any children. The girls are not so loose or bold as they are among the Natchez and Taënsa.[g]

From a later statement of La Harpe it would seem as if polygamy were more common than Gravier supposed,[h] but it can only have obtained among the wealthy at most.

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 134, 1861.

[b] Ibid., 81.

[c] Ibid., 134–135.

[d] Ibid., 135–136.

[e] See p. 78.

[f] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 134–135.

[g] Ibid., 133.

[h] La Harpe in Margry, Découvertes, VI, 247.

Their social life must have been almost identical with that of the Natchez, but we have no separate description of it nor of their games, excepting a note of Charlevoix to the effect that when he was in their village "the young people were diverting themselves at a kind of truck, much like ours."[a] All that we know of their social organization is that they had two grand chiefs of the entire nation, one of whom was called the head civil chief and the other the head war chief.[b] At the present day only one chieftainship is kept up, but in view of their numerical insignificance more would be absurd. On being asked whether the tribe formerly embraced any subdivisions such as totemic clans, a social feature that was carefully explained to him, the present chief replied that there may have been such in olden times, but he had never heard of them. The existence of certain subdivisions seems likely, but their nature can never be known to us.

That the Tunica had some ritual or at least a sacred origin legend about which the national feeling clustered is rendered quite certain by the existence of a temple. Gravier says this was the only one in the nation and was small, standing on a mound of earth which, like that of the Natchez, would seem to have been artificial. Father Davion told him that they entered this only on going to or returning from war, and did not make all the howlings in front of it customary among the Natchez and Taënsa when passing their temples.[c] La Source states that the temple contained "earthen figures which are their manitous."[d] After the abandonment of their former village and settlement at the mouth of Red river they do not appear to have built a new temple, perhaps owing to the opposition of Davion and the interest taken in him by their head chief, but we can scarcely doubt that some dwelling or portion of one was set apart for the sacred images. What "powers" were represented by these is perhaps indicated by La Harpe's statement that "their household gods are a frog and a figure of a woman which they worship, thinking that they represent the sun,"[e] although the wording does not leave it clear whether there was only one of each of these images or whether each family possessed duplicates. If Gatschet is correct in stating that the sun is feminine in Tunica, the woman referred to was very likely the solar goddess, but it is hard to understand what connection there could have been between the sun and the frog. This, in fact, presupposes an explanatory myth which is unfortunately now lost. An earlier statement regarding the religion of the Tunica is given by Gravier. He says:

> They acknowledge nine gods—the sun, thunder, fire, the god of the east, south, north, and west, of heaven, and of earth. In each cabin there is a great

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 174, 1851.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 247; Charlevoix in Shea's Hist. of New France, VI, 117.

[c] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 136.

[d] Ibid., 81.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 247.

post which supports it, at the foot of which there are two or three little earthen pots near the fire, out of which they take a little ashes to put in these pots, from I know not what superstition. This is the post of the spirit or genius. They are so closemouthed as to all the mysteries of their religion that the missionary could not discover anything about it.[a]

This selection of deities is about what was to have been expected. The only unexpected feature is the existence of separate beings, and apparently all important ones, for the sun, fire, and heaven. An independent and at the same time prominent fire deity is found among the Pueblo and the Navaho, but the celestial and solar deities in any tribe are usually one and the same. The primacy of the sun in this enumeration probably indicates its preeminence, and that more reverence was given to it than to the others is rendered likely by La Harpe's statement just quoted as well as by the regard paid this deity among the neighboring Natchez. At the same time it seems strange that no solar myth, even in a fragmentary form, has come down to us, inasmuch as a very complete thunder legend is still remembered. One version of the thunder myth was collected by Doctor Gatschet from William Johnson (pl. 18, *a*) in both Tunica and English. A second, in English only, was obtained by the writer from Volsine Chîkî, the present chief of the tribe, and is as follows:

An orphan boy was shut in the house that he might fast. His uncle fastened him in and told him not to go out. He had only one sister, who brought him his food. But when his uncle was off hunting his uncle's wife tried to make him come out. He did not want to do this because his uncle had forbidden him. She told him to come outside and kill a white squirrel, but he was unwilling to do so. Then she told him to shoot it through a hole in the roof. She said, "Shoot through a crack and I will aim your arrow from the outside." So he shot the white squirrel and killed it, and said to her, "Hand the squirrel in to me." She gave it to him and he took it and cleaned it, removing all the claws except one, which escaped his notice. Then he gave the squirrel back to his uncle's wife. Now, his uncle's wife went back to the house with the claw and scratched her body all over with it until she was covered with blood. She was seated in this condition when her husband came home. The sight made him angry. She told him that his nephew had come out of his place of confinement and had treated her in this manner. Her husband was very angry and sent his nephew into the woods to get small canes for making arrows, thinking to kill him. When the boy reached the canebrake to which his uncle had directed him he found it was so dangerous that he could not enter. A rabbit came to him and told him that he could not go in, but promised to bring out the canes for him. At first the rabbit was no more able to penetrate this canebrake than the boy, but after a time he cut some vines, rolled them into a bunch, and threw them inside. Then the hostile beings who were there ran at the vines, and while they were engaged with them the rabbit rushed in, cut the canes, and brought them out, whereupon the boy carried them to his uncle.

Next the boy's uncle sent him to get some feathers from the fish-catcher (*nîni-taē'ri*), a kind of bird which is very fierce. He reached the place where its nest hung and climbed up to it. The big bird was away, but he found the four young ones. By and by their mother came back and asked him what he was doing, and he told her his uncle had sent him to procure some of her feathers. Then, instead of harming him, she said, "All right," and gave him not only her feathers but one of her young ones to take with him. "When you get close to the house," she said, "tell your uncle you have brought home a nice bird for him, and throw it up into the air so that it may fly a short distance and come down." He did as directed, and when the young bird reached the ground one of his uncle's children ran to seize it, whereupon the bird flew away with it. They never saw the child again.

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 133–134.

Now, the boy's uncle became angrier yet. He said to his nephew, "Let us prepare those arrows so that we can go across the ocean[a] to hunt." They were going after deer. As soon as they were ready they crossed. On the other side was a hill, and the uncle told his nephew to go around it on one side while he went around on the other. So they set out, but as soon as his nephew was out of sight of the boat his uncle returned to it and started home. Before he had gotten very far away his nephew discovered what he was doing, ran down on the shore opposite, and tried to reach him with his bowstring, but in vain. So his uncle went on home and he was left alone on the other side of the sea.

After this the boy wandered off into the woods and met a great horned owl (Tunica, *ū'wa;* French, *hibou grosse tête*). He went farther and met a screech owl (Tunica, *cī'luka;* French *un chouelt* [?]), and farther on a horned owl (Tunica, *nī'ma;* French, *hibou à cornes*). He cursed at these owls as he passed them, for he was sad and angry. By and by he met a big white woodpecker (Tunica, *ĕ'tca*), and cursed at him also. Then the woodpecker said, "Do not curse me, but come to me and I will help you." He wanted the boy to stay with him, but the boy said, "How can I get up to your house?" for it was in a hollow tree. The woodpecker answered, "I will make a way for you. I will put fungi (*champignons*) together until you can reach my hole." He did so, and the boy went up to him, but found the hole too small. He said, "How can I get inside?" "Stoop down," said the woodpecker. The boy did so and found a large door by which to enter.

That same night a witch (female beast or devil; Tunica, *tîc-îlĕ'na*, 'changing herself') came toward the tree in search of him. This was what his uncle had thought would destroy him. Then the woodpecker told the boy that the witch was coming after him and placed him underneath while he himself remained at the door. Before the witch reached them they could hear her encouraging her dogs. These dogs were lions (*yō'rum akā'tate*), tigers (*hī'kua*), wolves (*pä'hasa*), tiger cats (*tcō'mu*), raccoons (*yī'shi*), etc. Before she got to the place she smelled the boy, though she did not know he was there. She said, "I smell flesh." Then she told her dogs that she was going up to get him and throw him down for them to eat, and that he might cry, "Oh! it is I! Oh! it is I!" (*Imayo'! Imayo'!*), pretending that he was the witch, but they were not to let him go. Now the last of the fungus steps had been made weak purposely, and when the witch reached it she fell upon the ground and the beasts seized her. She cried, "Oh! it is I! Oh! it is I!" but on account of the directions she had given them it was some time before they let her go. When they did so, she got up and bit the animals. She climbed the tree again with like result, and kept on doing so until daybreak. Then she went away.

As soon as the witch had gone, the boy wanted to start away, but his protector would not let him until the sun was some distance above the horizon. Then he sent him off. It was a fine day. Now the boy kept on around the hill close to the water until he at last reached a house. A pretty trail, which the people used in getting water, led down to the shore. Then the boy climbed up into a tree called *komĕ'li*, the limbs of which overhung the water, and waited. By and by two women came down, each carrying a bucket. They looked into the water and saw his image reflected there. Not knowing where he was, the younger tried to seize the reflection by diving, but brought up only some leaves. Then both of them tried it and repeated the attempt several times, but to no purpose. Finally the boy spit down into the water near them, and they looked up and discovered him. Then they made him go home with them, took him for their husband, and hid him in a box on the ground, over which they piled other boxes. First, however, they provided him with a little looking-glass. Outside of this house was a scaffolding raised on four posts and covered with what looked like animal meat, but it was really human flesh, for this house belonged to the witch who had tried to kill him the night before. She had stolen the two girls when they were small and had reared them there.

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[a] The ocean is treated in this story as a body of fresh water, showing that the Tunica were a strictly inland people.

By and by the witch returned home, and smelled the boy before she reached the house. She said to his wives, " I smell fresh meat." They told her it was the fresh meat on the scaffold, but she said, " No," and began to hunt for it. After a while she found the boy in the last of the boxes, but he held the mirror up to her face and it made her fall over on her back. " My son-in-law is playing with me," she said. After that she let him alone, and he remained with them. His wives, however, were still afraid the witch would injure him, and they watched him continually. They gave him nothing but corn that had been parched and then pounded. Some nights the witch was away and some nights she was at home, and in the latter case, until she became used to their husband, the girls watched her closely. After that he was not afraid any more and went out in the woods with his bow and arrows to hunt deer, the hides of which he brought home and piled up. After he had done this for a long time and had obtained a big pile, he told his wives that he wanted to return to his own country. The appointed day having arrived, his wives helped him carry all of his property down to the shore. When everything was ready, he stood on the shore and began to sing. By and by a loggerhead turtle came out of the ocean, but he said he did not want it and sent it away. He sang again, and presently a catfish came out. That also he sent back, and sang once more. Then a garfish came out. He sent the garfish back, and sang for the fourth time. Now there came out an alligator, and he said to it, " Yes." That was the animal he wanted. Now they began to place all the hides, food, and other property belonging to him on the alligator's back, and last of all the boy himself got on, carrying his bow and arrows. He took one of the arrows and shot in the direction of his former home as far as he could. Then the alligator swam thither, seized the arrow, and broke it in two. The boy shot again, and again the alligator followed and broke his arrow. He continued to shoot until all of his arrows were exhausted except one, which he laid aside. Then the boy took up a hide and threw it as far as he could. The alligator went to it and swallowed it quickly. Again and again the boy did the same thing until all of his hides were gone. Next the boy began to throw out his flat loaves of bread, and after that his big loaves. The alligator was glad to get them. Last of all he took his cold meal (*farine frais*), and when that was exhausted he could just see the opposite bank. Now he had only one arrow left. He took this arrow and said to himself, " I will live or die to-day." Then he shot with all his might and the arrow fell near the shore upon the trail by which his uncle's people came down to get water. The alligator swam after it and went so fast that he ran well up on the bank and the boy jumped ashore. If his arrow had failed to reach land the alligator would have eaten him.

Then the boy concealed himself near the trail and watched. He could see his uncle's house in the distance and he could just see his little sister standing near it. By and by she took a bucket and came running toward the place where he was. When she came to the arrow which he had left where it fell, she stopped, took it up, and looked at it. She thought it was strange. Meanwhile her brother watched her. Then the girl turned the arrow round in her hand and said to herself, "This looks like my brother's arrow." She turned her head around toward the bank and saw him. Then he called her to him.

Now the boy asked his sister what she was doing at his uncle's, and she said, "I am nursing my uncle's child." He asked her if her uncle was as bad as before, and she said he was worse. He asked what she was doing in the house at that very time, and she told him she was nursing the baby and cooking the big hominy (Tunica, *kutyū'k;* French, *gros grue*). Then her brother told her to go back to the house and tease the child so that it would begin to cry. After that she was to say to it, "Don't cry, for if you do I will put you into the big boiling pot." So the girl went back, took up the baby and began pinching it. Then it cried out. Her uncle said, "What is the matter with the child to-day? Is your brother coming home perhaps?" He said this several times. Again, while she was moving about near the pot she pinched the baby until it cried out, and then said to it, "If you cry I will put you into this pot." "Well! do it," said her uncle. "You will not live until to-night." At that moment she threw it into the boiling pot.

Near the girl's uncle sat two men, and he said to them, "Come on quickly with your clubs," for he wanted them to kill her. So one of the two seized a paddle and the other a long, heavy wooden pestle used to beat rice [?] and they ran after her. Her brother had told her to run toward the place where he was stationed, so she was not afraid, but laughed as she went. After she had gone a short distance she would stop, and say, "Is this far enough?" and her uncle would answer, "Go a little farther. It is too near. She will stink if you kill her there." She did this several times, but each time he said, "No; go farther." When she got close to the place where her brother was concealed she said, "Is this far enough?" and now he said, "Yes." But just as the two pursuers were about to strike her there came a flash of lightning. Then the men tried to hide their clubs behind them, but the paddle turned into the tail of a buzzard and the wooden pestle into the tail of an opossum, into which the men themselves were, respectively, transformed.

After that the girl's brother called her and she went to him. He said to her, "When I start to go above jump and seize me by the ankle and we will go together." When he started, however, she missed his ankle and caught hold of him too high up. Then he said, "You missed me. You will have to stay here on this earth, while I go above, but every winter you must come to me and bring the leaf lard (network of fat over the ribs) of a deer. The little girl turned into the woodcock (Tunica, *nō'kuctawitcîn;* French, *bécasse de nuit*). Her brother became the thunder. Every New Year's morning just before daylight this bird goes up into the air and you can hear her saying, "*Tcī tcī tcī tcī tcī tcī.*" The uncle remained where he was.

The other version of this story supplements this in several important particulars, but is essentially the same. According to it, the dangerous beings in the canebrake were serpents, while the uncle finally turned into the panther. Before the eagle gave his feathers to the boy he flew over his uncle's town and by crushing pokeweed induced the uncle to believe his nephew was dead.

Of the creation and flood myths very little is preserved. "The beginning of things" is said to have been by a flood. Certain persons foretold this, and some believed what they said while others did not believe it. Those that believed built a big boat and were saved; the others were lost. At that time the woodpecker and the dove flew up into the sky and remained there until the flood was over. That is why the woodpecker has such a funny tail. It is a sign of the flood. Nothing is known about the bringing of the first soil by a bird, but what Du Pratz says of the flood legend of the Natchez renders it probable that it had originally formed part of the Tunica story also. After the flood came *hal-nîsapi'ratî*, "the new completion of the earth." Animals, birds, and, in short, everybody and everything could change into human beings at night and talk, but not in the daytime. As an illustration of this belief the following story was told, one of a type found all over North America:

A very handsome youth once came to court a certain girl every evening, leaving before daybreak. By and by he asked her father and mother if he might marry her, but they refused because they did not know who he was. But the girl was foolishly in love with him, and one night, after her parents had again refused him, the youth asked her to run away. She consented and, after the old people were in bed she went off with him to his house. The house was a very nice one and the people there were the best-looking persons she had ever seen. After talking a long time she and her husband left the others sitting there and went to bed. She awoke at daybreak and, moving quickly, saw instead of a house the ugliest kind of a briar bush, in the midst of which she was lying. This was a rattlesnake nest, and the young man she had married was a rattlesnake. She tried to move, but every time she did so all the snakes rattled their tails, and she was obliged to lie where she was all day. She held her hands tightly clasped over her eyes so as not to see them. When night came again it was as it had been before, and everything looked pretty. Then she walked out and returned to her parents, glad to escape from that place. When she told what had happened all of her relatives gathered together to go out and kill the bad snakes.[a]

A much more detailed story of a local flood is preserved, which contains very interesting features. It is as follows:

There was a certain village ruled by a chief. In the middle of his house they used to pound corn in a wooden mortar, and had worn two holes into the ground, into which the wooden mortar set, being changed every now and then from one to the other. One morning when the people got up and prepared to use the mortar they saw a little water in the deeper of the two holes. Looking up at the roof above they saw ice hanging there, from which the water, as it melted, fell into the hole. In the little pool thus formed they saw some fish. Then they began to ask one another what was the matter. They wanted to know what the sign indicated, but no one could tell. Some said, "Maybe it is a sign that we shall have plenty to eat," and others gave other explanations. But when the chief saw that no one could tell what the sign really meant he sent for an old woman, the oldest in that village, to see if she could interpret it. She came and examined it thoroughly. Then they asked her if she could tell them what the water signified, and she finally answered that the water was going to rise. Then they said: "Let us get our people together and dance and enjoy ourselves as long as we can." So all the families in that place gathered together, made a circle about the water, holding each other's hands, and began to dance. They also gathered dry canes to make lights to dance by.

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[a] The storyteller added that there were other parts to the myth, which he had forgotten.

Among them, however, were two young men, who said to themselves: "We will run off and try to save ourselves." So, while the others danced, they started off on the run. The dancers danced on until the earth grew soft beneath their feet, but the youths ran away farther and farther. At last even where they were the ground became soft, and every time they stepped the earth sank under them. By and by one of them was so exhausted with the constant effort that he could go no farther, and sank into the mud. The other, however, kept on running and jumping until at last he came to solid earth. After he had gone along on this a short distance farther he looked back and saw nothing but water, with fishes jumping about in it. Now he was alone. He did not know which way to go, but he kept on walking for a long time and at last came to a village. He did not go to this at once, but remained back in the woods within sight of it. One day a little girl came out of this village to get wood. She came toward the place where he was in hiding, but did not observe him until she was very near. Then he discovered himself to her and asked her in what house she lived. She said, "Will you go back with me to my house?" but he answered "No, I am afraid those people are bad." After that the little girl visited him every time she went after wood, but did not tell anyone about him. By and by she took the youth for her husband, and yet told no one. Presently, however, she became pregnant. When the people discovered this they were angry and wanted to kill her. They sent her off into the forest. At that time she was almost ready to give birth and the child was born in the woods while she was staying with her husband. Afterward she returned to the town carrying her infant in an old-time baby basket tied with a hide string. When the people saw the child they were glad, for they knew that her husband was a human being and nothing supernatural, so the chief sent for her husband, and she went to get him. He came with her to the chief. Then all the people gathered together and began asking him about himself and where he was from. So he told them all his troubles and how he had saved himself from the place which had sunk. They were glad to have him and he stayed with them. They also went in the direction from which he had come to see whether what he said was true and found that it was. As far as they could see over the great water there were fishes jumping about. The hinder parts of these, however, were the only parts like fish; their heads were like those of human beings. The shore was strewn with coals from the fires of these people and with timbers from their houses.

Afterward there were two trees in this body of water about a quarter of a mile from the bank, one of which was a cypress, and the other a *komē'li* (Creole, *chamaic?*). People used to take bark from the cypress to cure diseases, but no one could approach the other. This bears "little grains" in spring, and it was supposed that the pearls in mussel shells were grains which the mussels had obtained from this tree by feeding upon it. Therefore, on account of their inability to approach the tree itself, people opened mussels and took the grains from them.

Although affected by Christian beliefs, the mortuary ceremonies observed by the Tunica until recent times were evidently directly descended from older customs.

The only specific reference by an early writer to the mortuary customs of this tribe is by La Source, who says: "They inter their dead, and the relations come to weep with those of the house, and in the evening they weep over the grave of the departed and make a fire there and pass their hands over it, crying out and weeping.[a]

Accounts of the modern ceremonies were obtained from different sources by Doctor Gatschet and the writer, and the following is an attempt to weave them together:

The body of a dead person was kept for one day and then interred, many persons making speeches on the occasion. The corpse was laid with its head toward the east, which the Tunica chief told the writer was simply "their way of burying," the reason having evidently been forgotten. For four successive nights thereafter a fire was lighted at the head, as Gatschet's informant explained, to keep away the bad spirits who sat in that direction for the same period. During that time the people watched the grave and fasted, and on the morning of the day after the fourth, just before daybreak, all, both old and young, went to plunge four times in water. By that time the soul was satisfied and had "gone up." Then all reassembled in the house from which the burial had taken place and breakfasted together, eating white dumplings and the fresh meat of large geese. Then the principal speaker delivered an address, after which he made all put on mourning, he himself and the other near relations wearing it for six months and the father and mother of the deceased for one year. A mourning garb is thought not to have been known before the people "learned how to pray;" i. e., before Christianity was introduced, which seems probable. During their days of mourning, people did not eat or drink until noon.

Cemeteries were placed on hills in the open country, and because spirits were believed to dwell around them the protection of each cemetery was intrusted to one man. Each new year the guardian said to all those who had ripe corn: "Ripe corn must be thrown on the cemetery! Ripe beans must be thrown on the cemetery!" Then all went to work to collect their corn and beans and place them there. This took three or sometimes four days, and at the same time, evidently in later years, they cut the cemetery grass. These last statements are according to Gatschet's informant. The Tunica chief only stated that a second fast, called the "corn fast" (*fête du blé*), took place for the benefit of the dead at the time when the little corn had just become good to eat. The ears were roasted close to the fire and then placed in a saucer at the head of the grave. Before this time a "sign," which in later times was probably a cross, had been made by a particular person who always performed this office and placed at the grave. The offering of corn was also made for four days. On the last of these the people fasted until noon and assembled at the house of the cemetery guardian. Then they plunged into water four times, also for the dead, and after a speech from the guardian, he gave them all a dinner by way of payment. In later times this ended the fast, but anciently the dinner was followed by a dance.

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 81.

The following incident, recorded by La Harpe, although its accuracy can not be vouched for, at least shows that shamanistic practices similar to those found elsewhere in America were not wanting. The shaman here referred to belonged to the little Tioux tribe, but it is not probable that native Tunica shamans differed in any important particular.

> The chief of this nation [the Tunica] had at the time a son 15 years old, who had been baptized and instructed in our holy mysteries by M. Davion. A few months after my departure from the Tonicas he fell ill and died between the hands of his pastor and Father Deville, a Jesuit. He made very strong exhortations to his father and his family, conjuring them to become Christians and abandon their idolatry. The chief, who loved his son tenderly, who was his eldest and his heir, promised him to have himself instructed in our religion and to be present uninterruptedly at the prayers of M. Davion. The cure of this young man had been intrusted to a doctor of the Tiou nation; he claimed, after the death of this child, that if his father had made him a present he would have saved his life.
>
> The Tonica chief, to whom these sayings were reported, at once ordered this doctor to be put to death. Before the execution was carried out he said to Cahura-Joligo [the Tunica chief], in the presence of M. Davion, that he well saw that he was unable to escape death, but that to prove to him that he was a great sorcerer after his death the beasts and the birds would respect his body, so that it should not serve them as prey. After this Tiou had been executed he was thrown outside, and in truth, as he had foretold, the birds and the wild beasts, although in large numbers, did not touch his person at all. I attribute this outcome to the virtue of some simples with which he had rubbed his body, the odor of which was repugnant to the animals.[a]

French writers are authority for the statement that the great chief of the Tunica, when wounded in the second Natchez war, had been cured in an incredibly short time by native doctors, a period which the French physicians had declared entirely too short.[b] But French writers generally had an exaggerated regard for the skill of Indian practitioners.

At the present day everything connected with shamanism proper has been forgotten, but the herbalist flourished much later, probably down to the present time, and Gatschet obtained several notes regarding their method of treating disease, which will be published with the linguistic material relating to this tribe.

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[a] La Harpe in Margry, Découvertes, VI, 247–248.

[b] See pp. 82–83.

The Koroa

Unless they are the Coligue or Colima of De Soto's chroniclers,[a] the name of this tribe first occurs on Marquette's map of 1673 under the form "Akoroa," but it is erroneously placed westward of the Arkansas Indians.[b] In his descent of the Mississippi in 1682 La Salle heard of two divisions of this people, one, which appears in the documents under the slightly varying forms "Ikouera," "Kouera," and "Coroa," being on Yazoo river along with the Tunica and Yazoo tribes,[c] while the other, which he actually encountered, was on the west side of the Mississippi, 8 or 10 leagues below the Natchez, and therefore probably in the neighborhood of Fort Adams.[d] When he was among the Natchez the chief of this town traveled all night to meet him and accompanied him to his own village. If we may trust the statement of the notary, La Metairie, the village consisted of 6 minor villages and was allied with 40 others, but it is questionable whether he has not here confused the Koroa with the Natchez, since there is evidence of such confusion in other narratives of this expedition.[e] The Tonti Memoir, for instance, omits all mention of this tribe, but considerable space is devoted to it in the Margry documents, which treat of La Salle's dealings with it as follows:

> When we arrived at their village, they regaled us in their best manner and gave a calumet to M. de la Salle. I [Tonti] lost at this place a slave that I had purchased of the Taensas, who escaped during the night along with his mother. They were natives of this village. After the Coroas had made us understand that it was yet ten days to the sea, we left on Easter day. * * * The 29th [of April on the return journey] we found, 1 league from the aforesaid [Koroa] village, a pirogue in which were two men, who went in advance to announce our coming. When we came in sight of the village we perceived very few people on the banks. The chief came before us, and when M. de la Salle had given him the scalps he appeared very much surprised, and having made a sign for us to follow him in order to eat, we mounted the cliff, where there were cane mats in the middle of the open space ready for us, on which he made us sit, and as they were bringing us food to eat we were surprised to see ourselves surrounded by more than a thousand men. One of our party recognized among them some Kinipissas, who were their allies, and they judged on seeing them that they had come to bring the news of what had passed among them, and that this great number of men was assembled only to do us an ill turn. We ate, gun in hand. These savages held councils, and after we had eaten we pretended to hold them also. We heard one of our savage women cry out at the edge of the water. I went to ask her what the matter was, and she told me that these savages had plundered one of their canoes. The master to whom it belonged descended the cliff and found a part of what he had lost. That caused a confused noise. The chief of the Coroas having invited M. de la Salle to remain three days at his house, saying that he would lodge the Frenchmen in one cabin and the savages in another, which he had not done when we de-

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[a] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, I, 132; Shipp's Hist. of Hernando De Soto and Florida, 419.

[b] Shea, Disc. and Expl. of the Miss., map.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 47, 82, 1846; Margry, Découvertes, II, 189.

[d] Margry, Découvertes, I, 558, 603.

[e] French, Hist. Coll. La., 47, 1846.

scended, he consented to it. Upon this I could not help telling him that he saw well the condition of things and that having made this discovery he ought not to expose himself to these wretches, who might do him an ill turn. He assured me that it was always necessary to let savages know that one is not at all afraid of them.

During this time the chief of the Coroas informed himself, through a slave of M. de la Salle, whom he understood, in what manner the affair with the Quinipissas had taken place. I do not know whether he recognized that they were wrong or whether he was afraid. I told M. de la Salle it would be well to go to the village of the Nachy, and that there we would find refreshment.[a]

After [traveling] 8 leagues they came to the village of the Coroa on the left, situated on the slope of a hill (*montagne*) which comes down to the bank of the river; they went to the village. They were very well received. The people were having a feast. Many Natché had come thither by land. They remained two days at this village—a beautiful country, beautiful prairies, little hills. The cabins are made dome-shaped, with large canes which sustain them from the ground to the summit. They are 15 feet high, without windows, but with a square doorway 4 feet high in each cabin. They have a torch lighted all night. It is made of canes bound together. "I think," says the little M. de la Salle, "that the Tinsa, the Natché, and the Coroa have the same customs, but their languages are different. The people are good, hospitable to strangers, but cruel to their enemies. They wear coverings resembling cotton hammocks. They cover themselves (i. e., hold in their coverings) by means of a belt; they have a cord which has two great tassels at the ends. The coverings and cords are extremely white. They also have coverings of deerskin. They adorn their cabins with great round pieces of copper, very shining, made like lids of kettles. They have pearls, of which I purchased 14 for a mean little boxwood comb," says the little M. de la Salle.[b]

On the return journey Nicolas de la Salle says:

After seven days of navigation they reached the Koroa; they camped and cleaned their arms for fear of having need of them. The Frenchmen were very faint. The next day, between 7 and 8 o'clock, they arrived at the foot of their bluffs, where there was a great beaten road. The chief of the nation was at the edge of the water with three of his men. He paid a thousand attentions to M. de la Salle. For some time they refused the meal they [the Koroa] offered in order to make them think they had no need of it; but hunger obliged them to take it. They had prepared a feast in the open space of their village. It is square and as large as the place in front of the Palais Royal at Paris. At their suggestion they went thither; they seated themselves on mats. This square is smooth and flat; they hold there all their games and dances. They presented a great deal of maize prepared in many ways. Not more than about 50 or 60 men and 6 or 7 women appeared. After having partly finished eating, they suddenly saw themselves surrounded by about 2,000 men daubed with red and black, war club in hand, along with bows and arrows. They appeared to have an evil purpose. They asked what the French had seen during their voyage. The Coroa slave, which the Mohegan [Loup] had purchased among the Taensa, told them all and that they had killed the Quinipisa, their allies. They gave them the scalps. They believed that the French were immortal. M. de Tonty said that it was best to retire; but M. de la Salle wished to sleep there. They ate with gun and hatchet near themselves. The chief advised them to go to the Natché, saying that these youths had bad designs. All the Coroa have flat heads; their mothers flatten them as soon as they are born. They took the provisions which they had left there in coming down and went to the Natché.[a]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 603–609.

[b] Ibid., 558–559.

In the relation of his expedition of 1686 Tonti does not mention the Koroa, though it is possible from circumstantial evidence that the Natchez chief who met him, calumet in hand, on the bank of the river may have been in reality the chief of that tribe.[b] During his third descent of the Mississippi (1690) Tonti sent two men to the Koroa "to spare myself the fatigue of dragging on with our crew 6 leagues inland." These men not returning, he sent others in search of them, but not finding them in the Koroa town they returned, and he subsequently sent them to the Natchez, where he found the two men had been killed.[c] This Koroa town was evidently not the one below Natchez, but either that on the Yazoo or some town on the western side of the Mississippi. We have already seen that there must have been camps of Tunica west of the Mississippi, and it is equally evident from Tonti's Memoir that there were Koroa settlements in that region also. On his return from the Caddos he secured a guide who was to take him to "the village of the Coroas,"[d] and later, "after crossing seven rivers," they came to "the river Coroas."[d] Subsequently they reached the Mississippi, and finding themselves 30 leagues from the Koroa village they resolved to go thither, though they "had never set foot in that village," and they arrived there three days later without apparently having crossed the great river.[e] He states, moreover, that the savages received him very well, which would hardly have been the case had they been the same people with whom he and La Salle had had difficulties eight years earlier. "During three days," he says, "they did not cease feasting us, sending men out hunting every day, and not sparing their turkeys." He is probably referring to this trans-Mississippi division of Koroa in his short account of the route from the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico when he says that the Koroa were neighbors of the "Mauton" [Mento], though 13 leagues off,"[f] for he has already spoken of the Tunica, Yazoo, Koroa, and Ofo "on the river of the Yazou."[g] In 1700, when Bienville crossed from the Taënsa towns to the Natchitoches, he was told by his guide, when making the passage of one of the numerous rivers in that region, that farther up this stream there was a village of the Koroa.[h] Laying aside Iberville's hearsay statement of 1699 that the Koroa and Yazoo occupied a single village on the left in going up three days' journey above the Taënsa,[i] these are all the times we hear of Koroa to the west of the great river, while not another word occurs anywhere regarding the Koroa who lived below the Natchez in 1682. Were it not for the relations of that voyage it would never be suspected that Koroa had lived there.[a]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, I, 565–566.

[b] Ibid., III, 556.

[c] French, Hist. Coll. La., 72, 1846.

[d] Ibid., 77, 1846.

[e] Ibid., 78.

[f] Ibid., 83.

[g] Ibid., 82.

[h] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 433.

[i] Ibid., 179.

This uncertainty even applies somewhat to the branch of this tribe living on the Yazoo. Though Tonti and La Metairie, and later Pénicaut, enumerate them among the Yazoo river tribes, no notice of them occurs in the letters of La Source and De Montigny, who reached the Tunica in 1698, nor by Gravier two years later, while Iberville seems to have been told that the Koroa and Yazoo had a village by themselves on the Mississippi river.[b] So far as the Koroa are concerned, this is confirmed by Pénicaut in his entry for the year 1705 in which he says "These savages dwell on the banks of the Mississippi 4 leagues from the Yasous."[c] Though Pénicaut is by no means infallible, it would seem likely, all things considered, that at the period of first white contact the Koroa possessed a village at some inconspicuous point on the Mississippi not far from the mouth of the Yazoo, or that they were of a wandering disposition and frequently camped away from the latter river. In confirmation of this may be cited the fact that part of the eastern shore of the Mississippi above the Yazoo was long called the bank of the Koroa.[d]

Unlike the Tunica, they and the Yazoo were usually on good terms with the Chickasaw, and therefore in the English interest. As claimed by the French, this undoubtedly had something to do with the murder of the missionary Foucault, though that it was directly instigated by the English is improbable. This event is placed by Pénicaut in the year 1705, but by De la Vente and La Harpe, with whom De Richebourg substantially agrees, in 1702.[e] Pénicaut's account of the affair is as follows:

> Some time afterward there arrived at Mobile three persons sent by M. Davion, priest [missionary] living among the Yasous, with a letter which noted the death of M. Foucaut, a priest, and two Frenchmen named MM. Dambouret and de Saint-Laurent. They had come down from Canada in order to see M. Davion, grand vicar of Monseigneur the Archbishop of Quebec. As this priest had fallen ill on the way, they took four savages at the village of the Coroas, and paid them to guide their canoe as far as the Yasous. This priest having opened his coffer in order to pay in advance the four savages that for which they had agreed to guide him, these savages having noticed that there were in this coffer many goods which tempted them, took the determination to murder them; and the same evening, while the priest and the two Frenchmen slept, the savages broke their heads and threw [their bodies] into the river; then they carried away the canoe and the goods to their village, which is not far from that of the Yasous.[f]

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[a] An explanation of the apparent disappearance of these people is suggested on p. 335.

[b] See p. 308.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, v, 459.

[d] Jeffery's American Atlas, map, 27. In the Journal of 1739 given in Claiborne, Hist. Miss., mention is made of a channel called by this name.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, v, 458; Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36; La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 73; French, Hist. Coll. La., 246, 1851. The last named simply states that satisfaction was made by the Koroa chiefs in 1703.

[f] Margry, Découvertes, v, 457–458.

Pénicaut goes on to describe the cruelties of the Koroa generally, in words which would probably apply nearly as well to any other tribe in the same region, but they may be added here, since no other attempt has ever been made to describe the customs of this tribe particularly.

> These savages, who are named Coroas, are the most cruel of all those of Louisiana. They are almost always hunting or at war, and when they have taken one of their enemies alive, they fasten him to a frame, which is composed of two poles 8 feet in height, 5 feet apart, the two hands being well bound above and the two feet below, in the form of a St. Andrew's cross. The poor wretch being fastened thus completely naked, the entire village collects around him. They have a fire lighted in this place, where they have placed pieces of iron such as old gun barrels, shovels, or the iron parts of axes and other similar things, to make them red hot, and when they are thoroughly reddened they rub them upon his back, arms, thighs, and legs; they then lay bare the skin all the way around his head as far as the ears, tearing it off from him by force. They fill this skin with burning coals, which they replace on his head; they put the ends of his fingers into their lighted pipes, which they smoke, and tear out his nails, tormenting him thus until he is dead.[a]

As has been said in speaking of the Tunica, the war which Bienville desired to make upon this tribe in revenge for the murder fell through, owing to St. Denis's refusal at the last minute to enter upon it; but it appears from De Richebourg's memoir that the Koroa chiefs had had the murderers killed in reparation for the injury.[b] De la Vente states that, about 1704, all of this tribe except the chief and a few persons who were absent were destroyed by the Illinois and Quapaw,[c] but the completeness of their victory is evidently much exaggerated. It was perhaps at this time, however, that the Koroa moved back permanently upon the Yazoo, to be nearer their allies, the Yazoo and Chickasaw. At any rate, Charlevoix, in 1721,[d] and Poisson, in 1727,[e] found the Koroa, Yazoo, and Ofo living on that river, either in one village or in three small villages close together. Du Pratz (1718–1730) seems to locate the Koroa village next above that of the Yazoo, and places the number of their cabins at 40.[f] In 1729, on the outbreak of the third Natchez war, this tribe united with the Yazoo in murdering the Jesuit missionary Seuel and massacring the garrison of St. Peter.[g] Le Petit states that in the following year the Koroa, while retreating to the Chickasaw with their French captives, were fallen upon on the way by the Chakchiuma and some Choctaw, who took 18 scalps and released some French women and their children. "Some time afterward," he adds, "they were again attacked by a party of Akensas, who took from them 4 scalps and made many of their women prisoners."[a] These engagements are perhaps responsible for Charlevoix's otherwise unsupported statement that the Arkansas had fallen upon the Yazoo, Koroa, and Tioux, entirely exterminating the last-mentioned tribe and leaving only 15 men of the two former.[b] Such a sweeping destruction is improbable, for not only does Le Petit declare, a little farther on, that "among the Yazous and the Corroys there are not more than 40 warriors,"[c] a considerable advance on 15, but Charlevoix himself says that the Yazoo and Koroa at the time of the Black river expedition occupied a fort by themselves,[d] an unlikely proceeding for a tribe with but 15 men. The only subsequent reference to this tribe is to the effect that they took part in the attack on the Tunica in 1731 which proved so fatal to the latter.[e] It is probable that they afterward retired with their Natchez allies to the Chickasaw, but, instead of keeping company with them, it would appear that they finally went over to the Choctaw, for Allen Wright, late head chief of that nation, was of Koroa descent.[f]

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[a] Margry, Découvertes, v, 458–459.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 246, 1851.

[c] De la Vente, letter of Sept. 20, 1704, Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., I, 36.

[d] French, Hist. Coll. La., 138–139, 1851.

[e] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 317.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist de La Louisiane, II, 226.

[g] See pp. 229–230.

THE YAZOO

Although the name of this tribe from its geographical application is better known than those of either the Tunica or Koroa, their part in history is much less prominent. The word itself has become somewhat distorted by changing an original surd "s" into sonant "z," but its meaning has been lost, along with the language from which it sprang. Could we carry ourselves far enough back in the history of the Gulf region we should probably find that the two Yazoo towns among the Choctaw were named from some former connection with the tribe under discussion, but the nature of it has been long forgotten. In view of the greater size and importance of the Tunica and Koroa tribes it is at first a matter of surprise that the river on which they dwelt should not have received its name from one of them. It appears to have been so called first by Tonti in his account of the route from the Illinois by the Mississippi river to the Gulf of Mexico, where, he says, "The Ionica, Yazou, Coroa, and Chonque are, one with the other, about 10 leagues from the Mississippi, on the river of the Yazou," and perhaps we are to interpret the statement a few lines below that "the Yazou are masters of the soil" as his reason for having done so.[g] That they were actually the oldest Yazoo river tribe is entirely credible, for, as we have seen, the position of the Koroa there appears to have been by no means constant, while the Tunica may have descended from higher up the Mississippi.[h] Moreover, while the Louisiana colony was still young, the Tunica abandoned this river and settled lower down, rendering inappropriate the term "river of the Tunica," which had actually been applied to it by La Source and Gravier.[a] By Iberville it was at first called "river of the Chicachas," because it was supposed to rise in the Chickasaw country.[b]

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[a] Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 217.

[b] Shea ed. of Charlevoix's Hist. of New France, VI, 102.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVIII, 221.

[d] Hist. of New France, VI, 115.

[e] See p. 249.

[f] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., I, 48.

[g] French, Hist. Coll. La., 82–83, 1846.

[h] See pp. 306–307, 326, 329–330.

The Yazoo are not mentioned by De Montigny and La Source (1698), but Gravier, in 1700, speaks of the "Jakou" as one of the three languages in Father Davion's mission, and states that the tribe consisted of 30 cabins.[c] In 1702 they were accessory to the murder of M. Foucault,[d] and throughout all of this early period they were, like the Koroa, in the interest of the Chickasaw and English.

Shortly after the first Natchez war, according to Pénicaut in 1718, a small post was established near the Yazoo. Pénicaut says:

> At this same time M. de Bienville sent M. de la Boulaye, lieutenant, with thirty men, many munitions, and much merchandise to establish a fort near the village of the Yasoux. When he arrived there he selected one of the most elevated situations which he could find on the borders of their river, four leagues from its mouth on the right, two gunshots distant from their village where he had his fort built.[e]

This is called Fort St. Peter by all the authorities consulted except Dumont, who refers to it as Fort St. Claude. In 1722, if we are to trust the same author, M. de la Tour, on behalf of M. Le Blanc, French minister of state, established a plantation close to this fort, taking with him 60 men for that purpose (pl. 7, *b*).[f] This plantation was soon abandoned, however; at least it was given over by Le Blanc, who purchased the concession of White Earth near Natchez instead and transferred his efforts to that locality.[g]

About 1730, according to Du Pratz, the Yazoo numbered 100 cabins,[h] but this is probably a considerable exaggeration. On the outbreak of the great Natchez war they assisted in murdering the Jesuit Father Seuel, who had settled among them in 1727, though he was much beloved, and in massacring the French garrison at Fort St. Peter.[i] They also attacked the party of Father Doutreleau, missionary to the Arkansas, who had landed to perform mass at the mouth of their river on his way to New Orleans, but all of the Frenchmen except one effected their escape.[j] The subsequent fate of this tribe was the same as that of the Koroa, and it is probable that they also were absorbed into the Choctaw.

Dumont, the author of the Mémoires Historiques, appears to have had considerable knowledge of this tribe and records some ethnological features of interest. He gives the following information regarding burial customs, though it evidently applies to the rest of the Yazoo tribes as well:

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[a] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 83, 132.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 180.

[c] Shea, Early Voy. Miss., 133.

[d] See p. 330.

[e] Margry, Découvertes, V, 554.

[f] Ibid, 576.

[g] See p. 205.

[h] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 226.

[i] See pp. 229–230.

[j] See pp. 230–231.

> The Yazoux and the Chacchoumas employ still less ceremony. When their chief is dead they go into the woods to bury him, just as in the case of an ordinary man, some on one side, some on the other, the relatives of the deceased accompanying the convoy and bearing in their hands a pine stick lighted like a torch. When the body is in the trench all those taking part throw their lighted torches into it in the same way, after which it is covered with earth. That is what the entire ceremony is confined to. It is true that it continues more than six months longer for the relations of the dead and for his friends, who during all that time go almost every night to utter howls over the grave, and on account of the difference in their cries and voices form a regular charivari. These ceremonies, as I have said, are common to the chiefs and people. The only difference which marks the first is that at their head is planted a post on which is cut with the point of a knife the figure they have worn painted on the body during life.[a]

Below is all the specific information we possess concerning their religious ideas:

> To this account of my friend I will join this which a savage of the Yazoux said one day to the Abbé Juif, chaplain of the grant established 1 league from the village which this nation inhabited. This ecclesiastic having asked of him one day if he had any knowledge of the manner in which his country had been made, as well as the first of his ancestors, the savage replied that regarding the first man he was not able to tell him anything; that in regard to the one who had made all it was the great Spirit, Minguo-Chitou; that he was good and did harm to no one; that even if a man should be bad he would always pardon him. The chaplain on this reply thought the occasion favorable for speaking to him of God and making him know that this great Spirit which was so good, having created all things, had consequently made man, and that the latter, in recognition, ought to pray to him and invoke him. "Well, why pray to him," said the savage, "since he is goodness itself and gives us all that we have need of? The one whom it is necessary to pray to is the little spirit, Minguo-pouscoulou, who is bad, since he can make us die, cause us to be sick, and destroy our goods by storms and tempests. It is that one that it is necessary to invoke in order that he do us no harm."[b]

THE TIOUX

The most that is known of this tribe is told us by Du Pratz. In his time (1718–1730) they lived in a small village among the Natchez, who had adopted them, though only into the lowest or Stinkard class. "They were," says this author, "the feeble remnants of the nation of the Thioux, which had been one of the strongest in the country, but the people of which were very quarrelsome, which was the cause, say the other nations, of their defeat and destruction by the Tchicachas, to whom they were never willing to give way, until they no longer dared to show themselves, being too feeble to oppose the efforts of their enemies."[c]

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[a] Dumont, Mém. Hist. sur La Louisiane, I, 246–247.

[b] Ibid., 164–165.

[c] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 223.

This would indicate that the tribe had formerly lived farther north, in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the fact is satisfactorily established by statements of Tonti, Coxe, and Iberville. In his Account of the Route from the Illinois by the River Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico the first-named author says, "The Ionica [Tunica], Yazou, Coroa, and Chonque are, one with the other, about 10 leagues from the Mississippi, on the river of the Yazou; the Sioux [Tioux] 15 leagues above."[a] Coxe, who professes to give a list of the Yazoo tribes in the order in which they were settled, places the "Tihiou" above the Yazoo, Tunica, and Koroa and below the "Samboukia" and Ibitoupa.[b] Finally, Iberville in 1699 was told of a tribe called Thysia, which, if the names in the list in which it occurs are in regular order, would have been that farthest up the Yazoo.[c] This agrees with the name of no known tribe unless it be the one under discussion, of which it might well be a misprint. The mention of a Natchez village called Tougoulas ("Tou people") at the same time and by the same authority is proof, however, that part of the nation had already removed.[d] Gatschet suggests its identity with the village given as Thoucoue and gives Tougoulas a different interpretation,[e] but the present writer does not believe his position well taken, although Thoucoue may possibly have been a second Tioux village. An interesting question presents itself in connection with the emigration of this tribe from their earlier seats as to whether part of these people were not perhaps identical with those Koroa encountered by La Salle and Tonti 8 or 10 leagues below the Natchez, but who afterward unaccountably disappear from history.[f] In the La Salle narratives they are indeed never called anything else but Koroa, while in later times they are always designated as Tioux. Yet there is evidence, as we have seen, that the languages of the two were related, and, furthermore, in a map dating from 1764 an "antient village of the Tioux" is located at about the point where the Koroa town formerly stood—i. e., near Fort Adams, Miss.[g] Combined with the friendly relations existing between the Koroa and the Natchez in La Salle's time and the subsequent disappearance of this particular branch of the Koroa we have an interesting though by no means complete body of circumstantial evidence pointing toward such an identification.

In May, 1700, when the Bayogoula tribe destroyed their fellow-townsmen, the Mugulasha, Iberville states that they "called to fill their places many families of Colapissa and Tioux, who had taken possession of their fields and cabins."[h] What became of these Tioux we do not know, but the major part of the tribe continued to reside near the Natchez. When Fort Rosalie was first established, the Tioux village was 1 league south of it and 2 leagues west of the great village of the Natchez. Says Dumont, "South of the fort was another little Indian tribe called the Tioux, who willingly traded with the French, but some years after abandoned their village to go and settle elsewhere, and before leaving sold their ground to one of the richest settlers in the country, the Sieur Roussin."[a]

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[a] French, Hist. Coll. La., 82–83, 1846.

[b] Ibid., 227, 1850.

[c] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 180.

[d] Ibid., 179.

[e] Creek Mig. Leg., I, 37.

[f] See pp. 326–328.

[g] Jeffery, Amer. Atlas, map 27, 1776.

[h] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 429.

Between the second and third Natchez wars Dumont records that an Indian struck a mare belonging to one of the concessions with a tomahawk and cut off her tail, and that the blame for this was laid upon the Tioux, of whom a man named Bamboche was at that time considered head chief. The latter denied the charge, whereupon a tax of a basket of corn was levied on all the villages of the Natchez nation, including the Tioux, by the Tattooed-serpent, and paid over to the French.[b] In 1718 La Harpe mentions a Tioux shaman called in by the Tunica chief to cure his son, and afterward put to death for having declared that had he been paid enough he would have done so.[c] After the Natchez outbreak and massacre of 1729 the Natchez sent this little tribe on a vain mission to the Tunica, December 9, 1730, to induce them to declare against the French.[d] In 1731, as noted above, Charlevoix states that they were utterly cut off by the Arkansas.[e] This may well be doubted, but receives some corroboration from the fact that no notice of them appears afterward.

THE GRIGRA

The Grigra, like the Tioux, had been adopted as Stinkards by the Natchez. Du Pratz states that their adoption had been earlier,[f] and they seemed to have been esteemed even less, their tribal integrity not having been preserved to the same degree. They evidently constituted the population of the town of the Gras or Gris—mistranslated by French "Gray"[g]—often mentioned as one of the three in the English or, at any rate, anti-French party. We know that they had a temple of their own, because Dumont, in speaking of the burning of their village by Bienville in 1723, mentions the fact.[h] Of the part that they played in the subsequent history of the Natchez we know nothing.

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[a] Dumont, French's Translation in Hist. Coll. La., 32, 1853.

[b] See pp. 216–217.

[c] See pp. 325–326.

[d] Charlevoix in Shea, Hist. of New France, VI, 95.

[e] See p. 242.

[f] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, II, 222.

[g] French, Hist. Coll. La., 51, 1853.

[h] See p. 213.

THE CHITIMACHA

Gatschet derives this term either from *Tcu'ti-ima'ca*, 'those having cooking vessels,'[a] which seems a strange name for one tribe to apply to another, or from *Ce'ti*, their name for Grand river. At the present day they call themselves *Pantc pinanka'nc*, 'men altogether red.'

Under the name "Toutymascha" they appear as one of four tribes living westward of the Mississippi, with which Iberville made an alliance shortly after his arrival on the Louisiana coast.[b] He usually couples their name with that of another, called "Yagueneschito" (Margry, IV, 155), "Magenesito" (Margry, IV, 172), "Yagenechito" (Margry, IV, 184), and "Yaguénéchitons" (La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 98, 1831). This is plainly the Mobilian and Choctaw *Yakna-tcito*, 'Big-country.' It is possible that it was applied to the Atakapa, but if not it probably referred to a division of the Chitimacha. Nothing is heard of it after the reference in La Harpe for 1706 given below.

Perhaps owing to their hostile reception at the hands of the Washa in 1699,[c] the French appear to have made no attempt to reach the villages of the Chitimacha in early times, and we hear little of them until 1706. In August of that year the Taënsa, having treacherously massacred the Bayogoula, with whom they had taken refuge, invited "many families of the Chitimacha and Yaguénéchiton nations, dwellers on the lakes, to come to eat the corn of the Bayagoulas, and by means of this ruse they had surprised many of these savages, whom they had carried away as slaves."[d] Late the same year a war party of Chitimacha, who are said to have been disappointed in an attempt against the Bayogoula, discovered St. Cosme, missionary to the Natchez, and three other Frenchmen encamped on the banks of the Mississippi and killed them all. News of this reached Biloxi on the 1st day of January through M. Berguier, grand vicar of Quebec, who had learned of it, during his descent from the Illinois country, from a little slave belonging to St. Cosme who had escaped. Immediately Bienville sent presents to all the nations along the lower Mississippi to induce them to declare war against the offending tribe,[e] and in March a party of 20 Bayogoula, 15 Biloxi, 40 Chawasha, 4 Natchitoches, and 7 Frenchmen started for the Chitimacha country.[f] Guided by the Chawasha, they crept upon a Chitimacha village by a small lake early in the morning and surprised the inhabitants, killing, according to Pénicaut, 15 and wounding 40 men, women, and children. Many prisoners were also brought back to Mobile, among whom was one of the murderers of St. Cosme. He was made an example of by being beaten to death and having his body thrown into the sea after the scalp had been removed.[a]

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[a] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 2, 1883.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, IV, 155.

[c] See p. 298.

[d] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 98, 1831.

[e] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 101. Pénicaut erroneously places the event in 1703.

[f] So La Harpe. Pénicaut says 200 savages and 10 Frenchmen.

According to Pénicaut, St. Denis in 1705 made another expedition against the Chitimacha, accompanied by 15 French soldiers and 80 Acolapissa and Natchitoches Indians. They ascended Bayou La Fourche, "the river of the Chitimachas," as it was then called, but on the way fell in with a party of Chitimacha, of whom they took 20 women and children prisoners. The rest escaped, however, and carried the alarm to their village, rendering it necessary for the expedition to return without proceeding farther.[b]

No such expedition is referred to by La Harpe at or near the time given by Pénicaut, but bearing in mind the complete jumble of Pénicaut's chronology the writer is inclined to believe that this statement really applies to an event which happened much earlier; in fact, five years before the Chitimacha war broke out. La Harpe narrates it as follows:

> The 10th of August M. de Bienville learned that M. de Saint-Denis, in concert with some Canadians and savages, had made an attack on one of the nations allied to us in order to procure slaves. He gave orders for them to be restored, but these orders were badly executed.[c]

This would perhaps explain Pénicaut's statement immediately following that "some time afterward M. de Saint-Denis, whether he had received some cause for discontent or did not like to be shut up, went with 12 Frenchmen to live at Biloxi."[b] On the other hand, it might have been connected with the sudden abandonment by Saint-Denis of his projected expedition against the Koroa and Yazoo, which belongs to the year 1704,[d] the year before that in which Pénicaut places this retirement of Saint-Denis.

Although no more French expeditions are recorded against this tribe, it appears that they were continually harried by war parties of Indians in alliance with the French, and retired into the most inaccessible parts of their country near the sea, which is intersected by a network of bayous. On account of this long-drawn-out war the greater portion of the Indian slaves in Louisiana in early days belonged to the Chitimacha nation. Finally, in 1718, the annoyances occasioned settlers by Chitimacha war parties determined Bienville to put an end to the disturbance. The manner in which peace was effected is told with most detail by Pénicaut, who claims to have performed a principal part in bringing it about. His narrative is as follows:

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[a] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 102; Découvertes, Margry, v, 433–435. La Harpe says "they carried away ten cabins."

[b] Margry, Découvertes, v, 460.

[c] La Harpe, Jour. Hist., 73.

[d] See pp. 310–311.

M. de Bienville received a letter from M. Dubuisson, who commanded, it will be remembered, the concession of M. Pâris, established in the old village of the Bayagoulas on the banks of the Mississippy. Through this letter he informed him he was not at all in security in his concession, so long as the French should be at war against the nation of savages called Chétimachas, parties of whom were every day in the neighborhood of his concession. However short a distance his people went away they were always exposed to being captured or killed, as had already happened to two of the sergeants; they were obliged to have arms in their hands night and day, which prevented them from being able to work their concession. On receiving this information, M. de Bienville sent me alone among the Chétimachas to speak to their chief and induce him to make peace with the French. Although this commission appeared to me very perilous I did not hesitate to understake it, because I spoke their language fairly well[a] and knew some of these savages. I formed the design of going, not directly to the village of the Chétimachas, but to the village of the Oumas, where I hoped to meet some Chétimacha savages, who come there quite often because those are their nearest neighbors. I was not at all deceived in my expectation; I found three there to whom I spoke. I told them that I had orders from M. de Bienville to go to find their chief in order to have them make peace with the French. These three savages were very much rejoiced at learning this news, because so long as they had been at war with us they had had the savages who were the friends of the French as enemies, who were active against them every day by order of M. de Bienville and had killed many of their people. For this reason the three savages did not hesitate to follow me when I told them to come with me as far as the concession of M. Pâris, which was only 7 leagues from there. When we were arrived there M. Dubuisson gave them some little presents to carry to their chiefs, with provisions for their journey. I invited them to return in ten days at the latest, giving them ten bits of wood, which are the marks by means of which the savages count by nights, just as we count by days. They did not fail to return at the end of ten days, but they remained on the bank of their river,[b] which is 5 leagues from the concession of M. Pâris. The three savages whom I had sent came alone to the concession to inform me that the grand chief with his wife and 40 Chétimachas were awaiting me at this place in order to speak with me. I hesitated a little about going there. It was running a risk. However, I took my determination, not seeing anyone who would go with me. I started out with the three savages. As soon as I arrived at the bank of the river and they perceived me, they uttered a frightful cry. I thought then that I had been betrayed and that it was the last day of my life, but this strange cry was only a cry of joy, for the grand chief received me very well and told me that it would give him and all his nation great pleasure to make peace with the French. I told him that in order to do that they must come to New Orleans to sing the peace calumet to M. de Bienville, our commander. They told me that they would follow me wherever I desired to lead them. I conducted them first to the concession of M. Pâris, where M. Dubuisson gave them provisions, and after they had passed the night there, we parted on the morrow at daybreak to descend to New Orleans, where they remained eight days because it was necessary to await the reply of M. de Bienville, who commanded M. de Pailloux to have them sing their peace calumet and conclude it on the following conditions:

Firstly, that the slaves which had been taken from them during the war should not be restored to them, and that they should return all the French whom they might have taken or who might be in their villages.

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[a] Meaning Mobilian, probably.

[b] Bayou la Fourche.

Secondly, that they should abandon their place of abode on their river, in order to come and establish themselves on the banks of the Mississippi, in a place which should be designated to them, 1 league below the concession of M. Pâris, conditions which they accepted completely and which they have since faithfully observed, since fifteen days later they descended with their families and their canoes[a] loaded with their effects in order to establish themselves there. Before sending them back M. de Pailloux made them the presents which M. de Bienville indicated should be made to them, with which they were very well satisfied.[b]

Some discrepancies exist between this account and what Du Pratz gives us. The latter arrived in Louisiana the same year and was present at the peacemaking ceremonies (pl. 4, *c*), which he represents as having taken place in the presence of Bienville himself, instead of his lieutenant, M. de Pailloux.

Before my arrival in Louisiana they had been at war with the nation of Tchitimachas, because a man of this nation, having withdrawn into a place apart on the banks of the river St. Louis, had assassinated M. de St. Côme, missionary of this colony. He was descending the river and had thought to be in security in retiring into the cabin of this man during the night. M. de Bienville had held the entire nation responsible for this murder, and in order to spare his own people had had them attacked by many people allied to the French. Valor is not the highest quality of the natives, and the Tchitimachas pride themselves on it less than the others. They had then the worst of it, and the loss of their best warriors forced them to ask for peace. The governor having granted it to them on condition that they would bring him the head of the murderer, they satisfied this condition and came to present the peace calumet to M. de Bienville, he having promised to receive it for the French.

I learned of their arrival and the moment of the ceremony, which the commandant-general had announced. I repaired thither, because in such circumstances it is proper that he be accompanied by a little court. It is the usage and does honor to the governor. My [Chitimacha] slave went with me in order to see her parents. I was so much the more pleased at that, because afterward I hoped she would explain to me the speech and the ceremonies of this solemn embassy. All that being new to me, I desired to inform myself of what I believed to merit the trouble.

I was with M. de Bienville when they arrived by the river in many pirogues. They advanced singing the song of the calumet, which they waved in the wind and in cadence to announce their embassage, which was one in fact, composed of the word-bearer, as these peoples call him, or chancellor, and a dozen other men. On these occasions they are dressed in all that is finest according to their taste and never fail to have in hand a rattle (chichicois) in order to move that also in cadence.

There was not more than a hundred paces from the place where they disembarked to the cabin of M. de Bienville, yet this small piece of ground sufficed to keep them on the way almost half an hour, always marching as the measure and cadence governed them. They ceased this music only when they were in front of the commandant. Then the chief of this troop, who was the word-bearer, said to him: "Is it you, then, and I with you?" The governor simply answered, "Yes." They then seated themselves on the earth, resting their faces on their hands, the word-bearer, without doubt, in order to collect himself before delivering his speech, the others to keep silence, and all to recover their breath in accordance with their custom. In this interval we were warned not to laugh or speak during the harangue, which they would have regarded as a great insult on our part.

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[a] Margry has *bestiaux*, "beasts," which, considering the nature of the country, would be ridiculous. The original must have been *bateaux*.

[b] Pénicaut in Margry, Découvertes, v, 554–557.

The word-bearer some moments afterward rose with two others; one filled the pipe of the calumet with tobacco, the other brought fire, and the first lighted the pipe. The word-bearer smoked and presented it, after having wiped it, to M. de Bienville, that he might do the same thing; the governor smoked; we did the same thing one after the other; and this ceremony finished, the old man took back the calumet and gave it to M. de Bienville, that he might keep it. Then this word-bearer remained standing alone, and the other deputies reseated themselves near the present which they had brought for the governor. It consisted of untanned skins of deer and some other animals. The word-bearer was dressed in a robe made of many beaver skins, sewed together, which might be five quarters (45 inches?) square each way. It was fastened to the right shoulder and passed under the left arm. He wrapped his body in this robe and began the harangue, with a majestic air, in these terms, addressing his words to the governor:

"My heart laughs with joy at seeing myself before you. We have all heard the word of peace which you have had sent us; the heart of all our nation laughs with joy even to trembling; the women, forgetting on the instant all that is past, have danced; the children have jumped, like young deer, and run about as if they had lost their senses. Your word will never be lost; our hearts and our ears are filled with it, and our descendants will preserve it as long as the ancient word [or tradition] shall endure. As the war has made us poor, we have been compelled to hunt, in order to bring you the peltries, and prepare the skins before coming; but our men did not dare to go far on the chase, on account of the other nations, for fear lest they had not yet heard your word, and because they are jealous of us. We ourselves even have only followed our course in coming hither with trembling until we have seen your face.

"How satisfied are my heart and my eyes to see you now, to speak myself to yourself, without fear that the wind carry off our words on the way!

"Our presents are small, but our hearts are large to obey your word. When you speak you will see our legs run and leap like those of stags, to do what you wish."

Here the orator or word-bearer struck an attitude; then raising his voice, he began again with gravity:

"Ah! how beautiful is this sun now in comparison with what it was when you were angry with us! How dangerous is a bad man! You know that one single person killed the Frenchman, whose death has made fall with him our best warriors; there remains to us only old men, women, and children; you have demanded the head of the bad man, in order to make peace; we have sent it to you, and there is the only old warrior who has dared to attack him and kill him. Be not surprised at it; he has always been a true man and a true warrior; he is a relation of our sovereign, and his heart wept day and night because his wife and child are no more since this war; but he is satisfied and I also now, because he has killed your enemy and his. Formerly the sun was red, the roads filled with brambles and thorns, the clouds were black, the water was troubled and stained with our blood, our women wept unceasingly, our children cried with fright, the game fled far from us, our houses were abandoned, and our fields uncultivated, we all have empty bellies and our bones are visible.

> "Now the sun is warm and brilliant, the heaven is clear, there are no more clouds, the roads are clean and pleasant, the water is so clear that we can see ourselves within it, the game comes back, our women dance until they forget to eat, our children leap like young fawns, the heart of the entire nation laughs with joy, to see that we will walk along the same road as you all, Frenchmen; the same sun will illuminate us; we will have but one word, our hearts will make but one, we will eat together like brothers; will that not be good, what say you?"
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> To this discourse, pronounced in a firm, assured tone, with all the grace and propriety, I might almost say, with all the majesty possible, M. de Bienville replied in a few words in the common language [i. e., the Mobilian] which he spoke with facility; he had them eat, placed his hand in that of the chancellor as a sign of friendship, and sent them back satisfied."[a]

This account should be accepted with caution, especially the speech of the Indian word-bearer, although there is nothing impossible in the latter, the writer of this paper having recorded speeches not very different in tone or substance. There is also an apparent disagreement with other writers in the statement that St. Cosme was killed by but one Indian. Perhaps the man referred to was the last survivor of the band accused of the outrage.

As this peace was concluded late in 1718 the Chitimacha did not reach their new location on the Mississippi until 1719. It is a fair question whether the party that settled here comprised the entire nation, or indeed whether the entire nation was engaged in hostilities with the French. When we first get a clear view of the whole Chitimacha territory we find them divided into two sections, one living on the Mississippi or the upper part of Bayou La Fourche, the other on Bayou Teche and Grand Lake. It is possible, of course, that this second division was the result of a reflux from the Mississippi in later times, but the Chitimacha themselves maintain that they have lived there always. It may be suggested as possible that the term Yagnateito, mentioned above, was applied to the division of Chitimacha on the Teche, and that this duality in the nation was therefore of long standing.

In his descent of the Mississippi in 1722, Charlevoix appears to have missed the Chitimacha entirely. Otherwise he would hardly have stated that "the nation of the Chitimachas is almost entirely destroyed; the few that remain are slaves in the colony."[b] In 1727 Poisson found them above the concession of M. Paris and some distance inland, whither they had moved to escape the inundation of the river. He gives the name of their chief as Framboise.[c]

The officer, with De Nouaille, in 1739 seems to have found them a little lower down. He says:

> On the 8th of September we set out [from the Houmas] at sunrise and passed the night opposite the first villages of the Chitimachas on the right bank of the

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[a] Du Pratz, Hist. de La Louisiane, I, 106–114.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 176, 1851.

[c] Jes. Rel., LXVII, 299–301.

river, having made 15 miles. This nation is small in number, owing to the fact that the larger portion dwell with the Atatapas [Atakapas], who reside on the seashore in summer especially and live on fish.[a]

In 1784 we learn that there was a village of about 27 warriors on the La Fourche and two others on the Teche. One of the latter was under Fire Chief, often called by his Mobilian name, Mingo Luak, and was 10 leagues from the sea, while the other, under Red Shoes, was a league and a half higher up.[b] These are mentioned by several writers but are by no means all the Chitimacha villages occupied during this period in that region. The La Fourche band is probably the same that settled later at Plaquemine and of which one girl is said to be the sole survivor. The remnants of the Teche bands are located at Charenton, where they are still to be found. Altogether they probably do not number much over 50. It was from these latter that Gatschet drew the information regarding them, obtained in 1881–82, some of which he afterward published in the Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington for 1883, pages 1–11.

This tribe was officially recognized by French and Spanish governors of Louisiana and its territorial integrity guaranteed. An act of June 19, 1767, signed by Governor W. Aubry, recognizes the Chitimacha nation and orders the commandant at Manchac to treat their chief with respect. Another act, under signature of Governor Galvez, at New Orleans, September 14, 1777, commands the commandant and other subjects of the Spanish Government to respect the rights of these Indians in the lands they occupy and to protect them in the possession thereof. This information is contained in Docket No. 12585 of the United States circuit court at New Orleans.

In giving this sketch of Chitimacha history a number of villages have been mentioned, but these seem to have constituted but a small part of those occupied by the tribe even in recent times. Gatschet, in his paper of 1883,[c] enumerated fifteen, all but two of which he gave on the authority of the Chitimacha themselves. The following are the thirteen from native sources, with such additions and corrections as the writer was able to make through information furnished by Benjamin Paul (pl. 18, *b*), now looked up to as a chief by the remnant of this tribe:

Tcāt Kasi'tuncki, now Charenton, on Bayou Teche, southwest side of Grand Lake.

Ama'tpan na'mu, Bayou Gris, 3 miles east from Charenton, on Bayou Teche. [The writer was told that this was probably correct, but that there was a better-known village of this name on the side of Grand Lake opposite Charenton.]

Nē Pinu'nc ("Red Earth"), [Gatschet gives "nēt pinu'nsh," which words mean "red tobacco"], 2 miles west from Charenton on Bayou Teche.

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[a] Claiborne, Hist. Miss., 66.

[b] Hutchins, Hist. Narr. La., 39, 46, 1784.

[c] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 4, 1883.

Co'ktangi ha'ne hetci'nc ("pond-lily worship house") on the south side of Graine à Volée inlet, Grand Lake 3–4 miles northwest of Charenton in a low, swampy tract of land said to be occupied by the plantation of Mr. Rodriguez. There was an Indian cemetery here and Gatschet states that it was the site of their central house for religious dances, but the writer was informed that each town had a separate dance house.

Ne'kun tsī'snîs ("Round island"), a town opposite Ile aux Oiseaux, in the Lac de la Fausse Pointe.

Hi'pinimtc na'mu ("Prairie-landing village"), on the western part of Grand Lake, at the Fausse Pointe, near Bayou Gosselin. Another place so named is said to have been on Lac d'Autre Rive, between Charenton and St. Martinsville.

Na'mu ka'tsi [Gatschet has Na'mu ka'tsup, which is said to be erroneous; ka'tsi signifies bones or, as in this case, the "framework" of the houses, the frames having stood after the houses were abandoned], Bayou Chêne village, St. Martin's parish.

Ku'cux̣ na'mu (cottonwood village), on Lake Mingaluak, near Bayou Chêne.

Ka'me nakc tcāt na'mu, at Bayou du Plomb, a large Indian town, near Bayou Chêne, 18 miles north of Charenton.

Tsa'xtsincup na'mu, on Bayou des Plaquemines, near Grand river, 42–43 miles north of Charenton, the Plaquemine village.

Grosse Tête na'mu (Indian name not remembered), 2 miles from the Plaquemine village.

Cē'ti na'mu, west of Plaquemine, on Grand river, the name of which was Cē'ti (Gatschet gives Tce'ti), 20 miles east of Charenton.

Tca'ti Kuti'ngi na'mu, at junction of Bayou Teche with Bayou Atchafalaya.

The two remaining villages given by Gatschet are located by him on the site of Donaldsonville, at the upper end of Bayou la Fourche, and at the place where this bayou enters the sea. He seems to have assumed the first of these because it is supposed that the missionary St. Cosme was there murdered, but this, as all accounts agree, was done at a distance from the Chitimacha villages, and there is no other evidence for the existence of a Chitimacha village at that point. Nor does Gatschet cite any authority for the existence of the second village, which seems equally unauthenticated in any other quarter. On the other hand, the writer was told of several villages not mentioned by Gatschet. These were near Baldwin, at Jeanerette (Cātcnîc),[a] at "Bitlarouges" (?), at the shell bank on the shore of Grand lake close to Charenton, at a place called Okû'nkîskîn,[b] and at Irish Bend near Franklin (Wai't'inîmc).[c] The last of these was a very large one.

The material culture of this tribe was similar in most respects to that of the Indians along the lower Mississippi. It was distinguished from them principally by the increased importance of food obtained from the waters and the decreased importance of food from land animals. If we may trust early French writers, the Chitimacha and other coastal tribes were less warlike and more cowardly than the tribes higher up the Mississippi.

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[a] Cā'tcnîc means "empty-place," because the site was not occupied until after the civil war.

[b] Okû'nkîskîn="Deep-shoulder," probably because the bayou turns short there like a man's shoulder.

[c] "Wait'i-landing-place," see p. 351.

Their houses were like those of their neighbors, i. e., they consisted mainly of palmetto leaves over a framework of poles, and like them, the houses of the chiefs were larger than those of the common people. According to Benjamin Paul, there was a smoke hole, which could be closed when the weather was bad, but if this feature was ancient it constituted a distinct advance on the Mississippi houses usually represented, which are generally without any opening other than the door. At the same time Iberville records smoke holes in the Bayogoula houses, and his authority is among the best. The ancient garments are no longer remembered, but Gatschet learned the following regarding personal adornment:

> The Shetimasha men wore the hair long, and fastened a piece of lead to the end of the tress behind for the purpose of keeping the head erect [?]. They adorned themselves with much care and artistic taste, and tattooed their legs, arms, and faces in wavy punctured lines. They sported necklaces, finger rings, bracelets, nose rings, and earrings.
>
> The warriors enjoyed a peculiar kind of distinction, as follows: Certain men, especially appointed for the purpose, had to paint the knees of the warriors with pulverized charcoal, and this was made to stick by scarifying the skin with the jaw of a small species of garfish until it began to bleed slightly, after which the coloring matter was rubbed on. This manipulation had to be repeated every year. * * *
>
> The women wore their hair in plaits or tresses, ornamented with plumes. A portion of the hair was wound in a coil about the head and secured by pins. Their ornaments were bracelets, earrings, and finger rings. In painting themselves they used only the red and white colors.[a]

Anciently many of these beads were made of shell, but the writer was informed of another kind made of stone which came from the northwest. Fine pieces of copper were hammered into bracelets, shoulder pieces, and breast pieces. Others were worn about the waist, and the chief carried a piece upon his forehead. Nothing nearer like a hat was employed. The nose ornaments were sometimes made of gold or silver, which Benjamin Paul affirmed to be of native origin, an evident error.

Regarding their economic life Doctor Gatschet says:

> In their aboriginal state the tribe supported themselves mainly by vegetable food; but they also ate the products of the hunt, which consisted of deer and other smaller animals. The women had to provide for the household by collecting pistaches, wild beans, a plant called kúpinu (ka'ntak in Cha''hta), and another called woman's potatoes, the seed of the pond lily (áktā),[b] grains of the palmetto, the rhizoma of the common *Sagittaria*, and that of the *Sagittaria* with the large leaf, persimmons (plaquemine in Creole, nánu in Shetimasha). They also planted, to some extent, maize, sweet potatoes, and, after the arrival of the whites, wheat, or procured these articles by exchanging their homemade baskets for them.

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[a] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 5-6.

[b] Said to taste like a hickory nut.—J. R. S.

> The fishing in the lakes and bayous was done by the women, men, and boys; not with nets, but only with hook and line. They fished at night just as often as during daytime.[a]

The "woman's potatoes" were probably wild potatoes. The large-leaved *Sagittaria* is probably what was described to the writer as "a kind of grass that grew like a cabbage." To the above list must of course be added wild berries, such as strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, mulberries, and a white berry growing near Plaquemine bayou, also the fruits of certain trees, the seeds of a species of cane, and at least two varieties of turtles. Salt was obtained by boiling sea water. Three kinds of native corn are remembered—white, yellow, and blue or black. The first was of the kind called "flint corn," and would grow easier than any other variety, but nobody grows it nowadays. The yellow corn was also a variety of "flint corn." The blue or black variety also grew easily, and the old Indians used to say that they found it growing wild when they entered the country. The whites used to grow it for their hogs. There is said to have been still another kind, of which the finest flour was ground. It was perhaps from this that the *hā'sutōpa* was made, a kind of corn-meal prepared by parching corn and then grinding it fine, after which the husks were sifted out by means of a flat basket-work sifter. The seeds of all these varieties have been lost by the natives, and only modern ones are now planted. It is said that several kinds of pumpkins and melons were found wild in olden times.

Instead of being left long all over, as Gatschet's description appears to imply, the hair was shaved off by both sexes at the sides and in front, a single ridge remaining, extending from the middle of the top of the head to the neck. This was tied with strips of deerskin and ornamented with feathers.

A decided exception must be taken to Doctor Gatschet's statement that the hook and line was the only method employed for taking fish. It is in the first place unlikely in view of the fish nets known to have been employed by neighboring peoples of less piscatorial habits. Moreover, the writer was told of two devices, both of which were asserted to have been always in use. One was a net made of a vine, called by the Chitimacha "rabbit vine," strung over a round frame and placed at the mouths of bayous. The other was a trap of a type found the world over. It was made of slats and provided with a funnel-shaped entrance. The last of these seen by Mr. Paul was about 4 feet in diameter, but others were larger. Anciently bears were killed in dead falls, and small game by means of blowguns, made of cane hollowed out. The blowgun arrows were made of slender pieces of cane feathered with thistledown (pl. 20).

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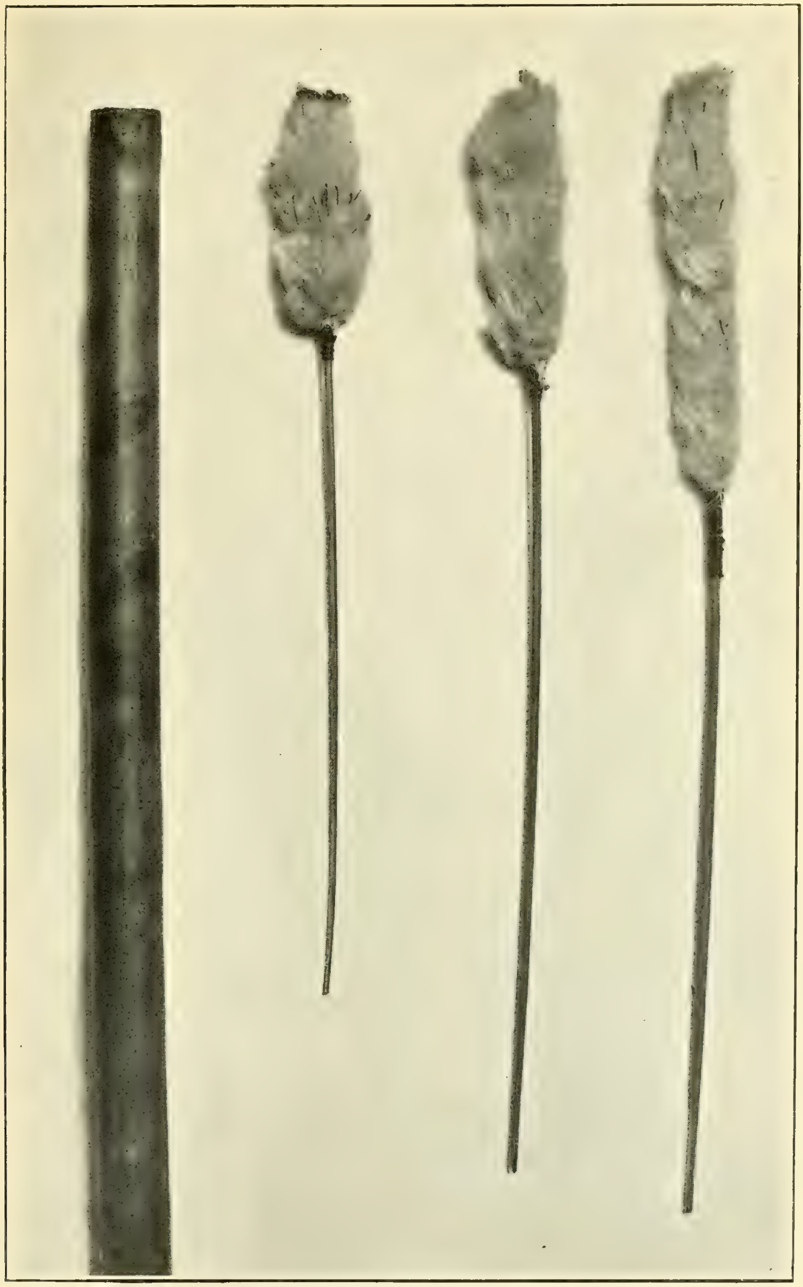
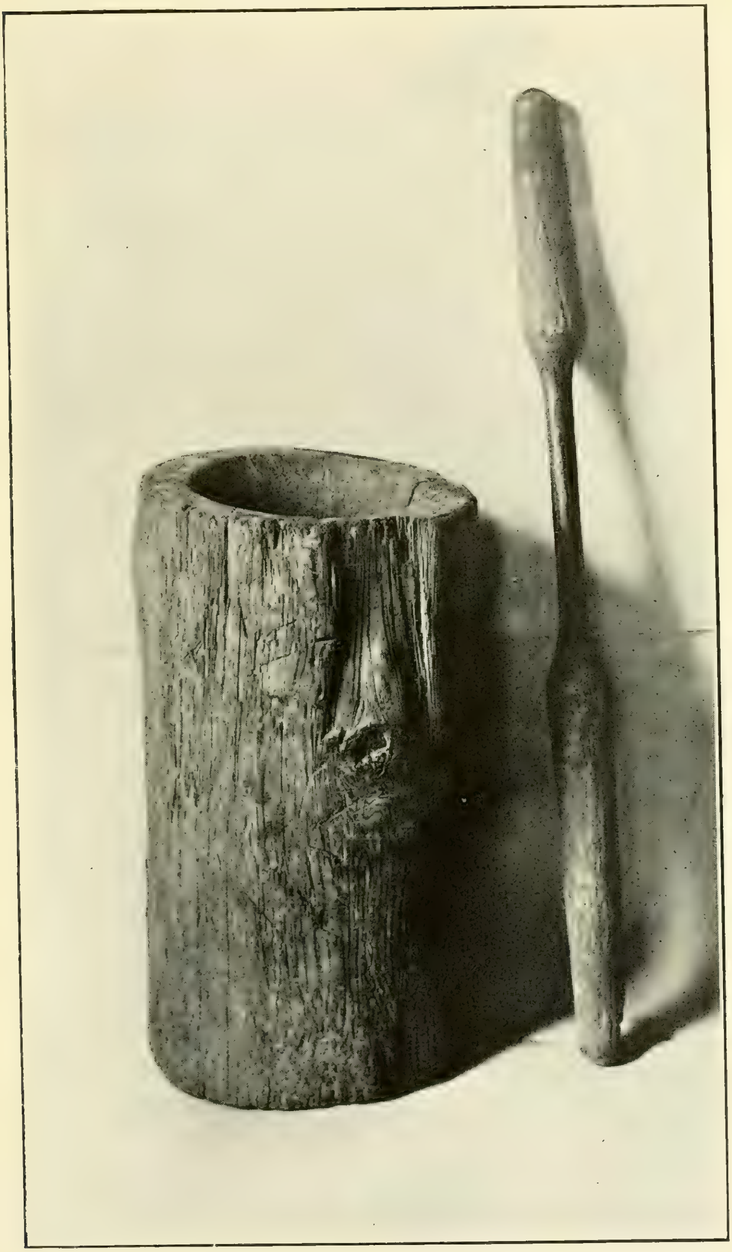
[a] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 4–5.



BLOWGUN AND CANE ARROWS

The end of the blowgun has been ornamented by burning and the arrows feathered with down from the fireweed. These specimens were made for the writer, but are like the ancient forms except that the blowgun is shorter



WOODEN MORTAR AND PESTLE

These were obtained from the Chitimacha. They are similar in type to those used throughout the wooded regions of the eastern part of the United States

Canoes and wooden mortars (pl. 21) for pounding corn were hollowed out of pieces of wood by means of fire, the fire being encouraged by blowing and checked by means of mud. Other canoes were made of elm bark. An out-of-doors rocking-chair used to be extemporized by bending down the head of a young tree, attaching it to the trunk and fastening a seat on the outer end. Figure 2 shows a wooden stick, such as was used in parching, a bow, and a washing paddle, the use of which is probably not ancient.

Mr. Paul states that pottery continued to be made until about eighty years ago, and that it was ornamented with designs similar to those on the basketry to be noted presently, though this can have been but partially true. One of the places from which clay was obtained for making these was close to his garden. A single pot of the old kind remained in his possession until the time of the St. Louis Exposition, when it was obtained by some person and sent there. On the inside, he says, were fingermarks, as if the potter had shaped it inside with the fingers only. He declares that the material did not contain shells or anything similar. The important part played by a monster pot in the flood legend indicates that the art was an old one among these people.

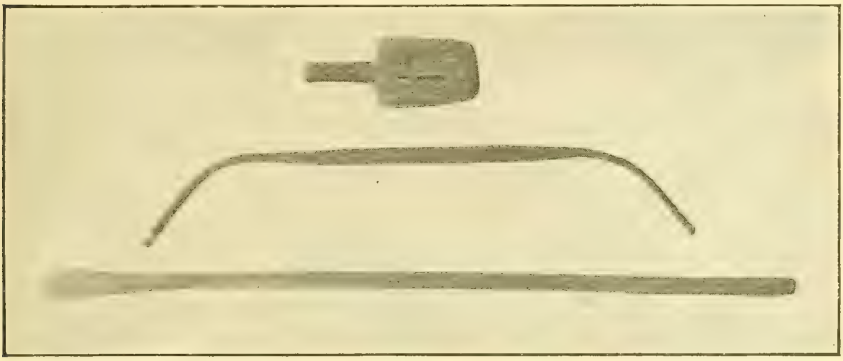


FIG. 2.—Chitimacha implements. At the top is a wooden paddle used in washing, in the middle is a bow, and at the bottom a wooden stick used in parching. None of these are very old, but they may represent some ancient forms.

Arrow points are said to have been brought by friendly Indians from the north, while the shafts came from a little black bush with hard wood, growing on high land, which yields switches only of the size of a whip.

The chief glory of the Chitimacha Indians from an industrial point of view is, however, its basketry. This, thanks to the interest and personal efforts of Mrs. Sidney Bradford, of Avery island, has received a new impetus within recent years, and much which was on the point of being lost has been brought back to life. The following information was in part obtained by the writer directly from the

Indians, in part received from Mrs. Bradford, who had the advantage of a direct consultation with Clara Dardin, the oldest person in the tribe, the most experienced basket maker, and daughter of a noted Chitimacha chief, Alexandre Dardin, who is believed to have been really a Taënsa Indian. The material employed was cane of a variety called *pī'ya* in Chitimacha, which was split with the teeth, and woven in two layers, so as to form what is really a double basket. The natural color of the cane is varied by the use of three dyes—black, yellow, and red. To produce a black color the canes are boiled in black walnut (*Juglans nigra* L.) leaves and seeds. For yellow the writer was told that the canes are exposed to the dew for six days and afterward boiled fifteen minutes with a root called powaā'c,[a] but the time given Mrs. Bradford was eight days and thirty minutes, respectively. It is probable that both statements are correct, the time varying with different basket makers. It may be conjectured that eight days was the ancient period allowed for exposure to the dew, because in it we find the common American sacred number four. The red was produced, according to Mrs. Bradford's informant, by exposing the canes eight days to the dew, soaking them eight more in lime, and then boiling fifteen minutes in powaā'c, while the writer was told simply that the canes were passed through lime and then boiled with the roots.

The ordinary word for basket is *kākx̣t*. The sieve used in sifting flour was called *cicā'x̣*, or, abbreviated, *cāx̣*, and the *kĭ'keti* was a long basket used for collecting large clams. Plates 22 to 30 represent a number of specimens obtained for the National Museum by Mrs. Bradford and are accompanied by explanations.

Ke'năpc was the name of a design no longer employed, supposed to resemble beads. The matting was as good as the basketry (pl. 31).

The Chitimacha resembled the Natchez and some other tribes of the lower Mississippi in having a distinct class of nobility, with different terms of etiquette for each. This is affirmed by the living Indians and fully confirmed by the following statement:

> There are distinctions of rank recognized among them; the chiefs and their descendants are noble, and the balance of the people are of the class of commons. An old man of this latter class, however great may be his age, will use to the young noble, however young he may be, respectful expressions which are only employed toward the nobility, while the latter has the right of speaking to the former only in popular terms.[b]

This strongly recalls the Natchez system and adds importance to a tradition that the Chitimacha had come from the neighborhood of the Natchez tribe.[b]

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[a] This root has been supposed to belong to *Rumex verticellatus* L., but probably is the same as that employed, according to Mr. D. I. Bushnell, by the Choctaw of St. Tammany parish, Louisiana, which is *Rumex crispus*.

[b] From the MS. referred to on p. 355.

Instead of marrying among the common people, however, it is affirmed that the Chitimacha nobles were constrained to take partners in their own class, which is tantamount to the admission that a true caste system existed. If a Noble married among the common people, the writer was informed, he would have to stay with them, and for that reason many refused to marry at all when no women of their own caste were to be had, and thus hastened the extinction of the tribe.

Totemic clans also existed, but only the wolf, bear, dog, and "lion" (*ʻhaimasî′ks*) are remembered. The wolf clan is said to be entirely extinct, and the lion clan is represented by only one woman. It is probable that there was a snake clan also. When angry, people would say to each other "You are a bear," "You are a wolf," etc. A person belonged to the same clan as his mother, relationship on her side being considered closer. Benjamin Paul states that his father's mother, who explained the totemic system to him and who belonged to the wolf clan, used to talk to the wolves when she was out in the woods, and thought that she could induce them to go away. Benjamin Paul's father was also a wolf, of course, while he and his mother were of the dog clan. The former chiefs, Champagne and Soulier Rouge, were bears.

Each principal Chitimacha town had a chief called *nă′tạ*, and there is also said to have been a head *nă′tạ*, whose headquarters were somewhere west of Charenton, perhaps at Nē pinu′nc. The existence of a head chief appears to be confirmed by French writers. Besides having a larger house than the other people, a *nă′tạ* was distinguished by the possession of a peculiar pipe, into which a number of stems could be inserted. Under the *nă′tạ* were officers called *netē′x̣mêc*, and *netē′x̣mêc* is the native term for the governor of Louisiana, the President being presumably considered a *nă′tạ*. The number of war leaders was very much greater than the number of civil chieftainships. Gatschet was told that there were four or five in each village, but the number was probably not fixed. Chieftainships seem to have passed from father to son absolutely regardless of clan. There are two cases, cited by Gatschet, in which wives succeeded their husbands. The wife of Soulier Rouge, named Adell Champagne, and perhaps the daughter of the chief Champagne, succeeded him on his death four or five years before the civil war.

Gatschet was told that the Chitimacha were strict monogamists,[a] but this was evidently true only of their later history. Duralde says:

> Before the marriage of a daughter the parents must be satisfied. If she is rebellious against the law, her hair is cropped off and she remains dishonored, but her children do not participate in her degradation, but hold in the nation their proper hereditary rank.[b]

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[a] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 5, 1883.

[b] MS., a copy of which is in the Bureau of American Ethnology.

As soon as a boy was born the father dropped his own name and took that of the child.

The heads of infants were formerly flattened, as was customary among the Mississippi river tribes. Up to the age of 15 or 16 children were compelled to run about the fire to make them vigorous, and after that period certain individuals practiced running so assiduously that wonderful stories were told of their swiftness. They trained by eating nothing but raw eggs and drinking only a kind of tea which makes people supple. It is related of one of them that he could defeat a horse within the space of a 5 or 6 acre lot, and made his living by running.

The chunkey game was known to them, and a woman's game with pieces of cane, similar to that in vogue among the Natchez; also a ball game, in which the ball had to be thrown through a ring. For musical instruments they used a horn made of cane or reed, a drum, and an alligator skin. The drum was made in ancient times by stretching a deerskin over the top of a large clay pot, but later the end of a hollow log took the place of the pot. Alligator skins were prepared by first exposing the alligator to ants until all of the softer parts had been eaten out and then drying the skin. Music was made by scratching this with a stick.

Every village of any size had a *hā'na̤ katci'*, or ‘bone house,’ occupied by an official known as the “buzzard picker” (*ōc-hă'tcna*), and as he was continually there, a fire was kept in it night and day. Regarding the mortuary ceremonies, Gatschet speaks as follows:

> One year after the death of a head chief, or of any of the village war chiefs, of whom there were four or five, their bones were dug up by a certain class of ministrants called “turkey-buzzard men” (*ōsh hä'tchna*), the remaining flesh separated, the bones wrapped in a new and checkered mat,[a] and brought to that lodge. The inhumation of these bones took place just before the beginning of the *Kut-nähä*[b] worshipping ceremony or dance. The people assembled there, walked six times around a blazing fire, after which the bones were placed in a mound. The widow and the male orphans of the deceased chief had to take part in the ceremonial dance. The burial of the common people was effected in the same way, one year after death; but the inhumation of the bones took place at the village where they had died.[c]

The writer was told, however, that after the bones had been collected by the buzzard-picker they were burned and the ashes placed in a little oblong covered basket of a type still manufactured, tied about with a cord, and given to the relatives of the deceased. In the same mound was placed all the property of the deceased, or at least such of it as might be particularly useful to him. This is given as the reason for the nonexistence of ancient objects among the surviving

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[a] The burial mat was called *ta'na*^{n}; sometimes baskets were used instead.

[b] Properly Ku'tnahīn.

[c] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 8, 1883.

Indians of this tribe. The mounds erected over chiefs are said to have been 4 or 5 feet high.

Medicines were owned by certain individuals reputed to be skillful in the cure of this, that, or the other ailment—being native specialists, in other words. These might be men or women, and it is said to have been customary for them to keep their methods of treatment a profound secret until they were ready to die or give up practice, when they confided them to whoever was to succeed them. Thus Benjamin Paul's grandmother was a snake doctor, and claimed to cure snake bites of all kinds. She had communicated to Benjamin Paul her manner of treating rattlesnake bites, but he did not feel at liberty to reveal it. All knowledge of her other remedies had died with her. She also had a reputation in cases of blindness, and was reputed to have cured patients given up by white physicians.

The "Indian turnip" was considered a specific for consumption, a root called *patisa'ne* was used for dyspepsia, and the *hā'cux*, referred to below, was smoked for the same disease. The slippery elm was also used as a medicine. In cases of consumption the gizzard of a bird called *kū'nsnu* was mashed fine and rubbed upon the affected part. Witches knew how to extract poisons from various plants, and the leaves of a certain tree, known as the "poison tree," are said to have been put into bayous to poison people. A common method of treatment, apart from these special remedies, was by means of the sweat bath. Sweat houses were made without floors and with a cavity in the ground 5 or 6 feet long. Hot stones were put into this, water poured upon them, and moss laid over all. Above the patient was seated covered with a blanket. In this way they say that pneumonia and typhoid fever were quickly cured. Nor was shamanistic treatment wanting; but in place of the active, aggressive performances usual with shamans in other parts of North America, the Chitimacha representatives of the profession merely drank a tea made from a powerful herb and learned in the state of unconsciousness which followed what was the trouble with the patient and how it could be cured. Three herbs are mentioned as having been used by them. One, the *wai't'i*, which was both smoked and drunk, seems to have been the *Ilex cassine* or 'black drink' of the Creeks. The second was called *nai'k'a* and was used as a drink. The third, *hā'cux*, was smoked and was confused by Gatschet with tobacco, *nēt*, which was never used for this purpose.

Duties connected with the supernatural were performed by a class of priests or shamans called *kātemî'c* in the language of the common people, but *hē'kx̣-atx̣kôn* by the nobility. There was at least one in every village, each of whom was accompanied by an apprentice who took his place when he died. A very famous *hē'kx̣-atx̣kôn* lived at Graine à Volée cove, but after his death the institution was abandoned. Benjamin Paul's granduncle also belonged to one of this class, who seem to have been drawn very largely if not entirely from the Nobles. Sometimes a *hē′kx̣-atx̣kôn* was at the same time a *nā′tạ*, and thus united the civil and ecclesiastical functions in his own person. In addition to the regular shamanistic practices these doctors appear to have acted as undertakers.

Benjamin Paul recalled no epidemics among his people in recent years. He knew of but one family which had had smallpox, but with them it was very deadly, destroying all but one person.

Every large village seems to have had a dance house for religious observances or the consummation of the more important social obligations. There were dance houses at Oku′nkîskîn, "Bitlarouge," and Grosse Tête. The writer was told that the oldest of all was at Hi′pinîmc, but Gatschet was erroneously led to believe that there was but one, at Co′ktangi-ha′na-hetci′nc, on the shore of Grand lake. He says of this and the ceremonial observed there:

> The tribal dance house, or "maison de valeur," intended for religious dances, stood on a little bay of Grand Lake, about 3 miles northwest from the present village of Charenton. Like all other lodges, it was about 12 feet square, with a pointed roof, but it was surrounded with a picket fence. It contained nothing else but the garments of the dancers and the three kinds of paints used at this ceremony: the *ha′pt*, or "vermillion paint," the *ku′ps*, or "black paint," and the *kúpshesh*, or "white paint." No idols, stuffed animals, perpetual fire, etc., were to be found in connection with it, as was the case with the temple of the Natchez people. They called this dance house *sho′ktangi ha′na he′dshinsh;* all the other dance houses *ha′na nedsha′mtuina.* The place where it stood is now a sugar field, and was called by the Creoles "Graine-à-volée," from the nuphar plants growing in the vicinity.
>
> As there was only one meeting place of this description among all the Shetimasha [?], the participants gathered from all the surrounding lake settlements by canoes the day before the new moon. Men, women, and children flocked to the ceremony in large numbers. The ceremony took place in honor of Kutnähänsh, or the Noon-Day Sun, and in summer time lasted longer than at other seasons of the year. The management was intrusted to leaders (*pe′kidshinsh*),[a] who were provided with long wands or poles [called *kō′kic*]. The men danced with the breechcloth on, the body painted red, and with feathers stuck in the ribbons encircling the head. Gourd rattles and the scratching of alligator skins furnished the music for the occasion. They fasted during the six days the dance lasted. When the ceremony was drawing to a close, they drank water in order to produce vomiting; and, after they had removed in this manner any impurities in their systems, they began to eat heartily.[b]

The arrival of a boy at manhood was signalized by another ceremony also conducted in the temple. This, Doctor Gatschet was informed, "had not the purpose of imparting to them certain mysteries concerning the worship of their main deity, the Noon-Day Sun, but simply aimed at making them insensible to the pangs of hunger and

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[a] Or *pe′kitcînc*, something up there, above us (i. e., "God," these men receiving the same name as the Deity).

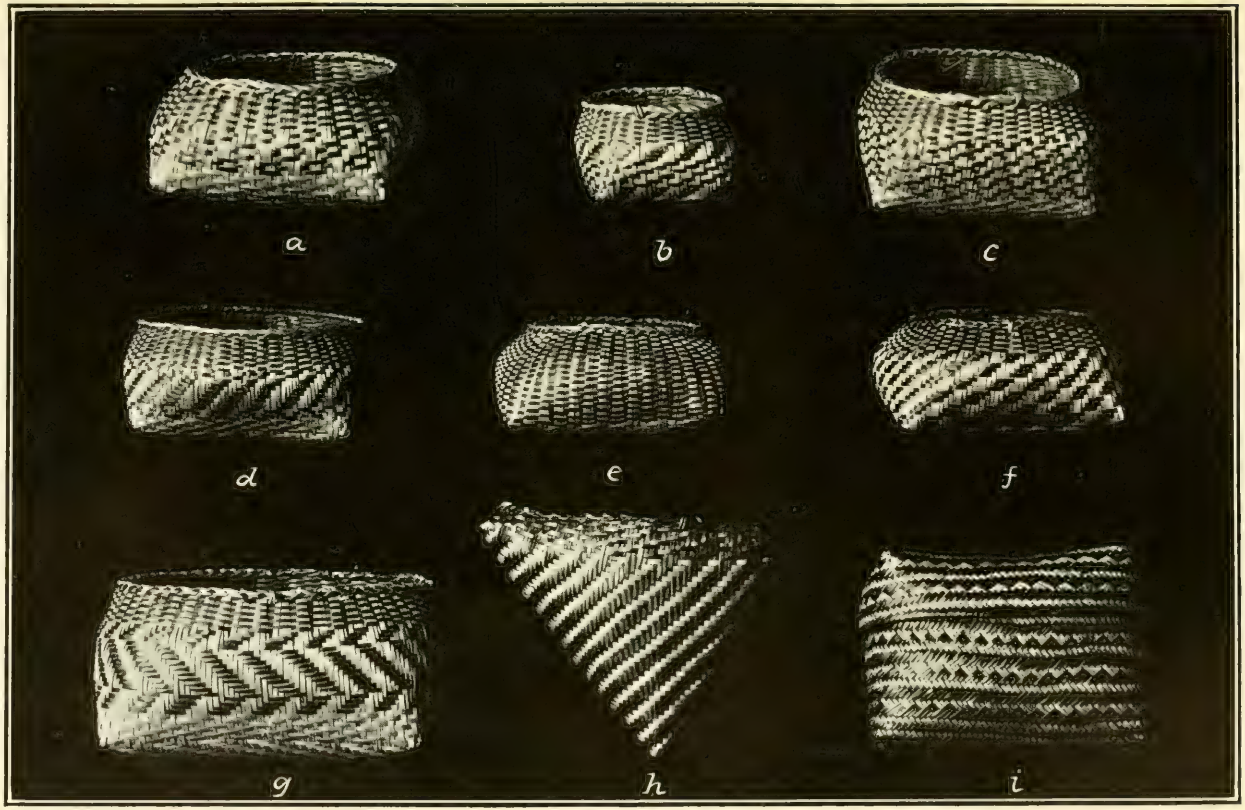
[b] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 6–7, 1883.

PLATE 22

Explanation of Chitimacha Basketry—Plate 22

(N. M. Nos. 253525, 253527, 253532, 253529, 253534, 253531, 253517, 253547, 253497)

Simple straight lines such as the alternate even lines in *i* are called *kastpx̣*. The name "plaits going to start" was obtained by Mrs. Bradford for the lines in *h;* this is perhaps because they begin and end at the edge instead of passing entirely around the basket. The ornamental marks on *a*, *c*, *f*, and perhaps also *b* and *d*, go by the name of *îĭ′tctî*, which my informants could not explain; Mrs. Bradford interprets it as "chain," but the word for chain is *tūskūn-kă′tsi-apcā′kiạtmôñ*. For *g* Mrs. Bradford obtained the name *tcī′cmîc-apctō′x̣n* (or *tcī′cmîc-apctō′x̣nîc*), "worm-track broken" (see pl. 24), but there appears to be no good reason why it should be distinguished from the *kastpx̣-apctō′x̣n*, "plaits broken," illustrated in the next plate. In *e* the weave employed about the edges of so many other baskets, such as *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, and *g*, is extended over the entire upper surface. The irregular lines on *i* are explained by Mrs. Bradford as *nakc-apcta′nkînîc*, "cross designs," but they do not seem to agree very closely with those designs in plate 26, *e*, which have received the same name and would rather appear to be related to the "basket bottom" design shown in plate 26, *c*. *c* in Chitimacha words used in these descriptions is pronounced the same as English *sh*.



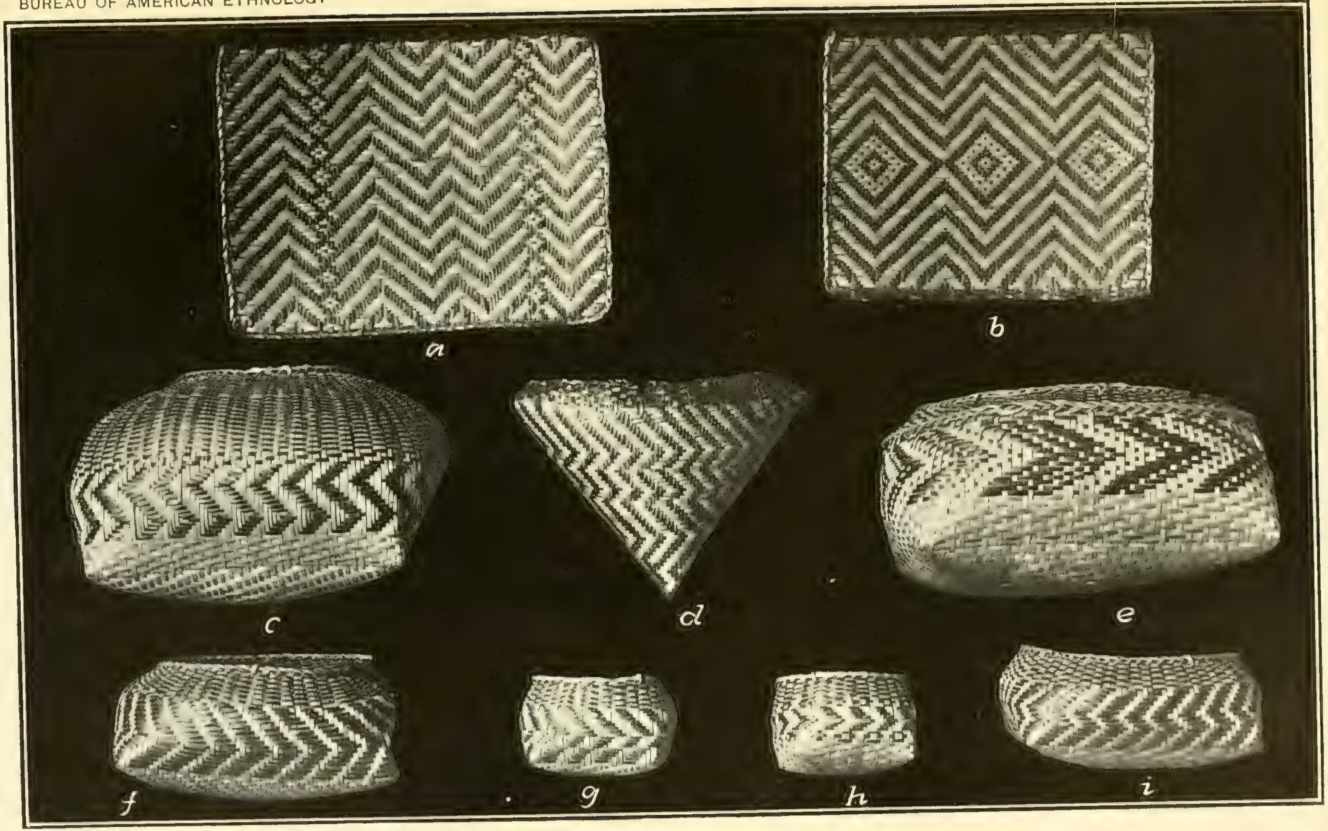
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 23

Explanation of Chitimacha Basketry—Plate 23

(N. M. Nos. 253541, 253543, 253513, 253545, 253505, 253521, 253533, 253526, 253522)

When angles are made in the lines called *kastpx̣* the resulting designs are known as *kastpx̣-apctō′x̣n*, "broken plaits," and a number of different forms of these are illustrated in this plate. On the piece of matting shown in figure *a* these broken plaits are interrupted by two lines of blackbirds' eyes (see pl. 27), and in *b* the broken plaits are concentric around the design explained in plate 29, *a*.



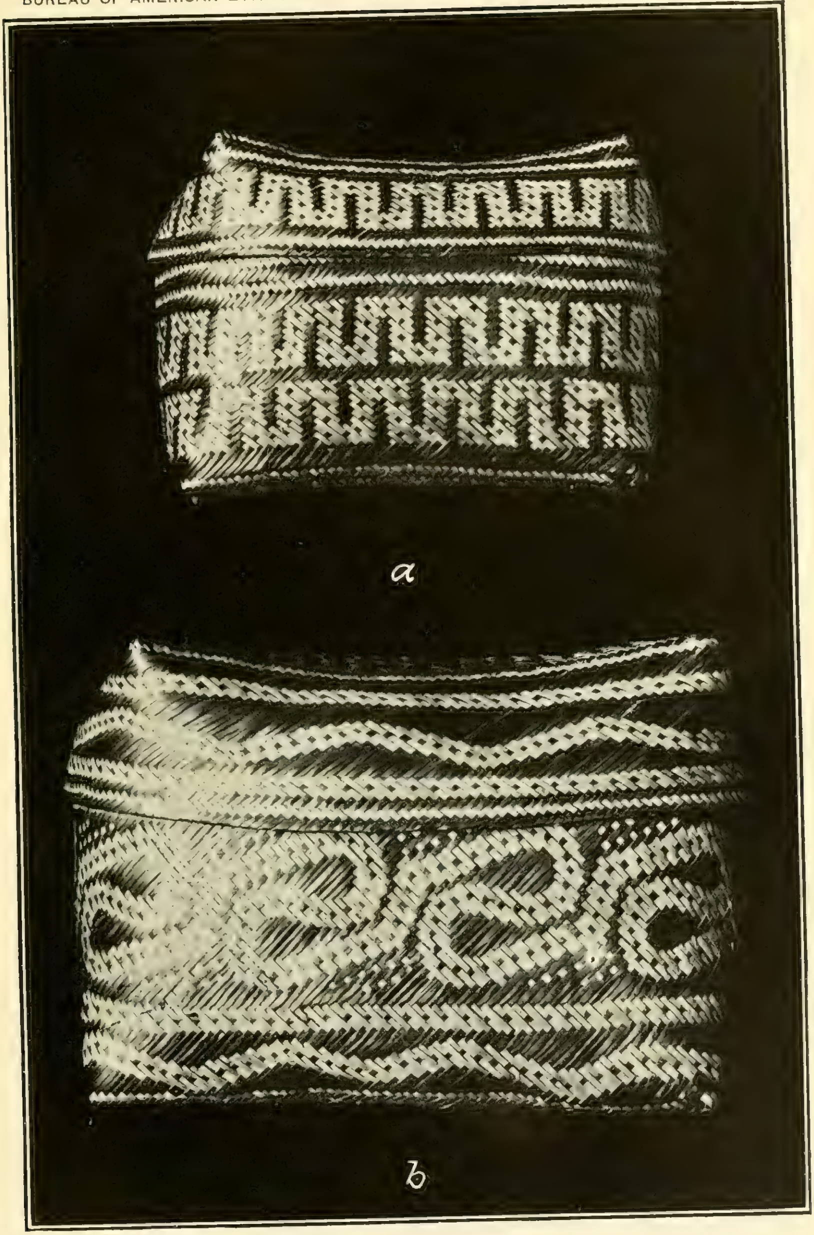
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 24

Explanation of Chitimacha Basketry—Plate 24

(N. M. Nos. 253493, 253490)

The irregular design in *a* is explained by Mrs. Bradford as from a word signifying "up, across, and down," but to the writer it was given as another example of the "broken plait," though it would seem better entitled to the name *tcī′cmic-apctō′x̣n*, "worm-track broken," than plate 22, *g*, to which that designation is actually given, the worm-track, as in figure *b*, being distinguished by dots scattered along the plait. The lines on the cover and near the bottom of basket *b* are worm-tracks (*tcī′cmîc*); the more complicated design is called *nactcua′-akī′*, "alligator entrails."



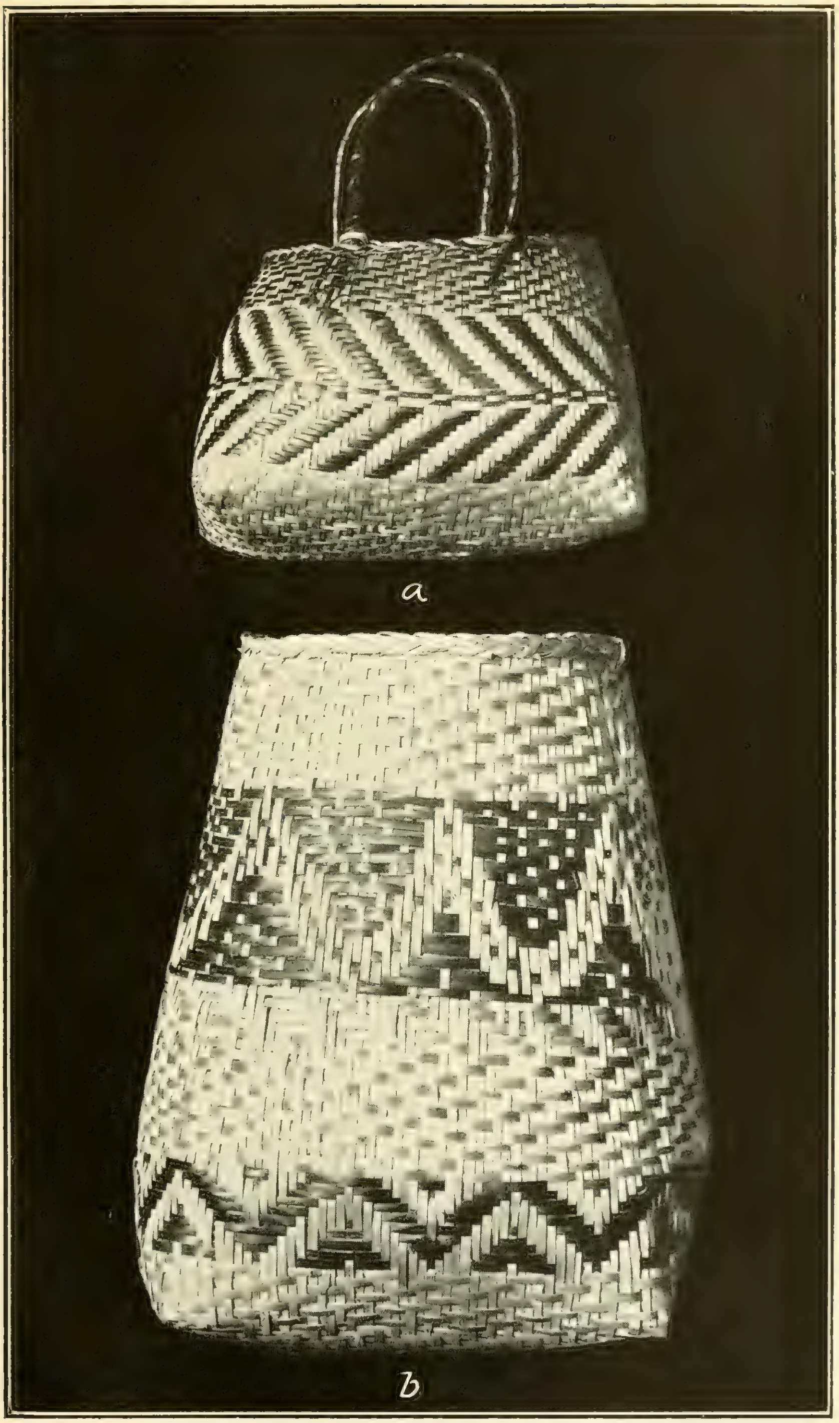
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 25

Explanation of Chitimacha Basketry—Plate 25

(N. M. Nos. 253508, 253507)

The principal design in *a* is *makc-nakc*, "fish-scales," though it is also sometimes given as the "broken plaits," which, as will be seen, it resembles closely. The upper design in *b* is called *näbc-käkī′tî*, "turtle with a necktie," a name which no one attempted to explain.



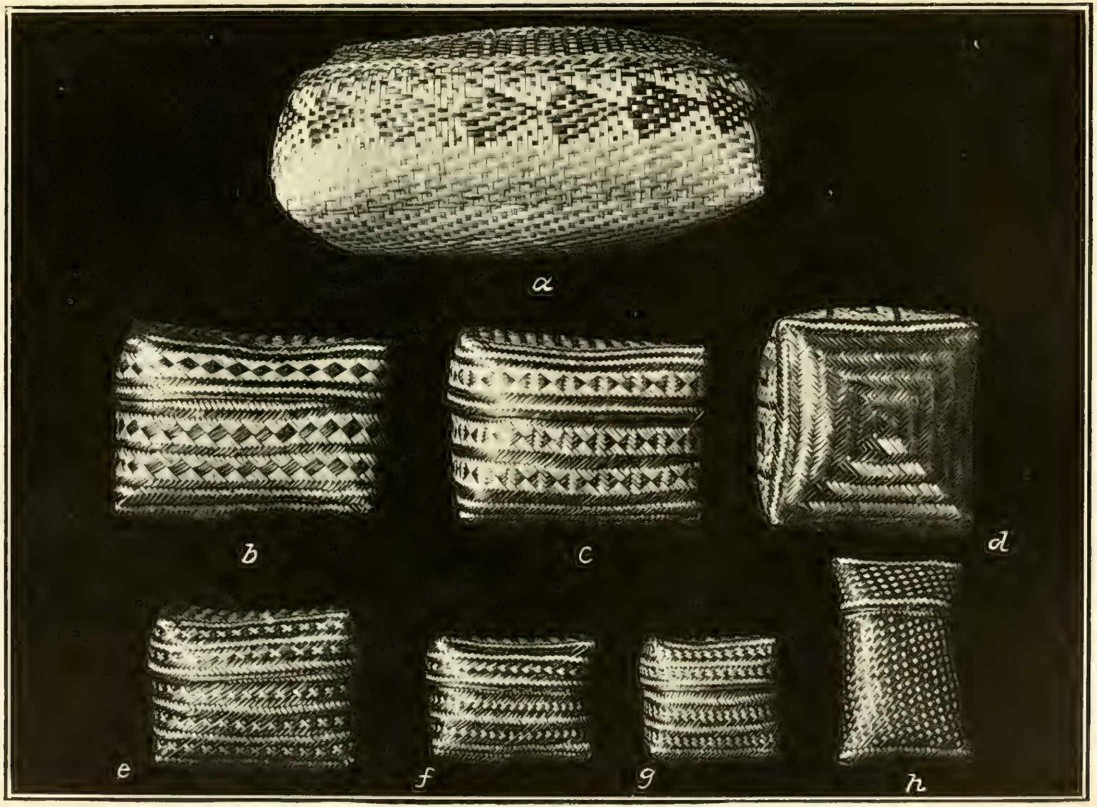
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 26

Explanation of Chitimacha Basketry—Plate 26

(N. M. Nos. 253512, 253495, 253496, 253504, 253499, 253500, 253501, 253551)

The triangular designs in *a* are called *aku′ngwā′cacti′*, "bear earrings." In *b* we have *kopx̣kopx̣ni*, "square blocks." The design shown in *c*, consisting of pairs of triangles with their apexes pointing together, is known as *kāx̣t-mā′x̣tạ*, "bottom of basket," for reasons explained by *d*, showing the bottom of a basket. The crosses on *e* are called *apetā′nkenîc*, "crosses," and the marks on *f*, consisting of two light weaves meeting in a point, *ketmic-so*, "mouse-tracks." The corresponding marks on *g* are called *pop-ī′*, "rabbit-teeth," and the dots on the cigar case *h′ts′a′ntêm*, spots or dots distributed over the surface of a basket to fill in.



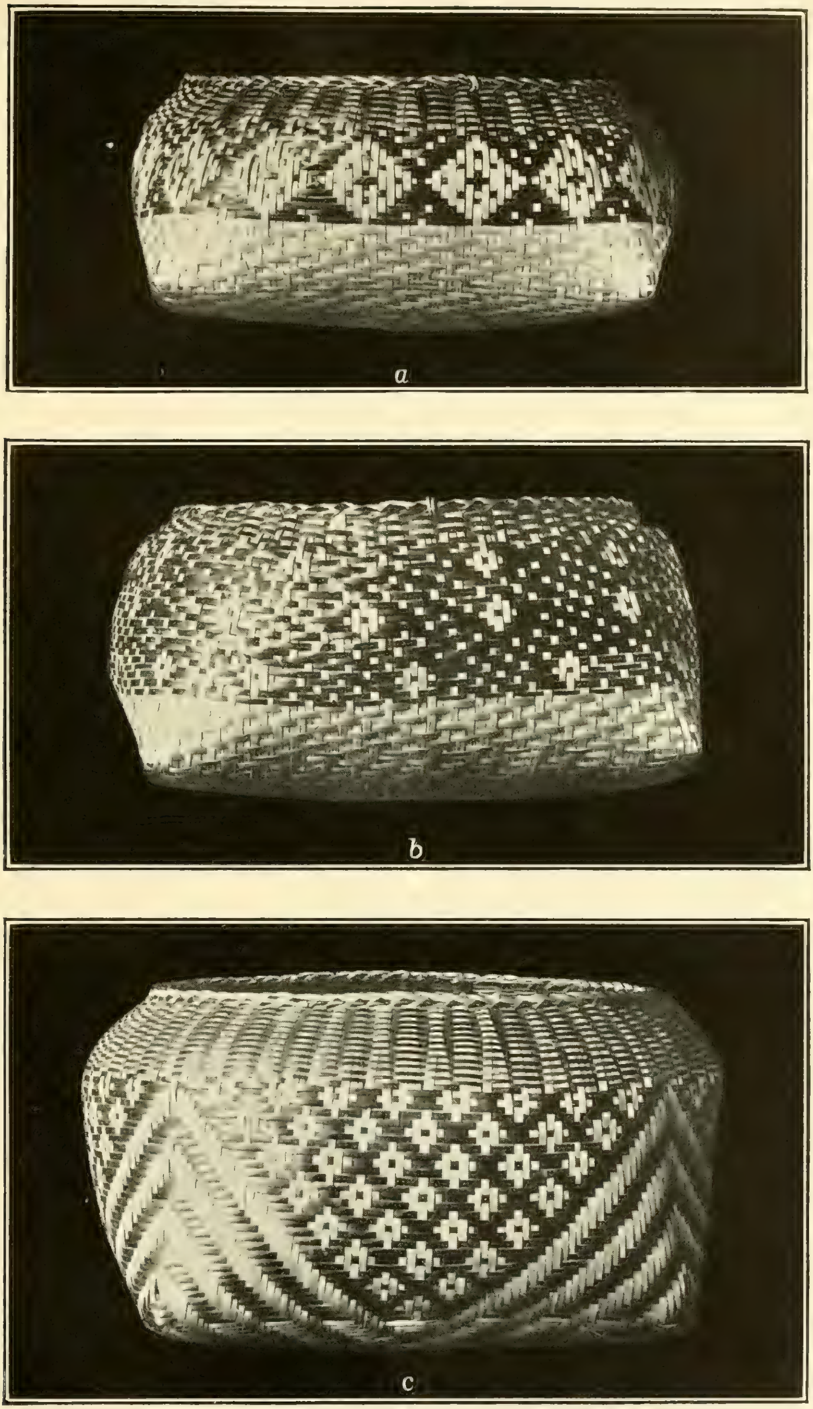
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 27

EXPLANATION OF CHITIMACHA BASKETRY—PLATE 27

(N. M. Nos. 253516, 253514, 253511)

The principal design on each of these baskets, the large white spots with dark center, is called *tcêx̣t-kani′*, "blackbird's eye." Mrs. Bradford defines the design in *a* as "*casheer-poi-iche-ash-che-nash*, three patterns mixed," which is, of course, only a description, the three patterns being the blackbird's eye, dots, and crosses. Similarly *b* is given as "*cheek-ca-ni-cham-tem-kine-ach-ihe-nack*, two patterns mixed," in this case the blackbird's eye and dots. *c* has the blackbird's eye and broken plaits.



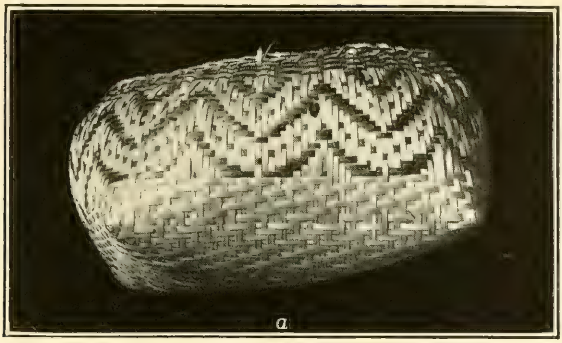
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

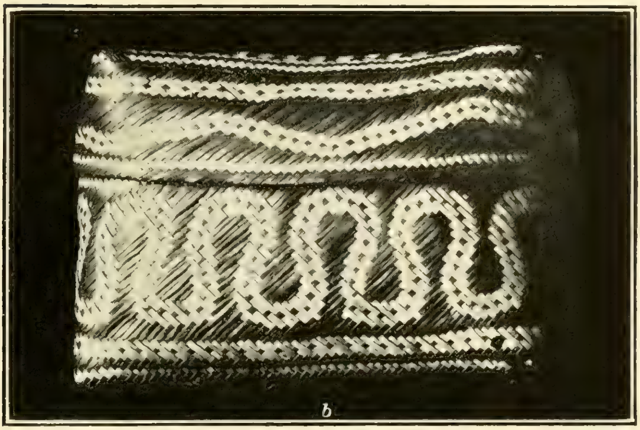
PLATE 28

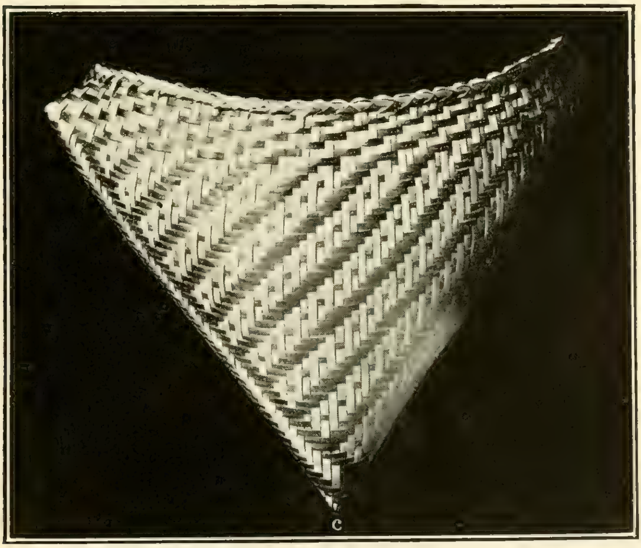
EXPLANATION OF CHITIMACHA BASKETRY—PLATE 28

(N. M. Nos. 253528, 253492, 253546)

a. Given by Mrs. Bradford as "worm-track three ways," which is evidently merely a description of the border, though it is hard to make out three worm-tracks. *b*. All of the designs are *tcī′cmîc*, or "worm-track" designs. *c* is given by Mrs. Bradford as "worm-track going to start" and is to be explained like plate 22, *h*.







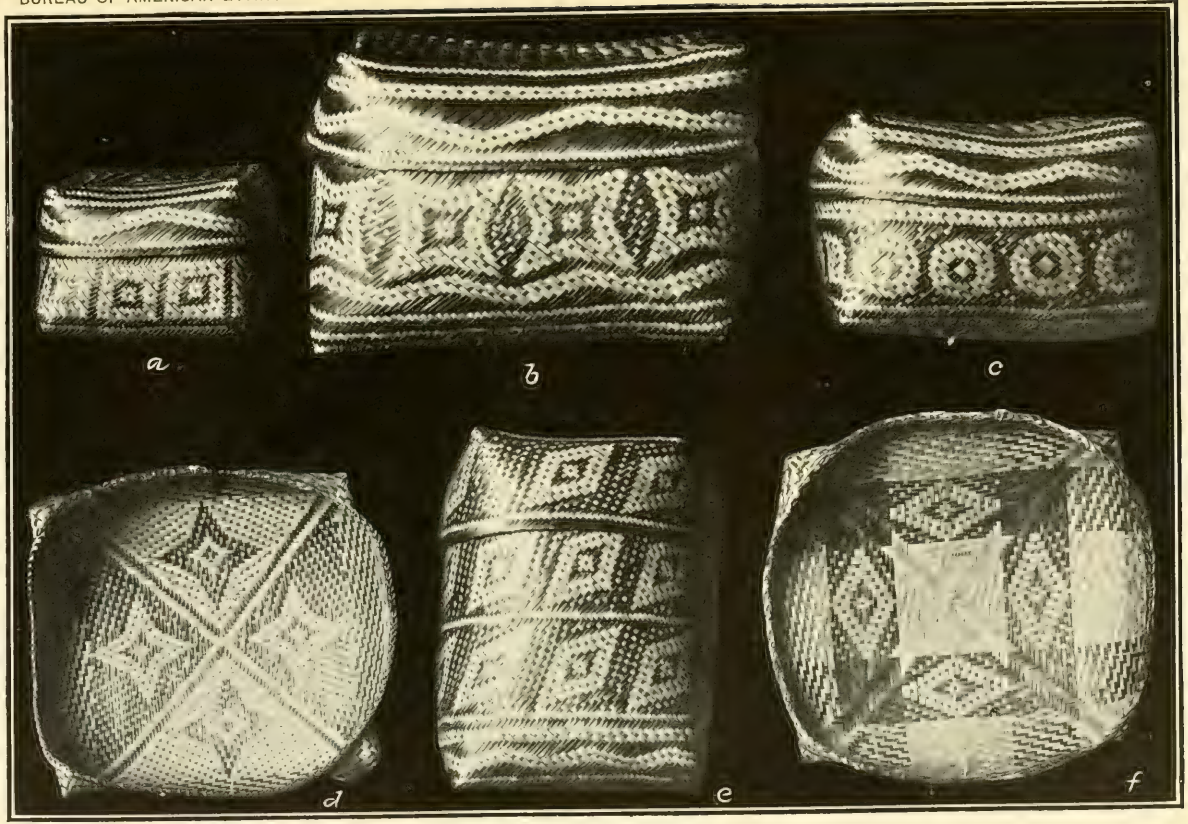
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 29

EXPLANATION OF CHITIMACHA BASKETRY—PLATE 29

(N. M. Nos. 253504, 253491, 253494, 253537, 253502, 253536)

a. The main figure is called *hakc-kôkskô′ksn*, “a round mark,” or “something around.” Another name given for this to the writer is *tcêx̣t-kani′-a′tx̣în*, “big blackbirds’ eyes.” *b* and *d*. *k’o′spi-suu*, “the muscadine rind” (represented as peeled away). *c*. *wa′ctîk-ka′ni*, “eyes of cattle.” *e* and *f*. The diamond shaped marks are called *makc-nakc*, “little fish,” or specifically “little trout.”



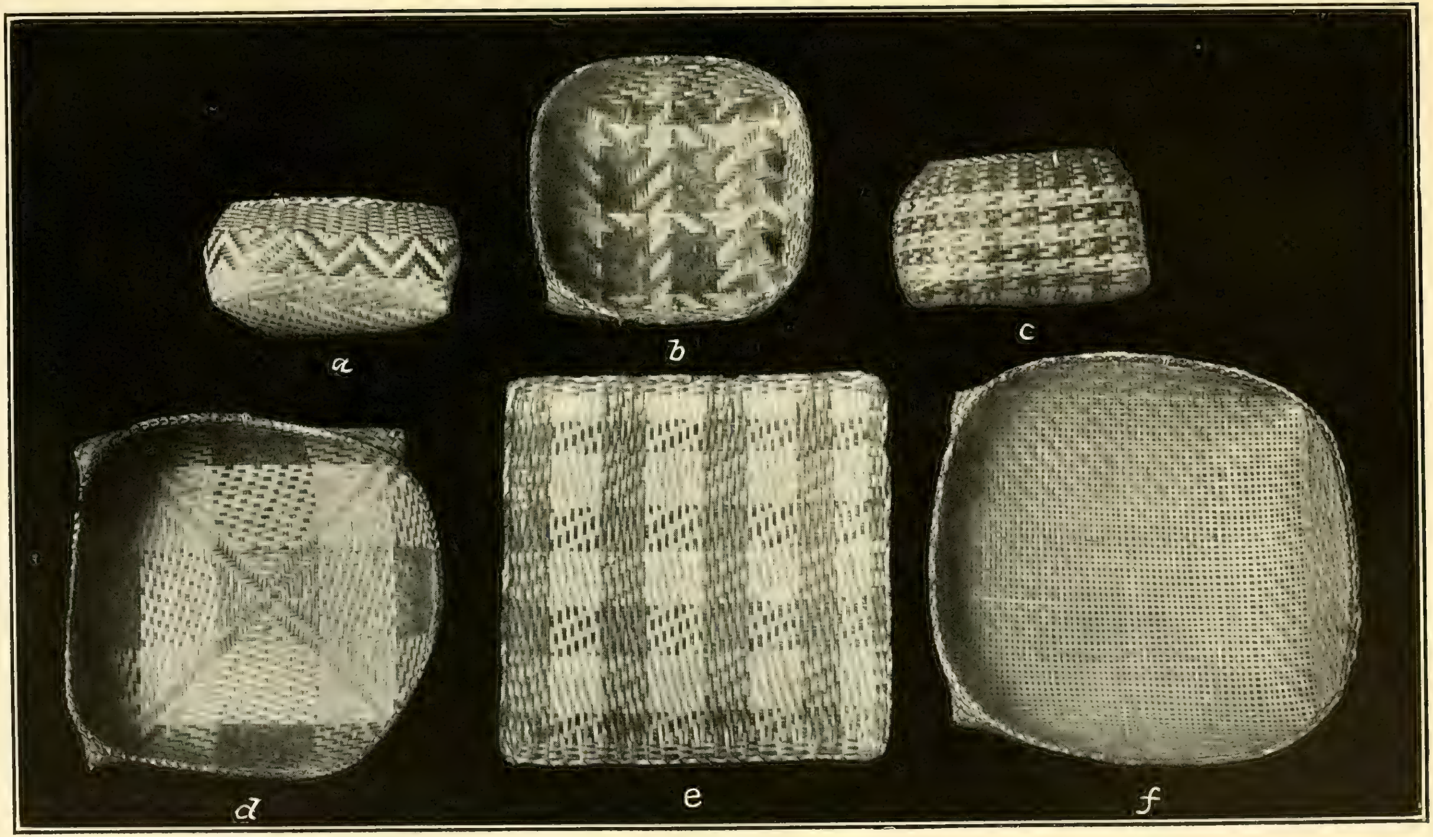
CHITIMACHA BASKETRY

PLATE 30

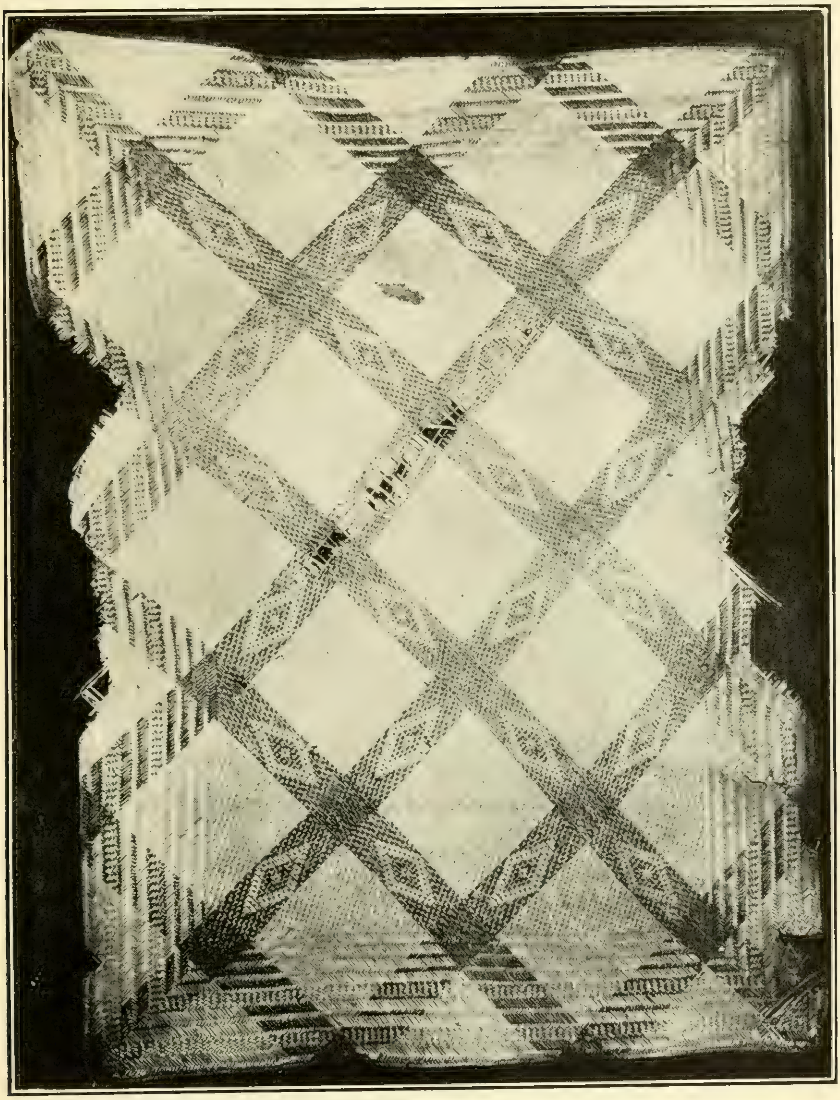
EXPLANATION OF CHITIMACHA BASKETRY—PLATE 30

(N. M. Nos. 253520, 253540, 253535, 253539, 253542, 253510)

a. The name recorded for this by Mrs. Bradford is *kapmaspa*, "bed spread," and it evidently refers to the cord which runs back and forth between the side pieces of an old-fashioned bed and the canvas which holds the bed up; it is therefore a modern term. *f* is a *cicax* (or, abbreviated, *cax*), such as was used in sifting flour. The remaining figures illustrate various modifications of the weaves already given, and evidently these designs have no generic names. *d* is called *apcta′ñkenîc*, "a cross," for obvious reasons. The name recorded for *b* by Mrs. Bradford means "mixed plaits," and is evidently descriptive, also, as is "spotted white and black," applied rather inappropriately, one would say, to *e*.



CHITIMACHA BASKETRY



ORNAMENTED CHITIMACHA MAT MADE OF CANE

The diamond-shaped design is called *makc-nakc*, "little fish" or "little trout" (pl. 29, *e*). The mat measures 7′ 11½″ by 5′ 10″. This mat is now in the George G. Heye collection at the University of Pennsylvania Museum; the illustration is from a photograph kindly furnished by Mr. Heye

thirst. Dressed in breechcloths, their heads adorned with feathers, ribbons, red paint, and small gourds, they had to dance for six days in the temple, while fasting and without tasting a drop of water, led by their *ephori*, or disciplinarians. No female was allowed to approach, although they had access to the ceremonial dances at the new-moon festivity."[a]

Benjamin Paul was aware of such a ceremony, but could only say that the boys were taken into the temple and made to stay six days with nothing to eat, after which they danced about the fire until they fell down.

Different from this was the solitary fast and confinement which each boy (and, it is said, each girl also) underwent in order to obtain a personal guardian spirit. Instead of going off into the solitudes the boy or girl is said to have been confined until he dreamed of the animal which was to become his helper. Benjamin Paul stated that his grandmother's helper was a wolf and that the process of obtaining such a helper was called *naçânxmē'k* or *cā'nxmec*, which probably signifies "having supernatural power" or something similar. Another high-caste word for worship is *nta'temi*. This ancient religion is said to have lasted until about sixty years ago, Benjamin Paul's great uncle having been the last person to be buried at Co'ktangi. After that the Indians became Catholics and his grandmother was the first to be married in the Catholic church at Charenton.

Some of the Chitimacha personal names collected by the writer have totemic suggestions, but there are others in which it is wanting or obscured. Those recorded are the following: *Tc!ā'xkaṭa*, 'Bluebird,'; *Cā'mu-mê'stîn*, 'White flower' (a woman's name); *Tcîm-ko'nic*, 'Shouts-at-night'; *Kî'nî*, 'Screech-owl'; *So-kaiitcī'*, 'Three-legged'; *Wait'i-kê'stmîc*, 'Pounding-up *Ilex cassine*'; *Cuc-k'ā'pn*, 'Wood-hauler'; to which the following may be added from Gatschet: *Na-ic Mesta'*, 'White-goose'; *Wâms-ca*, 'Catfish-mouth'; and *Kêne'x̣pc-kakx̣t*, 'Beads-basket' (a woman's name).

Belief in personal spirits practically assumes a belief in the existence of anthropomorphic beings in all kinds of natural objects, and, indeed, we could have confidently affirmed as much without the most elementary information regarding the religious ideas of these people. We have, however, much more positive data. Besides the supreme deity, Ku'tnahin, already referred to, who is also called Netē'x̣mec, "Governor," and will be considered more at length in connection with the myths, Gatschet learned of three beings, described to him as "the great devil, the little devil, and the last devil," one of whom he surmises with probable correctness to have been the Jack o' Lantern.

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[a] Trans. Anthrop. Soc. Wash., II, 7, 1883.

The writer was told that there was a special story about these. "Devil" is, of course, a distortion of the native term for supernatural being or spirit, which is *ne′ka*, and is equivalent to the *manitu* of the Algonquians or the *yēk* of the Tlingit. Sometimes people would clothe themselves in alligator skins in order to represent evil spirits and scare others. It is affirmed that the old-time Indians would not kill an eagle, and that some would not eat bear meat because they thought the bear was related to human beings. The former statement must require certain modifications, however, for otherwise there would have been no way of providing eagle plumes for the war and peace calumets. These calumets were also ornamented with feathers of the wood duck (*tạwī′s*). A thunder-bird belief appears to have been nonexistent, thunder having originated from Ku′tnahin. Coals were saved from the fires used on Christmas eve and a little burned whenever it thundered. There are said to have been special stories regarding the horned owl and the screech owl, and also about a "white lion," the lion (*‘haimasī′ks*) being called "the king of the animals." This looks like a European story, and must certainly have been such, unless we are to understand by "lion" the panther or some other indigenous animal. The common word for panther is different, however. There was another story of a woman who lived by herself and was guarded by a pet panther. An Indian and a white man were once hunting together and met a white deer. The Indian warned his companion not to kill it, but he did so, and afterward, although he went hunting many times, he was unable to see a single deer.

A small yellow bird, called *tcînte*, said to be the wild canary, was able to talk with human beings and foretell the weather. Another bird able to converse with men is a bird called *kū′nsnu*, which appears as cold weather approaches. It is of the yellow color of dry hay, and when it gets into hay can not be distinguished. Since the land has been cleared it has become scarce. The *gạmpohê′stạmôn* is a bird a little larger than a mocking bird and with a flat head like a chicken hawk. It dives so quickly that it takes a good marksman to kill it. Some call it the devil bird, because it is supposed to break another bird's neck with its wings by flying against it. Clams and hailstones are called by the same name, *kāc*, "because the germs of clams are contained in hailstones and grow after the hailstones melt."

There are said to be four great sacred trees in the world, one at the mouth of the Mississippi, one somewhere over east on the seashore, one at the entrance of Vermilion bay, and one at Hi′pinîme, on Grand lake. This last, at least, is a cypress, and is well known to both Indians and whites. It is believed that if anyone splashes water upon it a thunderstorm will come on and drench him. A white man assured me that he had experienced this himself. He added that on one occasion some men tied a steamboat to it and cut a limb off, after which there was a long spell of rainy weather.

Sometimes an Indian hears in the forest a noise as if some one were chopping or striking a tree. This is produced by a being with a head like a big ax head. *Neka-camôn*, 'New Spirit,' passes from east to west every spring and returns from west to east in the fall. He is described as a red man without a head, and a noise accompanies him as if ten thousand cans were hung about him and rattled against each other. As he goes he says "*Hu-u-u-uip, hu-u-u-ui'p*" (a kind of whistling sound), though how this is accomplished by a headless individual is not explained.

A long time ago a being with a long nose came out of the ocean and began to kill people. It would root up trees with its nose to get at persons who had sought refuge in the branches, and people lived on scaffolds to get away from it. It made its home in a piece of wood near Charenton, and when guns were introduced the people went into this wood to kill the monster, but could not find it. When the elephant was seen it was thought to be the same creature, and was consequently called *Neka-cī'ckạmī'*, 'Long-nosed-spirit.'

In various places there are holes which can not be fathomed. These are called "blue holes" and at certain times every year beings or objects called *kapnā'x̣t*, apparently meteors, come along making a rushing sound and go into these holes. There is said to be one of these holes within a hundred yards of the Plaquemine church.

The earliest, and, so far as the writer is aware, the only account of Chitimacha mythology antedating the work of Doctor Gatschet, was made by Martin Duralde, or by some person from whom he copied, at the beginning of the last century. Two copies of this manuscript are known to have been made. One, which was probably that retained by the author, was discovered about 1848 among some old papers in the loft of a gentleman's house at or near Opelousas, La. Portions had been destroyed by mice. The remainder was translated by a Mr. W. M. Carpenter, and the translation is now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The fate of the original of this copy is unknown. According to a statement contained in the manuscript itself it was "a letter written to Sir William Dunbar respecting some of the curiosities of the country to be communicated to La Société du Nord." This "Sir William Dunbar" is of course that William Dunbar who settled at Natchez and explored the Black and Washita rivers for the United States Government, while "La Société du Nord" is probably the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. The second copy of the manuscript under consideration, which is fortunately complete, is now in the keeping of this society. It is said to have been obtained from Doctor Sibley, who must have received it from Dunbar, and the linguistic material contained in it was in part published by Gallatin in his comparative vocabularies, published in volume II of the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, and again by Prof. John Severin Vater in his Analekten der Sprachenkunde, Leipzig, 1821. The subject matter comprises short accounts of the mythology and customs of the Chitimacha and Atakapa Indians and vocabularies of the two languages. Both the Chitimacha and the Atakapa sections of the manuscript are signed by Martin Duralde, who was commandant of the posts of Opelousas and Atakapa (now Franklin), but Gatschet, who seems to have copied Vater, states that the vocabularies were originally collected by a man named Murray. This is probably true of the Chitimacha vocabulary, since Duralde admits that he was not the original recorder, but he seems to imply that he was himself responsible for the Atakapa words and the mythology.

The translation used in this bulletin is that made by Mr. Carpenter, but the hiatuses have been filled by means of copies from the Philadelphia manuscript kindly furnished by Dr. Edward Sapir, of the University of Pennsylvania.

It runs as follows, omitting those sections on social customs already given:

They recognized a Creator of all things under the name of Thoumé Kéné Kimté[a] Cacounche (or Cawuche); in other words, a Great Spirit, who has neither eyes nor ears but who sees, understands, and knows everything. However, they attribute to him a body from which he derives all of the principles of life. At first he placed the earth under the waters. The fish were the first animals which he created. His purpose comprehending the earth as well, he ordered the crawfish to go to search for earth at the bottom, and to bring a mass of it above the surface of the waters. It did so. Immediately he formed many men whom he called "Chetimaches," the same name he bestowed upon the land. It was Natchez which he chose for their first abode. He gave them laws, but their government degenerated to such an extent in consequence of effeminacy and carelessness that the nation was overwhelmed with evils and misfortunes. The men in despair lost their repose. Then Thoumé Kéné Kimté Cawuche made the tobacco. They chewed it and reposed. It was, however, only for a moment and they relapsed into the same troubles and agitations. Thoumé pitied them and created women, but without movement. One of the men, endowed to govern the others, was inspired to take a rod and to teach the men and the women in order to communicate action to them. They all slept and Thoumé profited by the moment to provide them with the organs necessary to generation and connected with those organs the most voluptuous pleasure, and when they awoke he told them, "Make you use of them thus, and there will issue from your women men who will resemble you."

The animals meeting the men in their excursions, not only ridiculed them, but even despised them on account of their having neither hair nor feathers nor wool to protect them from the inclemencies of the seasons. They then, feeling their nakedness, were humiliated, and Thoumé Kéné, pitying them, bestowed on them the bow and arrow, directing them to kill the animals, to employ the flesh for nutriment and the skins for covering in punishment for their raillery. He added to this gift the art of drawing fire from two pieces of wood, the one flat and the other pointed, by turning one upon the other with force, in order to cook the food which they obtained to eat; under pain of death to adore him as the master, creator, and preserver of all things; to honor finally the bones of their relations and even carry them food as if they were living.

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[a] This word is said to mean "having good sense."

The animals took part with men in their councils: they gave them their advice. They were there distinguished from the human species in accordance with the protection which they accorded to it. Even now each family preserves a respectful attachment for a certain species [of animal] from which it pretends to receive services in time of need.

The sun and moon were created for man and wife. The moon was male and intended to vivify and illuminate all things upon the earth; but having neglected to strengthen itself by baths it was condemned to remain in the state in which it came from the hands of its creator, light pale and without vigor, continuing in ceaseless pursuit of its wife, the sun, without being able to overtake her. The sun, on the contrary, having paid more attention to taking her baths and her bitters (*amers*) merited the prerogative of shedding her benefits on the world and mankind. It has always been held in great veneration among them and has often stopped in its course to give them time to overcome their enemies, to secure their prey, and attain the other objects of their travels.

The mounds mark the places where there formerly encamped a subordinate spirit sent by Thoumé Kéné to visit his creations and report whether his wishes were executed. This spirit played an important part upon the earth. It is he who in his journeys taught men how to prepare their food, to know the causes of diseases and their cures; it is in honor of him that the *accacine* (*Ilex cassine*) is still drunk.

* * * * * * *

The spirit spoken of in the last paragraph suggests Ku′tnahin, who would thus be made the son of the supreme deity instead of the supreme deity himself, but it is evident that white ideas have been read into this material to a considerable extent, and perhaps this among them.

Although Gatschet collected an abundance of linguistic material from the Chitimacha in 1881–82, including several texts, and obtained considerable data regarding the social and religious lives of these people, most of which has already been given, he gathered no myths. The following stories, therefore, recalled by Benjamin Paul, sometimes with considerable difficulty, and recorded by the writer, are all that remain to be added.

When the great deluge came the people baked a great earthen pot, in which two persons saved themselves, being borne up upon the surface of the waters. With them went two rattlesnakes. So the rattlesnake was thought to be the friend of man, and it is maintained that in ancient times each house was protected by one of these serpents, which entered it whenever its owner went away and retired when he came back. While the flood prevailed the redheaded woodpecker (*cuc-kā′kôñsmôñ*) hooked his claws into the sky and hung there. The water rose so high that his tail was partly submerged and sediment deposited upon it by the disturbed waters marked it off sharply from the rest of the body as it is to-day. After the sea had subsided considerably this bird was sent to find land, but after a long search he came back empty-handed. Then the dove was sent and returned with a single grain of sand. This was placed upon the surface of the sea and made to stretch out in order to form the dry land. Therefore the dove is called *Ne-hê′temôn*, 'Ground-watcher,' because it saw the ground come out when the great flood subsided.

Fire was originally given—probably by Ku′tnahin—into the custody of an old man. This man was blind, but he was always able to feel the presence of an intruder in search of his fire and chased him away with his stick. One time, however, he beat about so much with his stick that, although he was successful in forcing the thief to drop the fire he had carried away, he at the same time knocked some of it into a log, and the man obtained fire from that.

Whether there was one great culture myth among the Chitimacha, as was the case with several tribes, must always be uncertain, but if such existed the following was no doubt part of it.

One time from 20 to 22 men set out toward the north until they came to the edge of the sky. In trying to pass under this all of them were crushed except 6, who continued on along the sky floor until they came to Ku′tnahin. After they had remained with him for a certain time he asked them how they would descend. One answered, "I will go down as a squirrel." He tried to do so, but was dashed to pieces on the earth. Two others chose the forms of other animals, but with no better fate. The fourth, however, declared he would go down like a spider, while the fifth chose the form of an eagle, and the sixth that of a pigeon. Each of these succeeded, and each brought back to mankind a gift from Ku′tnahin. The man who had descended in the form of a spider learned how to cure people and was the first shaman. Before he could get back to earth with his new knowledge, however, one man fell sick and died. This was the first death among mankind, and had the shaman gotten back in time to cure him there would have been no death among human beings. The man who came back as an eagle taught men how to fish, and he who came down as a pigeon taught them the use of maize, which was then growing wild.

Besides being the chief deity, Ku′tnahin performed the functions of "trickster," like Spider among the Sioux and Raven on the north Pacific coast. He traveled all over the earth in the guise of a filthy person covered with buzzard dung. Once he peeped into a house and so frightened a man inside by his appearance that the latter started off on the run. Ku′tnahin shouted, "Don't be afraid. It is I, Ku′tnahin," but the man would not listen to him and kept on into the forest.

The following story is told of the west wind:

A little boy named Ū′stapu was lying in a bunk close to the shore of a lake. His people had come there from the prairies in order to cross, but the wind was too high. As he lay there Ū′stapu discovered a boy fanning with a fan of turkey feathers. This was the boy that makes the west wind. Then Ū′stapu said to his people: "I can break the arm of the boy that makes the west wind." All laughed at him, but he took up a shell, threw it at the boy who was making the wind, and broke his left arm. Therefore, when the west wind was high, the Indians used to say this boy was using his good arm, and if it was gentle, they said he was using his broken arm. Before that time the west wind used to be very bad, because the west-wind maker could change hands, but since then it has been much gentler. It is possible that this boy made the other winds also.

The following story was evidently much longer and was told to account for many things besides those indicated:

One time a man became angry with everybody and set the sea marshes on fire, intending to destroy them. A little bird flew up into a tree and shouted: "*Kū′naxmiwica! Kū′naxmiwica*" ('The water and all is going to burn'). The man replied: "If you do not go away, I will kill you." Finally he threw a shell at the bird and hit it on the wings, making them bleed. That is how the red-winged blackbird came by its red wings. After the fire had passed, the bird said: "Ah! you have done me good, for I can find plenty of good food to eat now that you have burnt over the ground." The same fire came to a giant who had two little sisters. He put these between two valves of a shellfish and held them high up out of reach of the flames. "Well," he said, "I have saved my two sisters anyhow." The corrugations that may be seen on many bivalves are the marks made by his fingers at that time. When people saw the marshes burning they ran down and killed all kinds of game which had been driven from cover by it. Then they said to the ill-disposed man: "Now that you have put fire in those tall weeds, deer, bear, and all kinds of animals have come out, and we have killed more than we can use. You have benefited us by burning them." So nowadays the red-winged blackbird when he comes around the houses seems to say "*Kū′naxmiwica*" and the other words attributed to him.

Chitimacha tradition agrees with the geological fact in affirming that at one time the sea extended over much of what is now lower Louisiana.

In addition to the worship paid to Ku′tnahin at the new-moon ceremonies, Gatschet was told of other dances performed in his honor by men and women during a fast. These took place also at Co′ktangi. Gatschet says of them: "An addition was, however, made to these dances; a huge cone of dry reeds, which was erected and set on fire at noon. Then the dance continued around it until the pile was consumed, which lasted about 30 minutes." If we could reconstruct these ancient ceremonials in their entirety we should probably find that other deities besides Ku'tnahin were honored in them.

Although the Chitimacha no doubt had a very well-defined set of ideas regarding a man's fate after death, the only record of their views is contained in a rather unsatisfactory paragraph in Duralde's letter. "At death," he writes, "the body only perishes; the principle of life never dies, but when separated from the body in death it visits unknown lands, until returning into the bosom of a woman whilst the man is employed in the act of procreation, when it assumes a new course of life in this world."[a] This is interesting, nevertheless, as showing the existence of a belief in rebirth.

THE ATAKAPA GROUP

The Atakapa

The name of this tribe is Choctaw, signifying "man-eater," and indicates the unsavory reputation which the tribe had acquired among Mississippi river people. Many of the early maps designate southwestern Louisiana and the entire Texas coast as a country occupied by "wandering cannibal tribes," and Atakapa itself is often thought to have been employed in a general, indefinite sense. As a matter of fact, however, it is never known to have been applied to any Indians except those between Vermilion and Galveston bays, i. e., to those constituting what is now called the Atakapan linguistic stock. In a political sense it came to designate a district embracing the present parishes of St. Mary, Iberia, St. Martin, Lafayette, and Vermilion. From this it might seem as if the Atakapa had once occupied the entire region, but according to the best evidence St. Mary and the eastern parts of Iberia and St. Martin were in Chitimacha territory. On the other hand, the Atakapa extended very much beyond these limits to the westward over what are now the parishes of Calcasieu, Cameron, Acadia, and parts of St. Landry, then included in the district of Opelousas.

As the Atakapa country lay at some distance from the first centers of colonization, it was not encroached upon to any great extent until late in the eighteenth century. At that time there appear to have been three main bands of Atakapa in Louisiana occupying the same number of principal river valleys. The easternmost were on Vermilion river and bay. Their chief village seems to have been above Abbeville, but there is said to have been a smaller one lower down. The head chief of this division in the latter part of the eighteenth century is called Kinemo, Kanimo, Skunnemoke, or Escanimon.

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[a] Ms., a copy of which is in the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Ashnoya and his son Bernard also appear frequently as parties to the sale of lands in the same neighborhood and probably belonged to the same division, though they may have had a separate village.[a] In November, 1760, it is recorded that a Mr. Fusilier de la Clair purchased from Rinemo [Kinemo], chief of the Atakapa village, called in French "Lamonier," the said village and land depending thereon of 2 leagues in front from north to south, limited on the west by the river Vermilion and on the east by the river Teche. About the same time three or four other purchases were made from the Atakapa Indians, by which a very large proportion of the land of that district and nearly or quite all of the valuable lands on the river Teche were embraced. The Spanish governor, O'Reilly, however, passed regulations or ordinances by which no grant of land in Opelousas, Atakapas, or Natchitoches, could exceed 1 league square, and this ordinance appears to have been applied to a certain degree to purchases already made. Many tracts of land were purchased from the Atakapa Indians about the time Louisiana was transferred to the United States, and some subsequent to that change at a time when it was known on good information that those Indians were reduced to a single village, the inhabitants of which were short of one hundred. In some instances six or eight distinct tracts were sold by the same individual Indian.

In spite of the sales above alluded to, the Vermilion village was not abandoned until early in the last century. In 1779 this band furnished 60 men to Galvez's expedition against the British forts on the Mississippi.[b]

The next important band of Atakapa toward the west lived on Mermentou river and its branches. They furnished 120 men to Galvez's expedition.[b] In 1787 we are informed that the principal Atakapa village in that district was at the "Island of Woods," later known as "the Island of Lacasine," from an Indian reputed to be its chief. It extended the entire length of this island, but the principal settlement was at the upper end. About 1799 it was abandoned and the people moved to a village on the Nementou (Mermentou). It was probably shortly after this that Lacasine was succeeded by Célestine la Tortue. The latter appears to have been before that time chief of a village "on the prairie of Nezpique." His father, who had been chief before him, was named La Tortue, whence the son's last name. Mention is also made of a chief Nementou, but it is uncertain whether this was the native name of Célestine, a title derived from the name of his village, or another person altogether. It is stated plainly that this was the last Atakapa village among the eastern Atakapa, and

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[a] According to the Chitimacha there was once an Atakapa village on the site of Loreauville.

[b] Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands, III, 111.

Indians are cited as living here down to 1836.[a] Later a few at least went west to reside with the Calcasieu band, but most appear to have scattered. At Washington, La., is a woman whose father belonged to the Vermilion band, and somewhere in Oklahoma is another eastern Atakapa named Felix Wartell.

The Calcasieu band lived along the river of that name and the lakes through which it flows. In plate 32, *a*, a characteristic scene in the old Atakapa country is given. Nearly all of the surviving Atakapa belong to this band. The survivors were interviewed by Doctor Gatschet in 1885 and a considerable vocabulary of their language collected, besides several texts. In 1907 and 1908 the writer visited them and found that there are still nine who remember something of the language. Almost all of these are living apart, however, and they use it so seldom that old grammatical distinctions are being lost or confused. It will not be long, therefore, before it sinks to the level of a vocabulary and finally disappears. The following are the names of those who still speak Atakapa: Teet Verdine and Eliza Verdine, his sister, who live near Westlake, La.; Armojean Reon (pls. 19, *b* and 32, *b*) and Mrs. Delia Morse, who are in Lake Charles, but in different parts of the city; Delphine Williams, wife of J. R. Williams, Beaumont, Tex., and Ellen Sclovon or Esclovon, sisters of Armojean Reon's mother; Eugene Reon, brother of Armojean, a Sanctification preacher, last reported from Wichita, Kans.; Mary Jones, *née* Cameron, Armojean's cousin, wife of a preacher of the same sect; and Felix Wartell, already referred to, whose mother, Victorine, belonged to the eastern Atakapa, and who at one time took up land in Oklahoma.

From the statements of various writers it appears that there were representatives of this stock on the Sabine. On the Neches and lower Trinity, as well as the country between, was a small tribe called Orcoquisac by the Spaniards. A mission was founded among them, but lasted only a short time. This tribe became noted as that among which M. de Belle-Isle was abandoned and among whom he lived for a number of years.[b] Unfortunately he has not left a record of any of the words of their language, and we are unable to affirm their relationship positively, but there is good reason to believe that it was with the Atakapa of Louisiana. There can be little question that it differed from that of any of their other neighbors.[c] In 1805, according to Sibley, the Atakapa numbered about 80 men, including 30 Tunica and Houma who had settled among them.[d] They seem to

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[a] Most of the information in what goes before has been obtained from the Amer. State Papers Relating to Public Lands, III, 96, 114, 1834.

[b] Margry, Découvertes, VI, 320–347.

[c] For a full discussion of the relationship of these people, see pp. 35–36.

[d] Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086, 1852.

a Typical scene in the old Atakapa country

b Armojean Reon, one of the few surviving speakers of the Atakapa language (see pl. 19, *b*)

THE ATAKAPA COUNTRY AND ONE OF THE TRIBE

have lived on by themselves in the same region until gradually reduced and exterminated by the advance of the white settlements.

From mission records recently examined by Professor Bolton, of the University of Texas, it appears probable that the Bidai, hitherto supposed to be of Caddoan stock, were affiliated with the Atakapa, and that the Deadoses and other tribes, of which little more than the names survive, were also connected with them.

All that we know of the ethnology of the Atakapa is contained in Duralde's letter cited already in connection with the Chitimacha. The Atakapa section is as follows:

> The Atacapas pretend that they are come out of the sea, that a prophet or man inspired by God laid down the rules of conduct to their first ancestors (*pères*), which consisted in not doing any evil. They believe in an author of all things: that those who do well go above, and that those who do evil descend under the earth into the shades. They speak of a deluge which swallowed up men, animals, and the land, and it was only those who resided along a high land or mountain (that of San Antonio, if we may judge) who escaped this calamity.
>
> According to their law a man ceases to bear his own name as soon as he has a child born, and he is then called 'the father of such a boy,' giving the name of the child. If the child dies the father again assumes his own name. The women alone are charged with the labors of the field and of the household.
>
> The mounds according to them were intended to elevate and distinguish the dwellings of the chiefs, and were thrown up under their supervision by the women. * * *
>
> Many years before the discovery of the elephant in the bayou called Carancro an Atakapas savage had informed a man who is at present in my service in the capacity of cow-herd that the ancestors of his nation transmitted [the story] to their descendants that a beast of enormous size had perished either in this bayou or in one of the two water courses a short distance from it without their being able to indicate the true place, the antiquity of the event having without doubt made them forget it. The fact has realized this tradition.[a]

This was written at Atakapas (now Franklin), April 23, 1802, and therefore applies particularly to the eastern Atakapa, or Hiye'kiti, as the Lake Charles people called them. Whether the beliefs of the western Atakapa were the same we shall probably never know, but as some of the Chitimacha stories collected by the writer were known to them, it is probable that there was comparatively little difference. Dialectically, however, there was some divergence, judging by a comparison of Duralde's vocabulary with that obtained by Gatschet.

THE OPELOUSA

This name is probably from *ạba*, 'above,' and *lusa*, 'black,' and it is usually translated 'black hair,' or 'black head.' The tribe appears to be referred to first in an unpublished letter of Bienville, dated May 15, 1733, where it occurs in the form "Loupelousas."[b]

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[a] Ms., in Bureau of American Ethnology.

[b] French, Hist. Coll. La., 70, 1850.

Though it was so insignificant as to receive scant attention, the district, and later the post to which it gave its name, soon became subjects of frequent mention. This district was very extensive, embracing what are now the parishes of St. Landry, Calcasieu, and Cameron. The next particular reference to the people appears to be by Baudry de Lozières (1794–1798), who says:

> *The Loupelousas.*—They are allied with the Tchioutimachas and number 130 men. It has been impossible to make them settle down. They dwell behind the Tchioutimachas, about 30 leagues inland toward the west.[a]

In 1805 Sibley reported regarding them as follows:

> APPALOUSAS. It is said the word *appalousa*, in the Indian language, means 'black head,' or 'black skull.' They are the aborigines of the district called by their name. The village is about 15 miles west from the Appelousa church, have about 40 men. Their native language differs from all other; understand Attakapa and speak French; plant corn; have cattle and hogs.[b]

In testimony embodied in the American State Papers, one of the white inhabitants of the Opelousa and Atakapa country testifies in 1814 to having heard that there were "several other villages of Attakapas and Opelousas Indians on the Bayou Plaquemine Brulé, and the other parts north and west of that bayou."[c] In another place the Opelousa tribe is referred to as having dwindled to 20 persons.[d] This statement is made in the course of an argument regarding the validity of Indian claims, but appears to be founded on actual information. The ultimate fate of the survivors is shrouded in mystery, but we may surmise that they joined other Indians and became incorporated with them.

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[a] Voy. à La Louisiane, 247–248, 1802.

[b] Sibley's Report of 1805, Ann. 9th Cong., 2d sess., 1086, 1852.

[c] Amer. State Papers, Public Lands, III, 111.

[d] Ibid., 95.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. Cartographical information obtained since the preceding pages were put into type renders it practically certain that "Chigilousa" (referred to on page 37) is a misreading by Margry of "Ougilousa." This establishes the identity of the tribe with the Okelousa (treated on page 32) and furnishes an additional argument for classifying that tribe as Muskhogean, besides lending strength to a similar classification of the Washa and the Chawasha.[a]

2. It is now evident to the writer that the so-called "temples" of the Natchez and other lower Mississippi tribes were only variants of the bone-houses, or ossuaries, of the Chitimacha and the Choctaw. Adair describes a Choctaw ossuary surmounted by a bird,[b] which at once suggests the birds upon the Natchez and the Taënsa temples. With them should also be categorized the "temple of Talimeco" referred to in the De Soto narratives.

3. The relationship of Natchez to the Muskhogean tongues, assumed in the present bulletin, was accepted as the result of a comparison of the Natchez vocabularies collected by Gallatin, Brinton, Pike, and Gatschet with numerous Muskhogean vocabularies both published and unpublished. Since then the writer has been able to obtain a number of texts in the Natchez language and final judgment on its exact relation to the recognized Muskhogean dialects can not be given until a thorough study of these has been made. Some unexpected resemblances to Chitimacha have developed from a preliminary examination, but in general it may be said that the writer's opinion that Natchez is the result of a mixture between a Muskhogean and a non-Muskhogean people appears to be strongly confirmed. It is believed that a careful analysis of this tongue will throw important light upon the question of the origin of new languages.

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[a] See maps of Franquelin, 1864; Van Loon, 1705; Mortier, 1710.

[b] Adair, History of the American Indians, London, 1775, page 184.

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